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PAPERS

RELATING TO THE

FRENCH OCCUPATION

IN

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

1—Vol. VI.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE FRENCH OCCUPATION.

FRENCH AND ENGLISH DISCOVERIES IN AMERICA BY CHAMPLAIN—1631.

Abstract of the Discoveries in New France, as well of those made by us as by the English, from the Virginias to Davis Straits, and of what they and we can claim, according to the report of Historians who have written thereof, which will enable every one to judge dispassionately of the whole.

The English do not deny us all New France and cannot question what the whole world has admitted; they therefore only argue about boundaries, restricting us to Cape Breton, which is in latitude of 45¾ degrees, not permitting us to go farther South, claiming to themselves the entire extent from Florida to Cape Breton; and within these last years they have been desirous to usurp, as they have done, even unto the River Saint Lawrence.

The foundation of their pretension is this:—About the year 1594, being on the Coast of Florida, they arrived at a place called by the said English *Mocosa*, having found some rivers and an agreeable country there, they began to build, giving it the name of Virginias, but being thwarted by the Savages and other accidents, they were forced to abandon it, having remained there only two or three years. Nevertheless, the late King James of England ascending the Throne since, he adopted the resolution to explore, settle and cultivate that country; for the encouragement whereof, he granted extensive privileges to those who would undertake this settlement, and among the rest, extended their right of property from the 33ᵈ to the 45ᵗʰ and 46ᵗʰ degrees of Latitude, giving them power over all strangers they may find within that extent of country and 50 miles Seaward. These Charters of the King were issued on the 10ᵗʰ of April, in the fourth year of his reign, and of grace 1607; 24 years ago. This is all that can be learned regarding those Countries from their commissions and documents.

Here is what we answer them:—

That in the first place, their Royal Charters, on which they stand, contradict their pretension, because this special exception is ex-

pressly stated therein—"We grant them all the countries to the 45th degree which are not actually possessed by any Christian Prince." Now it happens that at the date of these Charters, the King of France actually and really possessed of the said Countries at least as far as the fortieth degree of Latitude, where the Dutch established themselves some years since; all the world knows it by Sieur de Champlain's Voyages, printed with the Maps, Ports and Harbors of all the Coasts drawn by him of which every body since made use and adapted to Globes and Maps of the World (*Cartes Universelles,)* which have been corrected according to this description. And 'tis to be seen by the said voyages that they were in 1604 at Saint Croix, and in 1607 at Port Royal, which said Champlain named, as well as several other places seen on the Maps, the whole settled by the late Sieur de Mons, who, as his most Christian Majesty's Lieutenant, governed all the Country as far as the fortieth degree.

Before the preceding year 1603, the said Champlain made the voyage to New France and into the Great River Saint Lawrence, by order of his most Christian Majesty, to whom, on his return he submitted a report thereof, which report and description he caused to be printed at the time. He departed on the 15th May of the same year, from Honfleur, in Normandy; at that same time, the late Sieur Commander de Caste, Governor of Dieppe, was Lieutenant General in the said New France, from the 40th to the 52d degree of Latitude.

If the English say that they have possessed the Virginias not only from the year 1603, 4 and 7, but from the year 1594, when they discovered [it] as we have stated.

We answer, that the River they then began to possess, is at the 36th and 37th degrees, and that this their hap-hazard allegation might avail, if there were question only of occupying that river, and 7 to eight leagues on one and the other side of it, for so far may the eye be able ordinarily to embrace; but claiming by sovereignty, it is rather an over monstrous stretch of the arm, or rather of cognizance, to extend thirty-six times farther than was explored. Let us suppose it possible.

It would follow that Ribaut and Laudonniere having in the year 1564, 5, 6, gone well equipped to Florida by authority of King Charles IX., to cultivate and settle the Country, being there, founded Carolina at the 35th and 36th degree; thus the English are out of the Virginias, according to their own machinery.

Why shall they, being at 36 or 37, advance to 45, rather than we being, as they admit, at 46, descend as far as 37? What right have they more than we? This is our answer to the English.

And it is very certain and acknowledged by all, that his most Christian Majesty hath taken possession of those lands before any other Prince, and it is certain that the Bretons and Normans first

discovered the Great Bank and Newfoundland. These discoveries were made in the year 1504, 126 years ago, as may be seen in Niflet's and Antoine Magin's History printed at Douay.

And further, all confess that by command of King Francis, Jean Verrazan took possession in the name of France of said Countries beginning from the 33^{d} degree to the 47th. This was in two voyages, the last of which was in the year 1523, 107 years ago.

Besides, Jacques Cartier, was the first to enter the Great River S^{t} Lawrence in two voyages made thither, and discovered the greatest portion of the coasts of Canada; in the latter of his voyages, in 1535, he ascended as for as the Great Sault Saint Louis of the said Great River.

And he made another voyage in the year 1541, as Lieutenant to M^{r} Jean Francois de la Rocque, Sieur de Robert Val, who was Lieutenant General of said Country, this was his third voyage when he remained. Not being able to live in the Country with the Savages who were insufferable, he concluded to return in the Spring, which he did in a vessel he had reserved, and being past the Island of Newfoundland, he met said Sieur Robert-Val who was coming with 3 ships in the year 1542. He caused said Cartier to return to the Island of Orleans where they made a settlement, and having remained there some time, it is said that his Majesty required him for some important affairs, and this enterprise by degrees failed, through want of applying the requisite vigilance.

About the same time Alphonse Saintongeois was dispatched by the said S^{r} de Robert-Val, others say by his Majesty, who discovered the Northern Coast of the Great bay, or Gulf of Saint Lawrence, and the Strait between the Island of Newfoundland and the Continent to the North up to the 52^{d} degree of Latitude.

Afterwards the Marquis de la Roche of Brittany was, in the year 1598, in these countries of New France as his Majesty's Lieutenant; next Sieur Chauven of Honfleur in Normady, Commanders de Chaste and de Mons, as is stated—and Sieur de Pointrjncourt and Madam de Quercheville, who had some department in Acadie, sent thither la Saulsaye with whom were the Reverend Jesuit Fathers who, as well as Port Royal, were captured by the English, the said Sieur Champlain having discovered and caused to be discovered 28 years since, divers countries, over 4 to 500 leagues inland, as is seen by his proceding Relations printed from the year 1603 to the present time 1631.

Let us come to what is found written respecting the voyages of the English, it is not enough that they boast of being the first who discovered those countries: that they are, is questioned. It is very certain when any natural discovery is made, people are sufficiently curious to describe its epoch. The English have not neglected this, neither have any other Nation according to the memoirs sent to

them, they forgot nothing that has been done. But we do not find in any author that the English ever took possession of the Countries of New France until after the French.

It is true the English discovered on the North side towards Labrador and Davis Straits some lands, islands and some passages from the 56th degree towards the Artic pole, as is seen by the voyages printed as well in England as elsewhere; showing of what they can avail themselves, without usurpation, of which they have been guilty in several parts of New France. We must be blind and ignorant not to preceive the truth that History teaches us.

In the first place, Sebastian Cabot was, by order of King Henry VII of England, in the year 1499, to discover some passages towards Labrador, and return unsuccessful; and Mr. Martin Frobisher, since in the years 1576, 77 and 78 made three voyages thither. Seven years afterwards Honfroy Guibert was there. Next, John Davis discovered a Strait called after his name. Etienne Permenud was at the Island of Newfoundland, on its North East side, in the year 1583. Another, named Richard Witaabours, was sent shortly after to the same coast; then a man called Captain George was there in the year 1590, towards the North. From the latest memoir, an English Captain was in the year 1612 to the North where he discovered a passage in the 63d degree, as appears by the Map printed in England, and experiencing difficulties in the discovery of the passage for which so many Navigators have looked to go Westward to the East Indies for thirty-five years they have stretched as well to the Virginias as to the Countries belonging to us.

Now the common consent of all Europe represents New France as extending at least to the 35th and 36th degrees of latitude, as appears by the Maps of the world printed in Spain, Italy, Holland, Flanders, Germany, England, even when, if not since, they seized the coasts of New France where lie Acadie, Etechemins, Almouchicois and the Great River of Saint Lawrence, on which they have imposed, according to their fancy, the names of New England, New Scotland, etc. But it is not easy to efface a thing that is known to all Christendom.

M. DU CHESNEAU'S MEMOIR ON THE WESTERN INDIANS, &c.

Memoir to make known to my Lord the Indian Nations from whom we derive our peltries; their and our interests; the present condition of those Tribes; together with a brief description of the Country inhabited by the English, and of Acadia, adjoining thereunto:

The Outawas Indians, who are divided into several tribes, and are nearest to us, are those of the greatest use to us, because through them we obtain Beaver; and although they, for the most part, do not hunt, and have but a small portion of peltry in their Country, they go in search of it to the most distant places, and exchange for it our Merchandise which they procure at Montreal. They are the Themistamens, Nepisseriens, Missisakis, Amicoüés, Sauteurs, Kiscakons, and Thionontatorons. They get their peltries, in the North, from the people of the interior, from the Kislistinons, Assinibouets and Nadouessioux, and in the South, from the Sakis, Poutouatamis, Puants, Oumaominiecs or La Folle Avoine, Outagamis or Foxes, Maskoutins, Miamis and Illinois.

Some of these tribes occasionally come down to Montreal, but usually they do not do so in very great numbers, because they are too far distant, are not expert at managing canoes, and because the other Indians intimidate them, in order to be the carriers of their Merchandise and to profit thereby.

'Tis the interest of these people to be at peace with each other, to enjoy great freedom in their trade, to be treated kindly when at Montreal, not to be deceived in the sale of merchandise to them, and to respond liberally to the presents they make, without exacting any, since 'tis certain that they are well content if they get only half the value of what is received from them.

It is their interest, likewise, to be afforded great security and facility in the carriage of goods to those who do not come down to Montreal, and not to be obstructed nor harrassed by a crowd of Frenchmen who disturb their trade; and when differences and wars break out between all those nations, that the Governor-General endeavor to appease them and to procure them peace.

As these tribes never transact any business without making presents to illustrate and confirm their words, should their voluntary offerings not be kindly received, and should they be forced to give more than they are inclined, they endeavor to enter into arrangements among themselves; they entertain a profound contempt for the selfish, and do not, unless by great necessity, avail themselves of negotiations that people wish to make a traffic of.

This is what occurred a year ago when the Iroquois made an ir-

ruption into the country of the Illinois, in which the Miamis were engaged. I shall speak of this by and by. The latter being in great dread of the Iroquois, induced the former to seek an accommodation; sent them presents, and besought them to enter into an amicable arrangement without the intervention of the Governor of the French, because this cost them too much.

'Tis our interest to keep these people united; to take cognizance of all their differences, however trifling these be; to watch carefully that not one of them terminate without our mediation, and to constitute ourselves, in all things, their arbiters and protectors; to bring them into total dependence by these means, by gentle treatment, a few presents, and embassies; by not allowing a great many of the French, who are always very insolent, to go into their country, and by enforcing his Majesty's last ordinance regarding the licenses to be granted for these trading voyages.

They ought also to be made to understand that all their happiness consists in being attached to the French, which they cannot better evince than by establishing a perpetual trade with them, as this affords the means of maintaining mutual friendship and obliging us to provide for all their wants.

But our principal interest, and what will alone crown all our designs with success, is, according to the dictates of our duty, to establish Religion on a solid basis among those people who have any disposition thereunto. This would succeed, were those in authority in this country to chastise such as set the Indians bad example, and to forbid, in accordance with the prohibition contained in the King's ordinance of the year 1679, the conveying of Brandy to the Natives, inasmuch as drunkenness is, among them, the greatest obstacle to religion; destroys both their health and substance, and gives rise among them to quarrels, batteries and murders, that cannot be remedied on account of the distance; and these poor creatures have such an inveterate passion for brandy, which they use only for the purpose of inebriation, that nothing is too valuable to procure it. This produces, in addition to the disorders I have just mentioned, the waste, in debauchery, of all their beaver; then they must run into debt to obtain their necessary supplies; having no means to pay for these, they return no more, and thus cheat the French who have advanced them their substance.

To convey a correct idea of the present state of all those Indian Nations, it is necessary to explain the cause of the cruel war waged by the Iroquois for these three years past against the Illinois. The former, who are great warriors, who cannot remain idle, and who pretend to subject all other nations to themselves, though they compose only five villages, and can muster, under arms, no more than two thousand men at most, never want a pretext for commencing hostilities.

The following was their assumed excuse for the present war: Going, about twenty years ago, to attack the Outagamis, they met the Illinois and killed a considerable number of them. This continued during the succeeding years, and finally, having destroyed a great many, they forced them to abandon their country and to seek for refuge in very distant parts.

The Iroquois having got quit of the Illinois, took no more trouble with them, and went to war against another nation called Andostagués, who were very numerous, and whom they entirely destroyed. Pending this war, the Illinois returned to their country, and the Iroquois complained that they had killed nearly forty of their people who were on their way to hunt beaver in the Illinois country. To obtain satisfaction, the Iroquois resolved to make war on them. Their true motive, however, was to gratify the English at Manatte and Orange, of whom they are too near neighbors, and who, by means of presents, engaged the Iroquois in this expedition, the object of which was to force the Illinois to bring their beaver to them, so that they may go and trade it afterwards with the English; also, to intimidate the other nations and constrain them to do the same thing.

The improper conduct of Sieur de la Salle, Governor of Fort Frontenac, in the neighborhood of the Iroquois, has contributed considerably to cause the latter to adopt this proceeding; for after he had obtained permission to discover the Great River of Mississippi, and had, as he alleged, the grant of the Illinois, he no longer observed any terms with the Iroquois. He ill-treated them, and avowed that he would convey arms and ammunition to the Illinois, and would die assisting them.

They did, in fact, remark that he carried quantities thereof thither, and that after having traded with them he returned without prosecuting his discovery, which was his pretext for his journey to the country of the said Savages as it was to that of the French.

The Iroquois dispatched, in the month of April of last year, 1680, an army, consisting of between five and six hundred men, who approached an Illinois village where Sieur de Tonty, one of Sieur de la Salle's men, happened to be with some Frenchmen, and two Recollet fathers whom the Iroquois left unharmed. One of these, a most holy man, has since been killed by the Indians. But they would not listen to the terms of peace proposed to them by Sieur de Tonty, who was slightly wounded at the commencement of the attack; the Illinois having fled a hundred leagues thence, were pursued by the Iroquois, who killed and captured as many as twelve hundred of them, including women and children, having lost only thirty men.

The Iroquois, returning home loaded with beaver and some goods, passed by the Miamis, and deliberated whether they should attack

them. They did not do so, however, and some of their followers having, whilst hunting, killed a child and captured some women belonging to that nation, the chiefs of their village went to the Iroquois with presents to demand their prisoners, saying they were friends. Their request was granted, and an Illinois child was given them in the place of the one that had been killed.

Another detachment of the Iroquois army, met some hunters belonging to the Bay des Puants, whom they captured and brought into their country, without, however, subjecting them to the ill-treatment they inflict on prisoners.

The victory achieved by the Iroquois rendered them so insolent that they have continued ever since that time to send out divers war parties. The success of these is not yet known, but it is not doubted that they have been successful, because those tribes are very warlike and the Illinois are but indifferently so.

They were, however, somewhat apprehensive that the French Governor was dissatisfied with them, and expected that he would repair this summer to Fort Frontenac and invite them thither; they were prepared for this, and he might possibly have arranged matters, but he has neglected this voyage.

Another unfortunate circumstance occurred on the nineteenth of last September. Some Indians of the Bay des Puants, going hunting, met a Seneca Iroquois, a man of influence in his village; they made him prisoner, to serve as an hostage in case the Iroquois should not send back some of their people whom they captured as above stated, and brought him near the quarters of the Kiskakons at the village of Michilimakinak, and invariably treated him very well for some days previous to the arrival at the said village of Sieur de Tonty, on his return from Fort Frontenac, after his interview with Sieur de la Salle, and who was on his way to the Miamis, among whom the said Sieur de la Salle proposed to winter. Meantime some Tiohontatés having met a little Illinois girl, the Seneca's slave, who had gone astray four days before her capture, brought her likewise to the said place of Michilimakinak, into a cabin near the Kiskakons' village, whence some Illinois on their departure had carried her off, and brought her into the cabin where Sieur de Tonte was then regaling some Indians, in return for some good offices he had received from them in his necessity. He had given his knife to an Illinois to cut up the tobacco he had presented to them at the time. The Tionontatés came into the said cabin and brought thither the Iroquois Seneca prisoner, who on seeing the Illinois girl recognized her as his slave. The Tionontatés would fain induce the Illinois to give her up to him, and passed some jokes on them, which so irritated them that one of the Illinois arose quite angry and said the Illinois slave could be removed and he would master the Iroquois; and on the renewal of some rude

jokes, he snatched from his comrade's hands the knife Sieur de Tonty had lent him, and with it struck the Iroquois, and even those who would prevent him repeating the blow, and finished by killing him, notwithstanding all the efforts that were made to prevent him.

Immediately the Tionontatés thought only of sending off to the Iroquois to advise them that one of their chiefs had been killed by the Illinois in the cabin of the Kiskakons with the Frenchmen's knife. At the same time all the Outawa nations, on hearing of this murder, took to flight, dreading the anger of the Iroquois; and, doubting not but they would ere long have war in their Country, sent word to the Governor of the French, who spoke on the subject to the Intendant, and they concluded that nothing was to be done for the moment but to send to the Iroquois, to lay before them a true statement of the occurrence; to invite them to come next spring to Fort Frontenac, whither the Governor would repair; to notify them, meanwhile, not to get up any expedition; and, in order to dispel the alarm of the Outawas, to advise these, also, of the measures about to be adopted with the Iroquois.

The Intendant is persuaded, and dares to answer for it, that we shall reëstablish peace and quietness throughout the country, and secure our trade, if attention be paid to the Iroquois; if some presents, which cost nothing, be made them; if those they make be well employed, and reserved to be returned to them when occasion requires, as was the practice with Mess^rs^ de Tracy and de Courcelles; if the impression be removed from their minds that we wish to furnish arms and ammunition to the Illinois, and, if they be assured, on the contrary, that we wish nothing else than to preserve peace among all those nations, whose Fathers we are, and to chastise those who infringe it. For this purpose the Jesuit fathers will be of great use, as well those who are among them, as those of the Mission of la Prairie de la Madelaine, which is filled, in our midst, with the most considerable of that nation; also, the gentlemen of Saint Sulpice, who have charge of the Mission at the Mountain of Montreal, where there are some Iroquois who are much esteemed. Not but that we always have the English, as well towards Manatte and Orange as towards Hudson's Bay, as impediments.

From all that has just been stated, respecting the tribes from whom we derive beaver, we can form an opinion of their present condition, and may conclude that nothing disturbs their repose but the Iroquois. For, although they are infinitely more numerous, the Iroquois is so terrible, in their estimation, that when he makes war on them they will all scatter, and trade will cease because they will be dispersed and no longer at liberty to bring their peltries.

There is no doubt, and it is the universal opinion, that if the Iroquois are allowed to proceed they will subdue the Illinois, and in a short time render themselves masters of all the Outawa tribes, and

divert the trade to the English, so that it is absolutely necessary to make them our friends or to destroy them.

To make them our friends, the best means, in addition to what has been already stated, would be, in the opinion of those who have been most frequently among those Indians, to send among them every two years some intelligent Frenchmen, who possess the tact, which some have, to arrange whatever unfortunate occurrences might take place, such as unforeseen murders, or even to bewail, after their fashion, the deaths of the most considerable of their tribes, or even to gain over in an underground way, as they term it, or, as we say, underhand, those who have the management of their affairs, and for this expense fifteen hundred livres well employed would suffice.

If it should be thought proper to destroy them, or to place ourselves in a position to resist them in case they should desire to make war on us, as is apparent from the disposition in which things are and the state of their tempers, the expense would be much greater, as at least twelve hundred men would be required to be maintained by his Majesty, as in the year 1665, for no mercy should be shown them, and this war should be concluded in a short time, after which the French would be masters absolutely of all the tribes.

There is yet another mode, which would be more advantageous, not only by rendering us masters of the Iroquois and of all the other nations, but also by establishing and preserving, in a solid and profitable manner, the trade with the islands of South America; that is, for the King to purchase, or cause the farmers, or some other company which may be formed, to purchase Manatte and Orange from the Duke of York, with the country belonging to him. And though this might require a considerable sum it would be soon reimbursed, for, independent of our entire possession of the fur trade to the exclusion of the English, who take off a great portion of it, and of the Iroquois being unable any longer to injure us, we should moreover form, in the country possessed by the English, a considerable establishment.

The consideration that the English inhabit the most fertile and finest country of our America, and we the least fruitful and the most disagreeable, will, perhaps, be deemed conclusive.

Their territory extends from the River Pentagouet, which is in Acadia, to beyond that called the South river, which adjoins, and rises in, the country of the Iroquois. Maryland and Virginia, with which the aforesaid territory is confounded, are not comprehended in it. It is true that Boston, an English town which acknowledges the Duke of York not at all, and the authority of the King of England but slightly, is included therein, with its territory, which may amount to eighty leagues.

All who have been in that country agree that it is very temperate;

that the navigation there is always open; that ships arrive and depart at all seasons; that grain and fruit grow there in profusion; and especially that the fisheries of cod, salmon and mackerel, as well as of all other fish that are cured and exported, are equally easy and abundant there, and the fish so excellent that all the inhabitants of that conntry are in most comfortable circumstances in consequence of that trade, which they carry on.

'Tis certain that in Boston there are several merchants worth 3, 4, 5, 6 and even 700,000 *livres*, and that the fisheries are the principal sources to their wealth.

Acadia, which belongs to us and lies adjoining to those countries, is in almost a similar position, and has the same advantages; and navigation is open there throughout the year, with the exception of only two months in certain places. Yet nothing is done there; and although 'tis inhabited by about five hundred French, including both sexes and all ages, they depend altogether for support on the English, and, to obtain their necessaries, carry to the latter a few furs, for which they are content to trade with the Indians.

Their poverty is not the only misfortune of these French; their discords are a much greater. Among them there is neither order nor justice; and those who are sent hence to command them, pillage them, and, notwithstanding, continue themselves in the most abject misery.

The English do much more than enhance the value of their own property; they carry off what we neglect; and have, already, three considerable establishments on the Island of Newfoundland, which belongs to us, and extend their boundaries as much as possible towards Acadia.

They are still at Hudson's Bay, on the north, and do great damage to our fur trade. The farmers (of the revenue) suffer in consequence by the diminution of the trade at Tadoussac and throughout that entire country, because the English draw off the Outawa nations; for the one and the other design, they have two forts in the said bay—the one towards Tadoussac, and the other at Cape Henriette Marie, on the side of the Assinibouetz.

The sole means to prevent them succeeding in what is prejudical to us in this regard, would be to drive them by main force from that bay, which belongs to us; or, if there would be an objection to coming to that extremity, to construct forts on the rivers falling into the lakes, in order to stop the Indians at these points.

Should the King adopt the resolution to arrange with the Duke of York for his possessions in this quarter, in which case Boston could not resist, the only thing to fear would be that this country might go to ruin, the French being naturally inconstant and of novelty.

But as this could be remedied by rigorous prohibitions, that consid-

eration ought not to prevail over the great benefit which would accrue, and the great advantages his Majesty and his subjects must eventually derive from the transaction.

Done at Quebec by us, Intendant of New France, the 13th 9ber 1681.

DU CHESNEAU.

REPRESENTATION OF SIEUR DE LA SALLE.

Memoir touching the expenses incurred by Sieur de Lasalle at Fort Frontenac. 1684.

Sieur de Lasalle purchased fort Frontenac, in 1675, on the following conditions:

1. To repay the sum of ten thousand francs expended on the construction of the little stockade fort which Count de Frontenac had caused to built there, receipt whereof he has from Mr Duchesneau, then Intendant of New France.

2. Inasmuch as Sieurs Lebert and Lachesnaye had the use of it two years after that, and expended on it about nine thousand livres whilst Sieur de Lasalle was in France, he was obliged to pay them; that appears by an account of the late Sieur Bazire, the partner of Sieur Lachesnaye, whom Sieur de Lasalle left in New France.

3. The late Lord Colbert, moreover, obliged Sieur de Lasalle to keep twenty men there at his expense for the term of two years, and a permanent garrison equal to that of Montreal; which he did, as appears by the extract of Count de Frontenac's reports, and the expense thereof has been very great, and exceeded eighteen thousand liveres a year, as well for men's wages as for the flour which cost eleven livres the minot, delivered at said fort, whither it was necessary to have it conveyed from Montreal, no grain having been got in during the first four years, through divers accidents which prevented advantage being taken of the fertility of the soil that has since proved very productive.

4. As the Iroquois who dwell around Lake Frontenac, which is one hundred leagues long and twenty wide, carry their peltries to New York, he, with a view to deprive the English of some of them, caused decked vessels to be built, in order that the Iroquois, finding at their door and on their road the things they required, might prefer this accommodation to the low prices of the English. Considerable advantage would have been derived from this, had not the various shipwrecks which occurred in the years 1678 and 1679, and domestic robberies, destroyed the means there-

unto. No time has been lost in building two new vessels since, one of 35 @ 40 and the other of 25 tons.

The expense of these amounts to nearly nine thousand livres; and this is not surprising, inasmuch as the freight from Montreal to fort Frontenac, of iron, rigging, tow, sails, tar, pitch, anchors and other naval stores, is two sous per pound weight, because the difficulty of the rapids, in addition to the distance of the places, requires an increase in the wages of the hands.

5. More than one hundred arpens of land have been cleared, which are now under tillage, and produce very good grain. Each arpent, it is known, is worth one hundred and ten livres in the remaining part of Canada, and it has cost more at Fort Frontenac for reasons already stated.

6. A considerable number of cattle had been conveyed from Montreal. This expense is easily calculated by the distance of seventy leagues, and the difficulty of the roads, which had not been opened and it was necessary to construct in very difficult places. The cattle have been reduced to twenty, through the disorder caused by M[r] de Labarre at Fort Frontenac since he seized it.

7. Sieur de Lasalle has likewise settled several inhabitants, whom he had conveyed at his own expense, with their families, and fed and provided with every necessary during two entire years.

8. He has greatly increased the accommodations, built very fine barns and stables, with a Mill, which is ready to be raised.

9. He had it inclosed by a strong wall on the land side, which he should have finished on that of the water had he not been prevented by the business of his discovery. It is ninety-three toises in length, three feet thick, and fifteen feet high.

10. He has been, moreover, obliged to pay for the flour Mr. de Labarre sent thither at the King's expense, and which is entered in the statements.

11. There is a house at the mouth of the Niagara river, the most important on the whole lake, to cut off the trade of the English, and which the barks of the fort can reach in two days; it costs about two thousand livres. It is all that remains from the fire which happened at the little fort that had been constructed there.

The situation of this fort is very advantageous, both on account of the fertility of the land, the abundance of the game and fishing, and the mildness of the climate, which is much more temperate than in the other parts of New France. Winter is shorter there by half, and much milder, insomuch that sowing there is done at leisure, and sufficient time would still remain for the cultivation of hemp and flax. Near there are some very fine pastures, capable of feeding considerable herds of cattle, the hides and tallow of which would be of very great advantage.

Around the lake are to be found wild apple trees, chestnuts, and

nuts from which the Indians extract very good Oil; also, divers sorts of grains, mulberry, plum and cherry trees, and all sorts of building timber, stone and other necessary materials.

Its harbor is very fine, the mouth safe, the bottom excellent, sheltered from all winds; the navigation very good throughout the entire lake, in various parts of which convenient harbors are to be found.

Almost all the peltries of the English pass by this lake, except those which come from the direction of the Illinois, whence the Iroquois bring them by the River Ohio; so that were Fort Frontenac and the establishment at Niagra supplied with provisions, they could be turned aside and made to go down to Quebec, and, by that means, all the Beavers placed at the disposal of the French, from whom the other nations would be obliged to purchase it. The barks are highly necessary there, as well to facilitate freight as to head off those Indians who may take other routes.

There are likewise, all round this lake, numbers of elk, bears, otters, martins, wild cats *(pecans)*, wolverines *(loups-cerviers)*, large and small deer, the grey moose, etc., whose skins can be had at a low price in consequence of their being little valued by the English, and difficult to be transported to them, as the Iroquois go thither most frequently by land.

This post being preserved, there is nothing to be feared from the expeditions of the Iroquois against our Colony, because, by means of the barks, their settlements can be surprised whilst unprepared; they not having any knowledge of our approach across the lake, and consequently no leisure to retreat, or to profit by the advantages they possess in their way of making war, to which they will never have recourse as long as they see themselves menaced by danger so imminent, and which would be to them inevitable.

It is still of great importance to arrest in that direction the pretensions of the English, who have approached there through Pennsylvania, the extremity of which abuts almost on the Iroquois country.

It has already prevented, and will hereafter prevent, the accomplishment of the designs of the English, who have attempted by means of the Iroquois to attract the Outaouacs to themselves. They were to go to them by the route leading from Lake Huron to the village called Teïaïagon; and would have affected it had not Mr. de Frontenac interposed this fort, whose usefulness is acknowledged by the whole country, as well in preserving the trade and peace as in arresting the lawlessness of our deserters, who had in that direction a very easy way through which to withdraw to the foreigners.

It is the part of New France from which most can be expected for the establishment of various leather and woolen manufactures,

as cattle can be raised there at much less cost than in colder places, where the length of the winter causes great expense in feeding and housing them during that season. That which was required to be incurred for the conveyance of necessaries from Montreal to Fort Frontenac is much diminished, now that provisions are to be had on the spot, and since vessels there can go down twenty-five leagues to meet the canoes bringing supplies thither, and which must still be used on account of the rapids that interrupt the navigation in four or five places. It could easily be reduced still further, because, each intermission being short, were settlements granted to persons who would keep wagons for facilitating transport at places which are not navigable, and bateaux to go from one rapid to the other, the expense would be much diminished, and the products of Lake Frontenac and its environs easily brought down.

The canoe men now get eight francs the hundred weight in place of twelve, the price paid before the barks were constructed. Two men carry, at each voyage, twelve to thirteen hundred weight, and employ, ordinarily, twelve to fifteen days in going up, and four or five in coming down; so that they can make ten to twelve voyages, and, consequently, transport from twelve to thirteen thousand weight from the opening of navigation in the month of April to the end of November, when it is closed by the ice at Montreal.

They are obliged, when returning, to bring back, gratuitously, as much peltry as the canoes can hold, so that the return voyage does not increase the expense.

This consists, then precisely:

1st. In the freight and risk of the cargo from France to Montreal. The freight is fifty livres the ton, which amounts to six deniers the pound; the insurance six to seven per cent.

2d. In the minor expenses of loading and unloading, packing and carting which are inconsiderable, and common to every thing brought to New France.

3d. In paying the carriers from Montreal to fort Frontenac at the rate of eight livres the hundred weight, as already stated.

4th. In the maintenance of the garrison, the food for which may be had on the spot. This garrison may be also of great service in securing the trade. Twenty men are sufficient for it: these should be permanent, with as many others as would be coming and going in the barks and canoes, and would attend to sowing and the harvest without any expense, because they would willingly engage themselves to do so, provided they were promised to be employed, in preference to others, at trading, at which they could make considerable gains without injuring those at whose disposal they were, inasmuch as it is customary to send them out on half the profits they can realize over and above the price of the goods. This interest obliges them to be more attentive, and they expend on their

return whatever they have made in necessaries, which they purchase at the store. So that the expense of the garrison, of a commandant and a sergeant, will not exceed four thousand livres which will be easily made out of the profits realized by the traders at the places not accessable by barks.

5th. In the refitting of the barks and wages of six sailors and a pilot; for the repair of the barks one ship carpenter only is necessary, who could act as seaman and pilot. His wages will amount to three hundred livres, and the rigging as much more, yearly; the wages of six sailors to twelve hundred livres a year.

Those two posts will be furnished with sufficient merchandise by sending thither to the value of twenty thousand livres per annum, expended in France on goods suitable to the trade; and sixty voyages of the canoes will be necessary to convey them there, at the rate of forty livres per voyage, increasing the price of the merchandise two thousand five hundred liveres or thereabouts.

The freight from France to Montreal at the rate of thirty tons, at 50lb the ton, will amount to fifteen hundred livres.

The insurance on the principal at 7 per cent comes to fourteen hundred livres.

The minor expenses to one hundred crowns *(ecus)*.

The expense of barks, pilots, carpenters and seamen to four thousand livres, so that the advances and expenses will amount to the sum of thirty-three thousand five hundred livres.

But it is to be remarked that the payments to the canoe men, sailors, soldiers, and for the repair of the barks, are made in goods at this country's rate, which is ordinarly double that of France, and therefore such expense will be less than is noted, provided care be taken to have constantly on hand sufficient bread to be sold to the Indians. The grain which will be raised will pay a great portion of this expense, as it is certain there can be distributed yearly, as much as two hundred minots of it at the rate of forty pounds per minot; a beaver worth four francs being easily given for a four or five pound loaf. In addition to this, an armorer and a smith at each post, by repairing the arms and axes of the Indians, may make at their trade over one thousand francs each per annum, clear of all expenses.

To drive a profitable trade, twenty thousand livres must be expended in France in the purchase of the following assortment.

Five pipes *(tonneaux)* of brandy at the rate of two hundred livres the pipe. Five pipes *(tonneaux)* of Wine at 40li the pipe; 2,000 ells of blue Poitou Serge at 2li the ell; 1,000 ells of Iroquois blanketing at 2li 10s the ell; 1,800 white shirts *(chemises)* at 30 sous; five hundred pairs of stockings at 1liv 5s the pair; 2,000 pounds of small kettles at 1liv 5s the pound; two hundred pounds of large black glass beads at 10s the pound; a thousand axes for the trade at 7 and 8

sous the pound; 4,000 pounds of powder at 10 and 12 sous the pound; 7,000 pounds of ball and 3,000 pounds of lead at 120[liv] the thousand; 1,200 guns at 10[liv] each; 2,400 *flattins* at 30 sous the dozen; 100 dozen steels *(Battes-feu)* at 1[liv] 5[s] the dozen; 50 dozen of large tinned looking-glasses *(miroirs fer-blanc)* at 1[liv] 10[s] the dozen; 50 pounds of vermillion at 3[s] the pound; 250 ells of scarlet stuff *(ecarlatine)* at 4[liv] the ell; and 400[lbs] of tobacco at 17 sous.

These things, carried to the Indians, will produce as follows:

They get a pint of brandy for a beaver; and consequently, were only two and a half pipes *(tonneaux)* of it sold, allowing the remainder for the expense of the fort and the pay of the soldiers and sailors, to whom it is sold at one hundred sous the quart, the ten barrels, retailed to the Indians at the rate of one hundred quarts to the barrel and of four beavers per quart, would produce four thousand beavers, at four livres a piece, or an equivalent in other peltry, which would amount to sixteen thousand livres, and leave, consequently, fifteen thousand livres profit.

The wine would also serve to pay the expenses of freight and wages, at the rate of 40 sous the quart.

The ell of Poitou serge sells for six francs to the Indians, and that of Iroquois blanketing for eight livres, and consequently on these two articles there would be a profit of thirteen thousand livres.

The shirts sell for at least one hundred sous, and the stockings for eight livres, so that on these two articles there is more than four thousand livres gain.

Kettles sell at four francs the pounds, and consequently there would be 5,500[liv] profit on that article.

Glass beads sell at eight francs the pound, and axes at thirty sous a piece, so that these two articles would leave a profit of two thousand livres.

Powder sells at 40 sous the pound, and lead at twenty sous, which would make on these two articles over thirteen thousand livres.

Guns sell 24[liv] each, and therefore would produce 2,400[liv] more than their cost.

Tobacco sells at eight francs per pound; it would therefore give over 2,000[liv] profit.

On the scarlet stuff *(ecarlatine)* one-half would be gained, which would be worth one thousand livres.

The profit is proportionably greater on the other small articles, such as knives, vermillion, steel, etc., so that with 20,000[liv] properly employed, twenty thousand ecus profit could be made a year, clear of all expenses, now that all that was necessary to be incurred for building, barks, clearances, conveyance of provisions and such like, has been expended by Sieur de Lasalle, who would not have failed

to realize great profits, though he might have been obliged to labor for them, were it not for the heavy losses he has suffered rather through the envy of those who were jealous of him than in consequence of his own ill fortune or by reason of tempests.

ORDINANCES AGAINST EMIGRATION FROM CANADA TO THE BRITISH COLONIES.

Ordinance prohibiting all Frenchmen removing to Manhatte, Orange and other places belonging to the English and Dutch, on pain of death against those who will not be domiciliated.

VERSAILLES, the 10th April, 1684.

BY THE KING.

His Majesty being informed that several vagabond and loafing Frenchmen, who had immigrated to New France, have removed to Orange, Manatta and other places belonging to the English and Dutch, and that under divers pretexts they incite settlers there to leave their residences and to desert, for the purpose of settling in the said places of Orange and Manatte, which would prevent the tillage and clearance of the lands, and cause eventually the entire ruin of the Colony; it being necessary to remedy the same, his Majesty hath forbidden and doth expressly prohibit all Frenchmen who have immigrated to New France quitting the country and removing to Manatte and Orange and other places belonging to the English and Dutch, on pain of Death against those who will not be domiciliated; his Majesty wills that their trial be had and perfected before the Council of War, which shall, to this end, be composed of the number of 7 Judges, Captains or Lieutenants of the troops he maintains in said country, or other militia officers who are there, whereat shall assist the Governor and Lieutenant-General, and the Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance in the said country; and in regard to the Frenchmen settled and domiciliated in New France, who will be convicted of the same desertion, his Majesty wills and orders that their trial be had and perfected by the Sovereign Council of Quebec, and that they be punished according to the rigor of this day's Edict. His Majesty Orders and Ordains, &c., &c.

Edict for the punishment of Frenchmen who will remove to Manatte, Orange and other places belonging to the English and Dutch.

VERSAILLES, 10th April, 1684.

LOUIS, &c., TO ALL PRESENT AND TO COME, GREETING:

Being informed that divers of our subjects settled in our Country of New France, and who have lands there to them belonging, keep up an intercourse with vagabond and loafing Frenchmen who have deserted to settle at Manatte, Orange and other places under the dominion of the English and Dutch, and that they have been led, by this example of *fewcantise* and licentiousness, to abandon the cultivation and clearing of their lands, which would inevitably bring ruin on the Colony, were it not promptly remedied; Wherefore we have, by these presents signed by our hand, expressly forbidden and prohibited all Frenchmen, inhabiting New France, removing to Orange, Manatte and other places belonging to the English and Dutch, without our permission or that of those who have authority from us to grant it; We Will that those of our subjects who shall become ringleaders, and who, as Chiefs, will have undertaken to desert and remove to the said English and Dutch, be condemned to Death; and in regard to those who shall be taken deserting individually, or who shall have followed the said leaders, that they be condemned to the galleys for life. We enjoin our Judges to condemn them to the said penalties agreeably to these presents. We give in Command, to our beloved and faithful Councillors, the persons holding our Sovereign Council of Quebec, that they cause these presents to be read, published, enregistered and executed according to their form and tenor. FOR SUCH IS OUR PLEASURE. And in order that it be a thing forever firm and Stable, we have caused our seal to be affixed to these presents, without at all in other respects Our right and that of Others [infringing], &c.

REVEREND FATHER DE LAMBERVILLE TO M. DE LA BARRE.

February 10th 1684.

MY LORD: I come at the beginning of the year to renew to you my respects, and to testify to you the joy I feel that your arrival in Canada has averted the scourge of war from the Colony. The three Burgomasters who visited you have acted here agreeably to your intentions. They again held, eight days since, great Councils with the Captains and warriors, at which they have resolved to give you

satisfaction on the proposals you made them; they say they must not contravene the orders of their father, who has spoken to them so authoritatively and with so many proofs of benevolence, and who has uttered no menace or angry expression.

The man named Garanontié has spoken by a Wampum belt to the Chief of the warriors, and has turned the musket towards the Chaouennons. Our father Onontio, he said, merits obedience; he desires that his allies should not be hereafter insulted. He told me that if you wished to protect the Oumiamis, they will be enumerated among your allies, and that their is a strong disposition to satisfy you. Presents conjoined with kindness and courtesy are arms which the Iroquois scarcely ever resist; on the other hand, threats or even war would have been equally fatal to the Colony. You know better than I that a few bandits in Italy have disabled troops six times more numerous than theirs, and that the Burgundy dairymen formerly gave considerable trouble to the Prince. Soldiers who would prove good in the centre of a plain would be thrown into disorder in such forests as these here, and besides that, the Iroquois, daring and well armed, and who makes war like a thief, would have inflicted considerable injury on the French. The prudence of a Chief goes hand in hand with his valor and interpidity. The country is indebted to your prudence for its preservation; a premature war would have indubitably reduced it to extremities.

Sieur de la Guele, who has been entirely won over by your liberality and the kind bearing with which you received him, is become your creature. He appears to be your man of business with Garakontie. He panegyrized you a few day ago when addressing the warriors, and exhorted the one and the other to act in a friendly manner to all your allies whom they will meet in the hunting grounds to which they are about to proceed; to assemble here again in the spring, and to form a numerous war party, the chife of which is called Hannatakta, to whom I gave a present in your name. He it was who last year opposed the Cayugas and Senecas, in order to keep the promise he caused to be made to you that he should not go to war that year against the Illinois and Oumiamis, which he faithfully observed. I say that he will possibly go to Montreal to pay his respects to you, and to observe nigher than here what sort of a man you are *(comme vous avez l'esprit fait)*. (These are his words.)

As Sieur de la grande Gueule says he will go to see you this summer to speak of divers matters in answer to the message you entrusted to him, and particularly about the affair of the armorer, I have not inquired of him, for you, what he desired this year, which is the first of the pension you are so good as to allow him.

The man named Oreouahé, of Cayuga, told me also he intended to visit you at Montreal. It is he who made Father de Carheil to withdraw from Cayuga, and who treacherously brought the six Tion-

notatés there. He is exceedingly proud. Sorrennoa and he are the two greatest Chiefs in Cayuga. It is of this Oreouahé that the English of Albany (formerly Orange) made use to prevent Sieur Penn purchasing the land of the Andastogués,[1] who were conquered by the Iroquois and the English of Maryland.

I believe he will be better pleased with you than with the English, after he shall have the honor of an interview with you. I told him that if he should wish to see Father de Carheil again where he was going to, you will send for him to Montreal. He has great influence among the Cayugas; has conceived profound esteem for you as a great Captain, which he also piques himself to be. Your dexterity and experience in winning over all those various characters will attach him to you, as I believe, most intimately, and he will be convinced that the Onontio of Canada is quite a different thing from the Burgomasters of Orange, whose civilities in his regard are the never-ending subject of his praise.

It is reported that the chiefs of Mohawk having been to visit the Governor of New England, he has exhorted them not to kill nor burn people any more, and to become Christians; and on their asking him to continue the sale of powder to them, that he replied, it should be continued so long as they would not wage war against Christians.

An Iroquois of the village where I reside killed another Englishman at the end of Autumn, towards Virginia. Six or seven houses were pillaged at the the same time by the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondages and Cayugas. The English of New York, with whom they trade, dare not even censure them for the many insults they repeatedly inflict on their bretheren; so much so that the Iroquois are astonished at it. The apprehension of losing the trade, for some years, has condemned them to a cowardly silence.

Next summer the Governor of New York is, as 'tis reported, to come to Mohawk, and to speak there to the Iroquois. We'll see what he'll say. He has sent a ragged ship's flag to the Mohawks, to be hoisted there. These are the armorial bearings of England. That flag is still in the public chest of the Mohawks; I know not when it will see the light.

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[1] This tribe, called also Andastes by the French, occupied the Upper part of the Susquehannah river, from seven to ten days' journey from Western New-York. The precise date of the subjugation of the Susquehannahs by the Five Nations is still undetermined. Mr. Gallatin thinks it occured between 1664 and 1680. In *Deed Book*, VI., 28, in Secretary's office, Albany, is a Commission to Col. Coursey, from the Governor of Maryland, dated 30th April, 1677, in which it is stated that "the said Susquehannos have *lately* desired to come to a Treaty of Peace with his said Lordship [Baltimore], and have (as I am informed) Since ye said Overturn submitted themselves to, and putt themselves under the prottection of the Cinnigos [Senecas] or some other natyon of Indyans residing to ye Northward of this Province." It would hence appear that their conquest occurred about 1676.—*O'Callaghan.*

I pray God, My Lord, long to preserve your person, and to heap his blessings on it. I am always with profound submission,

My Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient

Servant,

JEAN DE LAMBERVILLE.

The most influential Captains here, who decide affairs of war with the Ancients, had intended to go and pay you their respects, and to agree with you on the boundaries of the territory of your allies: but as you named only two of them to me, and they apprehended that the jealousy of some who might not have been invited would excite murmurs against them, they have postponed until next year the deliberation on this matter. 'Tis certain that the Iroquois are extremely sensitive to any mark of esteem and friendship evinced towards them, and any little underhand present is to them a preservative against all the bad impressions sought to be made on them.

MEMOIR OF M. DE DENONVILLE ON THE STATE OF CANADA.

Memoir on the present state of Canada, and the measures to be adopted for the safety of the country.

12th November, 1685.

Lenthy discourses are not required to prove that the principal means of maintaining and increasing a Colony is to keep it in peace with its neighbors, so that the people may be enabled to devote the whole of their time to agriculture and the formation of their settlements, being no longer called aside by the necessity of taking up arms to attack an enemy and to protect themselves from the insults they are liable to experience. But as it is impossible to rely on neighboring nations, especially when they do not govern themselves by religion nor by any laws that have formed since the creation of the world the two guides which God has placed in the hands of Kings for the conduct of the people whom His Providence has confided to their care, 'tis indubitable that measures must be adopted to secure and guarantee the country against insults to which it is exposed from those Infidels.

The first precaution necessary to be taken is to reassemble the Colony with great care in order to concentrate its forces, and so act that each inhabitant may be aided by his neighbor in case of need.

Forts, redoubts and retrenchments must not be forgotten, as well for the safety of the inhabitants as for the security of their cattle and other property.

I am pursuaded that the first who had the management of the Colony of New France did not omit anything essential in those principals; they have so frequently seen their necessity that experience, united to their own good conduct, caused them to adopt similiar resolutions wherein we now witness in New France but the vestiges of their wisdom. I am, thereby satisfied that care enough has not been taken to carry out their intentions, which appeared to me quite conformable to the King's orders, though these have not been afterwards so closely followed as they ought to have been. For, doubtless the Colony of New France would not be so exposed as it is to the insults of the feeblest enemy that will make his appearance, were it not as it seems to me from the situation of the greatest portion of the settlements, that private applications have been listened to, and every thing granted without any reflection. What is most to be regretted herein is, that for the present there is no remedy except the hope of seeing an increase of population, consequent on the large number of children I see around who, in order to be near their relatives, will possibly settle in their neighborhood.

The best I can do on my side is, to decidedly oppose any person settling beyond our most distant plantation. The principal cause of that wide separation of settlements proceeds, I have remarked. from the desire each has to be in advance of all others, so as to obtain the most peltries; and this is so true, that, if it be not checked I believe settlements will be pushed as far as the Outaouacs. This will not assuredly happen, so long as the King will leave me in this country.

Throughout the entire of New France there is not a single redoubt *(reduit)* except the Castle of Quebec, which, within a few years, resembles only a private establishment, open day and night to every comer, without a single gate capable of being closed.

The post of three rivers is formed of lofty palisades, without doors or gates, and without flanks except two large turrets begun last year which are entirely exposed and unfinished. Nevertheless, that post is of importance, and might have been located more favorably had it been placed nearer the three mouths of the river. But this change is no longer feasible.

On the Island of Montreal there is no sign of a redoubt except at the Indian mission of the Mountain which M. de Belmont has had inclosed with great care and industry.

Thus it may be said with truth, that from River du Loup to the point *(la pointe)* of the Island of Montreal, a distance of more than one hundred leagues, there is not a solitary spot affording the sem-

blance of shelter from an enemy. The general census which I have caused to be taken will show the number of inhabitants in all those settlements; by following the two banks of the river, an opinion will be thus formed how far apart the settlements must be, the one from the other.

The views that ought to be entertained for the support and strengthening of the Colony, until the number of children increase and multiply, would, it appears to me beforehand, be to populate as much as possible the Island of Montreal and to have it surrounded *(d'en faire achever le circuit)* by a greater number of settlers; if that were completed as commenced, no hostile Indian could come on the island without being discovered. That island is twenty-five leagues in circumference; ten leagues remain still to be cleared, eight leagues on the north, and two on the west side, to complete that circle. To accelerate this, it would be necessary that the gentlemen of the Seminary could construct, as soon as possible, two or three mills and two churches, to attract settlers thither. Some offer themselves already on these conditions. M^{r}. Dolier, their Superior, told me he wished it done, but that the erection of the Seminary and of the Church had retarded it; indeed, they did not adopt the resolution of building a house for themselves until they had great need of it, for no persons can be worse lodged than the ecclesiastics. Too much care cannot be taken to people this island which is of itself very fertile and, from its situation at the head of the entire country, must, if thickly settled, be the strength and support of the whole Colony, inasmuch as all the places against which the foe would like to make a demonstration, are accessible from this point.

It would, for a thousand good reasons, be of consequence, also, to enlarge the town of Villemarie. This, could easily be effected by insisting that the Indian trade should be carried on, not in every private place in the settlements but exclusively in the town, as regulated by the King's order communicated in a letter of My Lord de Colbert of the 15th of April, 1676, whereupon an arrêt of the Sovereign Council of Quebec was issued, dated the 5th of October of the same year, which had no more effect than the King's commands.

To avoid being too prolix, it is proper to conclude these reflections in order to make a few observations on the enemy, whose position affords a better opportunity for annoying the colony; and to consider the remedies required in such case.

The Iroquois are the most formidable; they are the most powerful by reason of the facility they possess of procuring arms from the English, and in consequence of the number of prisoners *(esclaves)* they daily make among their neighbors, whose children they carry off at an early age and adopt. This is their only means of increase, for in consequence of their drunken debaucheries which impel them into frightful disorders, the few children their wives bear could not assuredly sustain them alone did they not make prisoners.

Their large purchases of arms and ammunition from the English, at a low rate, have given them hitherto all the advantage they possess over other tribes, who in consequence of being disarmed, have been destroyed by the Iroquois, all of whom are proud of the act. Even the English in Virginia have suffered and still daily suffer from them, but the gain of the merchant of Orange and Manatte is paramount to every public interest, for were he not to sell the Iroquis powder, that nation would be more easily conquered than any other. It consists of five principal tribes *(villages)* each of which has other small dependencies. The first calls itself Mohawk *(Anie)* and can muster two hundred men fit for service; it is ten leagues from Orange. The second is Oneida, *(Oneyoust)* between 15 and 20 leagues of the Mohawks, which can muster one hundred and fifty men. The third is Onontagué, a hundred leagues from Montreal; it can muster three hundred men. The fourth is Cayuga, *(Goyoguoain)* twelve leagues distant from Lake Ontario, which can furnish two hundred men, and the Senecas *(Sonontouans)* are the fifth. The last consist, it is said, of twelve hundred fighting men, and are five leagues south of the lake.

The Senecas being the strongest are the most indolent. Their subjugation need never be expected except we be in a position to surprise them. This cannot be effected without approaching nearer to them; occupying some post into which supplies may be thrown for the troops that will go in quest of those savages. In accomplishing this so opportunely as not to alarm the enemy, consists all the trouble and difficulty, both because of the distance and of the navigation of the river which is full of rapids and cascades impassable except by portages.

The post of Catarak8y appears to me the most advantageous, if it were placed in a better posture of defence. It is at the mouth of Lake Ontario, from the head of which the Senacas are only five or six leagues distant in a beautiful country towards the south.

That fort is in a good position to afford vessels protection from storms and Indian attacks, on the outlay of some trifling expense which will be required for that purpose. The nearest point to the Senecas is forty or fifty leagues across this Lake. The three vessels at Catarak8y will be of vast use in this expedition, when thoroughly repaired, for they are greatly neglected.

The plan of this fort demonstrates that it might have been more advantageously situated were it at the extremity of the tongue of land which is capable of being isolated by cutting a ditch on the land side. A wall twenty-five feet high, flanked with demi-bastions *(demi-tours)* would, in my opinion, be sufficient against Savages who do not make use of cannon.

It appears to me of extreme importance that the King make himself absolute master of this lake, which is more than three hundred

leagues in circumference. I am persuaded that the English would like very much to have a post there. This would be a great prejudice to the colony and to the King's power on this continent of which his Majesty can easily make himself master, without any opposition, by the permanent establishment of a post with some vessels on this lake, and by another fort and some vessels on Lake Erie, which, by the Niagara river, is only two leagues distant from Lake Ontario. But as such a post cannot be erected until after the Iroquois are conquered, I shall, before entering into the detail of the means of mastering that Nation, again repeat, as regards the importance of occupying those posts, that the English have so great a facility for establishing themselves there, that nothing save the power alone of the Iroquois prevents them from having posts there; inasmuch as it is quite easy to go from Manatte and Orange to Lake Ontario on horseback, the distance being only one hundred leagues through a beautiful country.

The importance of the post to be established on Lake Erie is quite clear, since vessels can very easily go from that lake to Missilimakina, which would afford considerable facility to the trade of the country and keep the Outaouacs in check and in the King's obedience. That lake would, moreover, enable us to take the Illinois by the hand, whilst communication by vessels would remove a great many impediments met with in the rivers from the numerous portages. Our cruisers having rendered us masters of these two lakes, the English would lose all the beaver trade of that quarter, which is very considerable.

A permanent peace with the Iroquois would be of more benefit to the Colony than a proclamation of war; but they act so insolently and haughtily towards all the other tribes with which they are at war, and at whose expense they daily recruit their strength, and have derived such advantage from an unfavorable peace concluded last year with us, that they are placed in a position, we may be assured, to break with us on the very first opportunity. It is still more certain that if not checked, they will, at the moment when there will be no more troops in this country, reassume on the first opportunity their original insolent tone, and without doubt insult us and inflict on us all possible injuries, no matter what promises they may make at present.

The question is, then, to discover the most sure means to humble and conquer the Five nations which, according to the account above cited, can place about two thousand men under arms, and in a state to take the field.

I estimate that the Regulars and militia with some Indians that we could muster, would be sufficient to encounter them; but as it is not enough to make them retreat, and as it is necessary to deprive them of all means to disturb us in our settlements, we must not go

to their country to chastise them by halves but, if possible, to annihilate them. This cannot be effected without the aid of a considerable number of Indians in order to be able to pursue them pretty effectually into the distant forests in the direction of Merilande and Endastes, whither they will retreat if they see that we are stronger than they. And as it is of great consequence not to declare war against them except we be able to crush them, it is of absolute necessity to take measures to induce the Illinois their enemies, and the Indians our allies, to unite with us, to attack and pursue them into the woods whither they will not fail to retire, as they will not dare to stand before us. For, as it would be very unfortunate not to crush them when attacked, nothing ought to be left undone to endeavor to destroy them and to put it out of their power to injure the Colony. Should we succeed the English, I reckon, will lose their trade in that quarter.

I find all our allies so discontented with us, and so dissatisfied at the fruitless voyage we caused them to make last year, that I do not think, from what I learn, that we can calculate on any of them.

Prior, then, to engaging in a war, I considered it my duty to permit the continuance of the negotiations of a certain Onondaga Indian of influence among them and the other Iroquois, who say they desire only peace. Meanwhile I thought it proper to set about managing the Illinois by promising them every protection; and as Chevalier de Tonty, who commands the fort on behalf of M^{r}. de Lasalle, is in great favor with them, I considered it my duty to advise him of my arrival, and of the necessity that existed for my speaking to him as soon as possible on the King's service.

I have also sent to M^{r}. de Ladurantaye who is at Lake Superior by M^{r}. de Labarre's orders; and to Sieur Duluth, who is likewise at a great distance in another direction, and all so far beyond reach that neither the one nor the other will be able to receive news from me this year; so that, not being able to see them all at the earliest before the month of July next, I have concluded that I ought not, and could not think of undertaking anything during the entire of the next year; especially as a great number of our best Colonists are among the Outaouacs, and cannot return before next summer.

Being, moreover, informed that six Nations of our friends and allies are at war with each other, it is absolutely necessary to establish peace among them before thinking of making them in any way useful. I have sent some presents and an order to M^{r}. de Ladurantaye to collect our Frenchmen and to place himself at their head, so as to back his arguments and to have more authority to reconcile them in conjunction with Father Angelran, a Jesuit Missionary, who is at Missilimakina.

Meanwhile, we shall lose no time in putting ourselves in a condition to repel any insults the Iroquois may offer the Colony, which

would suffer seriously were we overpowered. Neither will we neglect any negotiations that may present themselves to lull the Senecas, who are the most insolent, and from whom we are not to expect any assured peace, still less its observance with our allies, whom they are determined utterly to exterminate.

On the arrival, next July, of Chevalier de Tonty, commandant of Mr. de Lasalle's fort at the Illinois. we shall arrange together our future plans to insure success in crushing that Nation. I expect to accomplish it if he can march with a sufficient force of the Illinois in the rear of Lake Erié, and come to Niagara, as Sieur de Laforest, who was in command at Catarokŏy, has assured me he could do. This officer has also informed me that four to five hundred guns, with some powder, will be required to arm these tribes. It will be only an advance, which Sieur de Laforest pledges himself to cause the said Sieur de Tonty to reimburse in cash.

Said Sieur de Laforest having requested my permission to go and join Sieur de Tonty on Mr. De Lasalle's business, I considered it my duty to select a person capable of answering for the safety of the post at Catarokŏy. I have chosen Sieur D'orvilliers, a man of much prudence and intelligence, and of great experience, whose conduct during Mr. de la Barre's administration elicited the praise and approbation of every respectable person in the country.

I have given him for a garrison his company, with some mechanics as well to refit the vessels as to repair the barracks, and to place the fort in as good a condition as possible for passing the winter securely there.

And as there is a great recourse of Iroquois to, and even a number of them settled at that post, I have requested the Jesuit Fathers to appoint Father Milet to that mission to act as Interpreter, and and to coöperate with Father de Lamberville, a missionary among the Onontagués, who express a desire for peace.

As regards Sieur Duluth, I have sent him orders to wait on me, so that I may learn from himself the number of Indians on which I can reckon. He possesses influence among them, and rendered great services to Mr de Labarre, by bringing to Niagara a considerable number of Indians for him, who would have, of themselves, attacked the Senecas had not Mr. de Labarre expressly forbidden them.

On arriving here I found neither bateaux nor canoes for our troops. As men are absolutely useless without means of conveying them from one place to another, and knowing by experience that canoes cost too much, and require too much attention and repair, I thought I could not do better than to give orders for the preparation of plank for a hundred flat bottomed boats, which will carry twice as much as canoes, and be much cheaper, and need less repairs. Because a bateau capable of carrying two thousand pounds weight, will not cost more than a canoe which will carry only one.

The means for waging war with the King's approbation, against the Iroquis, without exciting any suspicion on their part, remain to be considered.

It is highly desirable that sufficient flour and other provision should be thrown next year into Catarokoy, so as to have nothing to do the year following except to march against the enemy. But as I consider it impossible to convey thither the entire quantity of provisions necessary without giving umbrage to the Indians, who are naturally suspicious, it will be necessary to adopt measures to effect the whole, with extraordinary diligence, in the course of the same year. This will not be accomplished without trouble and expense; for, in truth, the passage of the rapids and cascades, which embrace from twenty to thirty leagues, is attended with considerable difficulty.

This is not all; for it is well to reflect that it will not be easy to make arrangements for a punctual rendezvous as the Illinois have to travel four hundred leagues before they arrive at Niagara, the place of meeting; and the Outaouacs and Indians of Lake Superior three hundred leagues, and as it is nearly two hundred from Quebec to Niagara. All this must compel me to devise arrangements whereby I will be able alone to beat them without any other aid than what the country will afford.

The transportation of supplies and the expense attendant thereupon are my sole difficulty. The environs of Catarokoy, though not favorable for grain, produce good peas. M[r] de Laforest assured me that he has nearly three hundred bushels of them. I caused orders to be sent him to plant the entire lot, and M[r] D'orvilliers has instructions not to permit any of them to be consumed but to set his soldiers to work, to plant them. This would afford a trifling supply of four or five hundred minots for next year.

The statements of the cost of conveying flour to Catarakoy exhibit the great expense of freight which cannot be had less. I have witnessed the last convoy, I have seen the difficulties, which had been in some degree diminished by a few passages I caused to be made. More might be effected, but a large expense would have to be incurred to render the river navigable. By remarking the pitch at some points on the map I caused to be made of it, some feeble idea may be formed of those difficulties.

We have treated of the avowed enemy of the colony, and of the means of getting rid of him. It is well to consider whether the English are not equally, if not more to be feared, and whether we must not take as much care to protect ourselves against them.

The situation of the convenient posts and good harbors occupied by these English on the sea coast South of this country, gives them such an advantage over us, that did it afford only the means of navigation at all seasons, this would still be too much.

Since they have been on this continent, they have taken particular pains to erect three large towns, which owing to their good conduct have become very populous. Trade flourishes in consequence of the abundance of beaver they derive from the Indians who eagerly repair to them, because their goods are cheaper than ours; and of the fisheries that nation has forestalled on us through our weakness in Acadia, the coast of which abounds more with fish than theirs.

This fishery though in the King's dominion has been for a long time free to them; it has made them very powerful in our own territory which has scarcely any trade except with them, as it possesses but very little with France; and the few furs obtained from Acadia are all exported to the English.

This, in addition to seeing them among our enemies, the Iroquois, whom they aid, sustain, is not the only inconvenience we experience at their hands; we also see them establishing themselves at the North Bay, where they will be more injurious to us than in the direction of Acadia: For if their establishments continue as they have begun at the three places on that Bay which they actually occupy, and on the river Bourbon or Port Nelson, we must expect to see all the best of the Beaver Trade, both as to quality and quantity, in the hands of the English.

If not expelled thence, they will get all the fat beaver from an infinite number of nations at the North which are being discovered every day; they will attract the greatest portion of the peltries that reach us at Montreal through the Outanouacs and Assinibois, and other neighboring tribes, for these will derive a double advantage from going in search of the English at Port Nelson—they will not have so far to go, and will find goods at a much lower rate than with us. That is evident from the fact that our Frenchmen have seen quite recently at Port Nelson, some Indians who were known to have traded several years ago at Montreal.

The posts at the head of the Bay, adjoining the rivers Abitibis, and Nimisco can be reached through the woods and seized; our Frenchmen are acquainted with the road. But in regard to the posts occupied by the English in the River Bourbon, or Port Nelson, it is impossible to hold any post below them, and convey merchandise thither except by sea. Some pretend that it is feasible to go there overland, but the river to reach that quarter remains yet to be discovered, and when discovered, could only admit the conveyance of a few men and not of any merchandise. The best informed on this subject agree herein.

The most certain safeguard against the English of New-York would be to purchase it from the King of England who, in the present state of his affairs will, doubtless, stand in need of the King's money. We would, thus, be masters of the Iroquois without a war.

In regard to Hudson's Bay (*du Nord*), should the King not think proper to enforce the reasons his Majesty has for opposing the usurpations of the English on his lands, by the just titles proving his Majesty's possession of it long before the English had any knowledge of said country, nothing is to be done but to find means to support the Company of said Bay formed in Canada by the privilege his Majesty has been pleased this year to grant his subjects of New France, and to furnish them, for some years, a few vessels of one hundred and twenty tons only, well armed and equipped. I hope, with this aid, our Canadians will support this affair which will, otherwise, perish of itself, whilst the English merchants, more powerful than our Canadians, will with good ships continue their trade, whereby they will enrich themselves at the expense of the Colony and of the King's revenue.

FRENCH RIGHT TO THE IROQUOIS COUNTRY.

Memoir in proof of the Right of the French to the Iroquois country and to Hudson's Bay.

The French were the first discoverers of New France, otherwise called Canada and all the circumjacent countries. Francis I. sent out Verazzano, a Florentine, in 1523, who discovered from the 33^{d} to the 47th degree, and Jacques Cartier of Saint Malo, in 1534 and 1535, who discovered the Island of Newfoundland and ascended the River Saint Lawrence up to the Saut Saint Louis.

These facts are proved by all the Relations that have been written since, and particularly by those of Champlain, pages 9 and 10, and of L'Escarbot, pages 3 and 29.

These discoveries having been made, the French have always continued in the design of maintaining themselves therein. To secure those countries, the same King Francis granted a Commission in 1540 to Sieur de la Roche Robertval.

Although King Henry III. found himself greatly occupied by the Civil Wars, he did not wish to abandon the right he possessed over North America. On the 12th January, 1598, he appointed the Marquis de Costenmeal and de la Roche his Lieutenant-general in the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, Newfoundland, La Brador, the River of the Great Bay or River Saint Lawrence, River of Norembegue and countries adjacent to said provinces and rivers. There is one thing very remarkable in these letters patent: They mention that those countries were not inhabited by any subjects of Christian princes. L'Escarbot gives them at length; page 434.

Sieur de Mons likewise was appointed Lieutenant-general in the said Countries on the 8th 9ber, 1603. Next, Sieur Champlain succeeded Sieur Damons and labored more successfully than all his predecessors to discover all the interior of the country. He says himself, that from 1604 up to 1620 he has been more than 500 leagues into the interior of New France; that he defeated the Iroquois, explored *(reconnu)* and took possession of their River, and that he ascended that of Saguena towards the North. The Relation of Sieur L'Escarbot, printed in 1612, confirms the same thing. At page 450, he says, that they had received intelligence from upwards of five hundred leagues beyond the 1st Sault of the River Saint Lawrence including the Great Lake it flows from, and that they likewise had a knowledge of the Saguena country toward the Northwest, and of the Iroquois country to the Southwest.

Sieur Champlain who commanded in New France made divers voyages thither up to 1630. There was also a company established under Sieur de Caen's name, but as those interested thought more of their private interests than of permanent establishments, Louis XIII. dissolved that Company, and on the 29th April, 1627, a new one was organized to which the King conceded the entire Country of New France, called Canada, in latitude from Florida which his Majesty's Royal predecessors had had settled, keeping along the sea coasts as far as the Arctic Circle, and in longitude from the Island of Newfoundland westward to the Great Lake called The Fresh Sea and beyond, both along the Coasts and into the interior and along the rivers flowing there and discharging themselves into the River Saint Lawrence and into all the other rivers that convey them to the sea.

It is certain that all the Iroquois lands are included within that concession, inasmuch as Sieur Champlain took possession of them and as the discoveries previously made extend much farther; also the North, or Hudson's Bay, inasmuch as it is on this side of the Arctic Circle.

Since that time the French have continued their commerce within the countries of the said Grant. In 1656, Jean Bourdon ran along the entire coast of Labrador with a vessel of 30 tons, entered and took possession of the North Bay. This is proved by an Extract of the ancient Register of the Council of New France of the 26th of August of said year.

In 1661, the Indians of said North Bay came expressly to Quebec to confirm the good understanding that existed with the French, and to ask for a Missionary. Father Dablon went overland thither with Sieur De La Vallière and others. Father Dablon has given his certificate of the fact. In 1663, those Indians returned to Quebec to demand other Frenchmen. Sieur D'Avaugour, then governor, sent Sieur Couture thither with five others. Said Sieur Couture

took possession anew of the head *(fonds)* of said Bay, whither he went overland, and there set up the King's arms, engraved on copper. This is proved by Sieur D'Avaugour's order of the 20th May, 1663, and the certificates of those who were sent there.

In 1671, Sieur de Saint Lusson was sent by Sieur Talon, Intendant in Canada to the Sault Saint Mary at the Outa was, where all the Nations a hundred leagues around, to the number of 17, repaired and voluntarily submitted themselves to his Majesty's dominion. Said Sieur de Saint Lusson afterwards erected the Cross there, and affixed thereto his Majesty's arms. These Seventeen Nations included all those of the Outawas, and of the entire of Lake Huron, those of Lake Superior, of the whole Northern country and of Hudson's Bay, of la Baie des Puans and of the Lake of the Illinois, as is proved by the Relations thereof which were sent by the said Sieur Talon, and by the procès-verbal of the taking of Possession.

As regards the country of the Iroquois there have been divers entries *(prises)* into possession.

In 1656, Sieur de Lauzon, Governor of New France caused a fort to be built on the lake named Gannontaë some leagues from Onnontagué and placed a garrison in it, and so regarded the country as belonging to his Majesty that he made grants of land whereof the Actes are proof.

In 1666, Sieur Talon concluded a treaty with the Iroquois, and possession was in consequence taken of their lands and forts which is proved by the aforesaid Treaty and the original Record of the entry into possession. The Dutch of Manatte, to whose rights the English succeeded, did not make any opposition thereunto.

In 1669 was renewed the entry into possession of the lands of the Iroquois of Lake Erie. Sieurs Dolier and Galinée, who were present, gave their certificate thereof which is reported.

The English in justification of their pretended right to the North Bay may allege that they made the first discovery thereof; that in 1479 Sebastien Cabot was towards Labrador to discover some passages; but he returned without effecting any thing. In 1576, 77, 78, Martin Frobisher made three voyages thither. Seven years afterwards, Humphrey Guilbert was there also and, after that, John Davis who discovered the Straits which bear his name. Etienne Pennemud was in 1583 on the North east coast of Newfoundland; sometime afterwards Richard Witaboux went to the same coast, in 1590 Captain Georges also went towards the North, and in 1612, Maner, an English Captain, went again to the North where he found a passage in the 63d degree; finally, that in 1662 they established themselves there, having been conducted thither by Radisson and des Groselliers to the head *(fonds)* of the North Bay.

The English cannot derive any advantage from all these voyages, because those who went as far as the 56th degree have only explored

some small portions of the coasts of Labrador without entering into the North Bay and without making any sojourn or establishment there, and the others who proceeded further, were merely in search of the passage whereby they could go Westward to the East Indies without intending to make any settlement, and he who approached the nearest to port Nelson was only about the 63ª degree. Had the English in making their voyages any other design than to discover the said passages, they would not have failed to obtain grants of the countries they discovered, as they had done of Florida in 1607, and of the North Bay when they were conducted thither.

The settlement made by the English in 1662 at the head of the North Bay does not give them any title, because it has been already remarked, that the French were in possession of those countries, and had traded with the Indians of that Bay, which is proved still better by the knowledge the men named Desgroselliers and Radisson had of those parts where they introduced the English. They had traded there, no doubt, with the old French Coureurs de bois. Besides, it is a thing unheard of that rebellious subjects could convey any right to countries belonging to their Sovereign.

The English have still less right to the Iroquois country. It has been established by the Memoir on Acadia that their settlement on the Coast of Florida was a pure usurpation; that, even though the grant made by the King James I., in 1607, were valid, it could include, even according to the terms of that Grant, only countries not inhabited at that time, and it is certain that the French were then in possession as far as the 40th degree, and that Sieur Champlain had already discovered and taken possession of the country of the Iroquois, as can be seen in his Relation.

MEMOIR OF M. DE DENONVILLE ON THE FRENCH LIMITS IN NORTH AMERICA.

Memoir explanatory of the Right the French have to the property of the Countries of North America, especially the South part of Acadia, from Pantagouet to the River Kinibeky; of the Countries of the Iroquois and Hudson's Bay, with the posts occupied there by them and by the English, sent to the Court for its information by the Marquis de Denonville, the King's Governor and Lieutenant-General in New France.

Done at Versailles, the 8th March of the present year, 1688.

Signed, *LOUIS.*

And lower down, *COLBERT.*

Sieur de Champlain has treated this question very fully in his Book entituled: *Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France occidentale, dite Canada, par le S^r de Champlain. A Paris, chez Pierre Le Mur, dans la grande salle du Palais*, 1632.

At p. 290, towards the end of that work, Sieur de Champlain makes a sort of dissertation which clearly decides the question. He gives it this title:

"Abstract of the discoveries of New France, as well of what we, as of what the English have discovered from the Virginias to Davis Strait, as of what they and we can pretend to according to the report of the Historians who have written thereupon, as I report below, which will enable every one to judge dispassionately of the whole.

If a desire exist, then, to treat this matter thoroughly, and to be perfectly informed of the right of the French and of the English, it is necessary only to read that Abstract of Sieur de Champlain; every thing will be found very well examined, and it will appear that the French have taken possession of all the Countries, from Florida to Cape Breton prior to any other Christian Prince.

For, to quote only a few words of what that Abstract contains, it will be seen there:

That in 1504, the Bretons and the Normands first discovered the Great Bank and Newfoundland as can be seen in the History of Wiflet Sieur de Magin, printed at Douay.

In 1523, Jean Varason, in virtue of a Commission from Francis I., took possession of the territory beginning at the 33^d degree of Latitude as far as 47^th.

In 1535, Gibault and Laudonnière having gone to Florida by authority of King Charles IX., to inhabit and cultivate that country, founded Carolina there in the 35^th and 36^th degrees.

But particularly in 1603 and following years, Sieur de Champlain being in Canada was in command of that Colony, and in 1609, went with two other Frenchmen into Lake Champlain, of which he took possession in the name of King Henry IV., and called it after himself; and he relates, in his book of Voyages, that after he had discovered Lake Champlain, he was as far as the Country of the Iroquois.

In the years 1611 and 1612, he ascended the Grand River as far as Lake Huron, called the Fresh Sea; he went thence to the Petun Nation, next to the Neutral Nation and then to the Macoutins who were then residing near the place called the Sakiman; from that he went to the Algonquin and Huron tribes, at war against the Iroquois. He passed by places he has, himself, described in his book, which are no other than Detroit and Lake Erié.

And as it is an established custom and right recognized among ll Christian Nations, that the first discoverers of an unknown

Country not inhabited by Europeans, who plant the arms of their Prince there, acquire the property of that Country for that Prince in whose name they have taken possession of it.

On that principle and no author being found who states that the English had taken possession of the countries of Canada, or discovered them, unless subsequently to the French, they having come to the countries of Canada, Virginia and Florida only in 1594, whilst the French took possession of them in 1504, 1523 and 1564, which fact the English cannot question, inasmuch as Jacques Cartier visited in 1534 all the coasts of that country; his Relations and those of Alphonse Xaintongois and Verazon attest it, and are inserted at length in the Collections of divers accounts which Purchas and Hackluit, Englishmen, have published in London, in their language. And it is notorious that Sieur Champlain did for many years prosecute the fur trade at the place where Boston now stands, and further down towards the North or East, along the same Coast, during more than ten years, before any English or Dutch inhabited that quarter.

The foundation of the English pretences is this:—About the year 1594, some Englishmen being on the Coasts of Florida, arrived at a place they called Mocosa, and which they since named Virginia. James, King of England, granted them, for their encouragement, great privileges, among others to extend their right from the 33^{d} degree to the 45th or 46th. The Royal Charter was issued on the 10th of April, 1607, in these words: *Potestatem facimus occupandi possidendique tractus omnes ad gradum usque quadragesimum quintum ita si a christianorum principe nulli teneantur.*

This is all the foundation the English have; it is manifestly null, because it is stated in the above Letters patent of King James:—We grant them all the countries up to the 45th degree not possessed by any Christian Prince. Now, it is indubitable that at the date of the aforesaid Grant, the King of France was in possession of at least up to the 40th degree of Latitude, the place where the Dutch since settled.

And in 1603, commander de Chastes was Lieutenant-General for the Most Christian King in New France from the 40th to the 52nd degree and it is even certain, as already stated, that, as early as the year 1523, Jean Varason took possession of all the countries from the 33rd to the 47th degree.

And in 1564 the French, in the name of Charles IX., took possession of Florida in the 35th and 36th degrees, where Carolina was situate. All this is clearly seen in the above Abstract of Sieur de Champlain, which it is well to consult in order to have fuller knowledge thereof.

Almost all the same matter can be likewise seen in the History of New France published by Sieur L'Escarbot, *a Paris chez Jean Milloit, devant S^{t} Barthelemy, aux Trois Couronnes, 1612.*

The King's Edict of the Month of May, 1664, will also show among other things, that the property of Canada, Acadia, the Island of Newfoundland &c. the Main lands from the North of Canada unto Virginia and Florida, did belong to the West India Company, to which it was granted by the King, as far and as deep as they could extend into the interior. This is proved by an Extract of said two Edicts, signed Panvset, chief clerk of the Sovereign Council at Quebec. App. A.

And by another revoking said Company, of the Month of December, 1674, his Majesty has united to and incorporated with the Domain of his Crown all the said lands and countries, to wit, among others, Canada or New France, Acadia, the Island of Newfoundland and other Islands and the Mainland from the North of said country of Canada unto Virginia and Florida.

Acadia having been taken by the English from the French during the war between France and England, and peace being, afterwards, concluded between the two Crowns, Chevalier de Grandfontaine, his most Christian Majesty's Commander throughout the entire coasts and countries of Acadia, and Chevalier Temple, Lieutenant-General and Governor of those countries for the King of Great Britain, made a Treaty at Boston on the 7th July, 1670, restoring to France the forts of Pentagouet, of the River St. John, Port Royal, Cape Sable, La Heve and generally all the lands and rivers comprehended within the said country of Acadia, conformably to his Britannic Majesty's letter, of which Sieur de Grandfontaine was bearer, and Articles X. and XI. of the Treaty of Breda, as is to be seen by the said Treaty of the 7th July, 1670.

In consequence whereof, said Sieur de Grandfontaine on the 14th of August following, commissioned Sieur de Marson, sub-Lieutenant, to take possession of Port Royal and of the fort of the River St John. (as is proved by the aforesaid Treaties and Commissions found in the files of the Sovereign Council at Quebec, produced under collation. Signed PENVCET. App. B.) whence it appears that said Sieur de Grandfontaine was at Pentagouet; wherefore, it is to be noted that Sr. Andros, Governor of Boston, ought not to have, this year 1688, plundered Sieur de St. Castin, at Pentagouet, as he has done.

It is also to be remarked that, besides the said treaty concluded between said Chevalier de Grandfontaine and Chevalier Temple, they have concluded still another which bounds the country of Acadia and separates it from that which the English occupy by the River Kinibéki. Mr. de Grandfontaine and Mr. Temple ought to have each a duplicate thereof. A copy of it has been seen in the hands of Mr. Richard Denis de Fronsac, or of Jean Fevrean St Aubin, inhabitants of Acadia. Sieur Denis, father of said Sieur de Frontenac has written the history of Acadia, to which reference may be had.

Other titles and papers, proving the French right to that country, can also be found in Acadia by researches that can be made there on the spot, which is at too great a distance from this place. See thereupon, the Memoir entituled—Of the Right which the French may have to the South part of Acadia, from Pentagouet to the River Kinnibéky; also marked 20.

And to come to the right of property the French have over the country of the Iroquois. In addition to what has been already stated of Sieur de Champlain, he has been, twice at war, (in that country) long before the Dutch or English of Manat or Orange had set foot on shore, which also is proved, by the Relations already mentioned, on extract whereof, which must be read at length, forms App. C. Not to mention the fact that the King has, for over forty years, kept at his own expense, in the Iroquois country, several Frenchmen who with some Jesuit missionaries, have been to build and have resided in the five Iroquois cantons all at the same time, down to these latter days when the rumors of war forced them to retire, one after another.

In 1656, M^{r}. de Lauzon, the King's Governor and Lieutenant-General in New France, sent, at the solicitation of the Iroquois themselves, into their country, to a place called Ganentaa, as many as sixty Frenchmen including a Garrison of twelve soldiers under the command of Sieur Dupuis, who caused to be constructed at that place a Royal fort whither were conveyed four pieces of Bronze Cannon, which have remained there, and will be found again by the French who were there at the time and are still living. This is proved by said Sieur Dupuis' commission of the 15th May, 1656. App. D.; by the discharges *(conges)* granted by said Sieur Dupuis to some of the Soldiers of the Garrison of Ganentaa, on the 1st and 8th September, 1657; by the account of the said Soldiers; by an Order of the Council of the last of April, 1658, and by another Order of said Council of 19th May, 1656, for the payment of the repair *(refraction)* of the arms of said soldiers, the whole being on the same sheet, Signed Penvcet, App. E. In which country, the said sixty Frenchmen cleared, and planted lands with French grain and other legumes, built many large houses, (Statement of the payments and wages made to said Sr. Dupuys and Soldiers by the Commissary of stores, from 26 Nov^{r}., 1657; also signed Penvcet. App. F.) and lived there peaceably and without any opposition on the part of those who were then in possession of Manat and Orange, who, far from being masters of the country of the Iroquois, purchased from them some portion of their lands, when they wished for any, as they still do at present. And what is worthy of remark is that the Iroquois themselves came in 1655, on an Embassy to Quebec to request of said Sieur de Lauzon, those sixty Soldiers aforesaid, and conducted them, the following year to the said place of Ganentaa; where they located,

established, and put them in possession, (Inquest made by the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, the 29 and 30th October, 1688. App. G.) and where they remained until the Iroquois having committed some acts of hostility in the direction of Montreal, the Commander of said Fort thought proper to retire with his garrison in order to protect the sixty men aforesaid from the wicked designs the Iroquois had concocted against them.

And in order to show that the country of the Iroquois was at the the disposition of the Governor of Quebec to make grants thereof in the same manner as of the other lands of his government, it is worthy of remark that, at the time Sieur Dupuis was sent with his soldiers on the part of the King, to construct the aforesaid Fort of Ganentaa and garrison it, Mr. de Lauzon made a grant in due form of a part of said lands to the Jesuit missionary fathers, who were of the sixty Frenchmen aforesaid. (The Deed is dated, the 12th of April, 1656. App. H.)

In 1655, as is proved by the copy of the articles of peace of the 13th December, 1665, collation whereof is certified by Penvcet, App. I., the four Iroquois Nations of Onnontagué, Oneida, Cayuga, and Seneca being come to sue for peace, it was granted them by Mr de Tracy according to the terms thereon concluded.

And in order to check the Mohawk Indians, who were frequently coming to kill our French people even in their settlements, Mr de Tracy went with an armed force in 1666 as far as their country of which he made himself master, and set up the King's arms there, taking by that means possession anew of the Iroquois territory without any opposition on the part of the English who were then at Manatte and at Orange. This is proved by the *prise de possession* thereof drawn up on the 17th October, 1666, by Sieur Dubois, for Mr Talon the King's Intendant, by Acte passed before Duguet Notary, who had, for this purpose, accompanied the Army. App. L.

And what adds great weight to all this is, that, besides the taking possession or the Mohawk country by said Sieur de Tracy with an armed force in the fall of the year 1666, the Deputies of the other four Iroquois Nations came to said Mr de Tracy in 1667, and in due form, by an Act signed on the one part and the other, by the Iroquois after their fashion, and by us after ours, did give themselves to the French and placed their country under the King's dominion. The originals have been approved and carried to France at the request of Mr Talon, the then Intendant.

Since that time, our Frenchman have always carried on trade with the Iroquois; Mr Courcelles having gone up with a number of French to Lake Ontario, to the place named Katarakui where the said Iroquois being, they were [he was] received by the latter as their Father; and in the year 1673, Count de Frontenac having gone to Katarakui, likewise accompanied by a number of Frenchmen, had

a Royal fort to be erected there where the King has always kept a garrison and a Governor, whom Sieur de Frontenac caused to build at the said Katarakui divers barks which have always navigated and traded with the Senecas and other Iroquois as far as Niagara, where Sieur de la Salle (as is proved by two writings drawn up by Sieur De la Salle for the benefit of Moyse Hilser, dated at Fort Crevecœur the 1st and 2nd March 1680 which affords evidence of said Sieur De la Salle's residence and trade at Niagara in 1676. App. N.) had built in 1676, a store, a forge and other buildings for the greater accommodation of the trade with the said Senecas and other Iroquois, who used to come to us in the French settlements at Katarakui and Niagara (See the Procès Verbal of the new entry into possession of said peace of Niagara by the Marquis de Denonville, last July, 1687, on the return march of the army commanded by him against the Senecas, signed by Collation Penvcet. App. O.) and this trade has continued, and our Frenchmen have always had peaceable possession of the Iroquois Country, going and coming to their villages and many residing with the Missionaries there, until the war with the Iroquois having broke out, the Frenchmen, Missionaries and others were obliged to withdraw, (See also the two last depositions in said inques theretofore lettered G., and by the Act of the New Entry into possession of the Country of the Senecas, dated 19 July, 1687. App . . . 21.) whereupon Colonel Dongan, Governor of New-York, took occasion, in 1684, to send to the Iroquois village to set up the arms of the King of England therein and to take possession thereof, offering them powder and other munitions of war to induce them to admit the necessity that existed of giving themselves to him. But this entry into possession being illegitimate and posterior, by so many years, to that of the French, cannot convey any right to the English over those lands, which already belong to the French by so many anterior titles, as has been previously remarked, and by so many lawful and incontestable rights.

The futility of Sieur Dongan's claim to the property of the country of the Iroquis, and that the latter are within his government (That is proved by the said pieces signed by Collation, Penvret and lettered P.) is manifest according to what Sieur de Champlain hath done and what has been heretofore stated, and among other things, by a letter written by the Council of Quebec, the 20th of June, 1651, to the Commissioners of New England to the effect that the Iroquois had no connection with nor dependence on the English; which is sustained by the Commission to the Deputies therein named from Mr d'Aillebout, then Governor of New France. (This is again confirmed by the articles of Peace made with Mr de Tracy and the Iroquois in 1665, lettered already I., and by the Act and Declaration recently made by them at Montreal the 15th June, 1680. App. L.)

For as regards Colonel Dongan's assertions, that the country of

the Iroquois belongs to his government because, according to him, it is South of his jurisdiction, we answer in the first place, that it is not South, but in fact West North West of Manatte.

Secondly. though it were South, that cannot derogate from the rights of the French who had taken possession of it even before the Dutch or English had set foot at Manatte, and who, since they are there, never opposed it, until within three or four years, which cannot confer any right on them.

To come now to the possessions and establishments (these will be proved by the acts which Mr. Talon has in Paris,) which have been acquired in ascending the St. Lawrence, since the post of Niagara, Sieur de la Salle with thirty Frenchmen, of which number was M^r. Jollier, Priest, Superior of the Seminary of Montreal, made the tour of Lake Erié and took possession of the circumjacent lands, after Sieur Jolliet, with Father Marquet, Jesuit, had long before done the same thing, in order to renew the entry into possession of Sieur de Champlain in 1612.

And after that, in 1676, (Proved by a writing of said Sieur de la Salle for the benefit of Moyse hillers in March, 1680. App. N.; by the procés verbal of the M. de Denonville of last July, 1687. App. O. and by the inquisition of the said Lieutenant General of Quebec. Also App., supra, G.) said Sieur de la Salle caused a ship and a large house to be built above the Falls of Niagara, within three or four leagues of Lake Erié, where are still visible the stocks whereon was built the said vessel, which having been completed in 1677, about the feast of St. John the Baptist, was conducted, freighted with Merchandise into the said Lake Erié, and thence passed through the Detroit, where Fort St. Joseph or du Luth is built and where Sieur de la Durantaye renewed the entry into possession of the neighboring countries, North and South, (Entry into possession is dated 7 June, 1687. App. R.) navigated Lake Huron as far as Missilimakinak and thence through that of the Illinois or Missagans beyond the Huron islands, which said bark was constructed for the greater convenience of trading with the French who inhabited the said place of Missilimakinak for more than forty years; some French established at the Bay des Puans, with those at Fort S^t. Louis established by said Sieur de la Salle who had discovered the great River of Mississippi and descended it as far as the South sea. For the continuation of which trade, he caused a fort and buildings to be erected and a bark to be begun at a place called Crevecœur, in order to proceed as far as the said South Sea, two-thirds of which bark only were built, and the said Sieur de la Salle having afterwards employed canoes for his trade in said Countries, as he had already done for several years in the rivers Oyo, Sabache and others in the surrounding neighborhood which flow into the said River Mississipi, whereof possession was taken by him in the King's name,

as appears by the Relations made therof. The countries and rivers of Oyo or Abache and circumjacent territory were inhabited by our Indians the Chasanons, Miamis and Illinois.

It is to be remarked that, as early as the year 1633, a good many Frenchmen having gone up to the Hurons with the Jusuit Fathers and Missionaries settled there; and ten years afterwards, the King sent thirty soldiers thither, who remained there until the destruction of all the Hurons by Iroquois, obliged the French to retire for a time; but they returned thither shortly afterwards in a much more considerable number, and spread themselves throughout those vast countries. (It is proved by an Arrêt of the Council of State of the 5th March, 1648, that his Majesty had authorized the sending to the Huron country a company of thirty men commanded by a Captain, for the purpose of escorting the Hurons and other Indians tribes, and to accompany the Missionaries who were no longer able to continue their Missions without aid.)

Thirdly, what is more authentic in this matter is the entry into possession of all those Countries made by M^r^. Talon, Intendant of New France, who in 1671, sent Sieur de S^t^. Lusson, his Subdelegate, into the Country of the Stauas, who invited the Deputies of all the tribes within a circumference of more than a hundred leagues to meet at S^t^. Mary of the Sault. On the 4^th^ of June of the same year, fourteen tribes by the ambassadors repaired thither, and in their presence and that of a number of Frenchmen, Sieur de S^t^. Lusson erected there a post to which he affixed the King's arms, and declared to all those people that he had convoked them in order to receive them into the King's protection, and in his name to take possession of all their lands, so that henceforth ours and theirs should be but one; which all those tribes very readily accepted. The commission of said Subdelegate contained these very words, viz: That he was sent to take possession of the countries lying between the East and West, from Montreal to the South Sea, as much and as far as was in his power. This entry into possession was made with all those formalities, as is to be seen in the Relation of 1671, and more expressly in the record of the entry into possession, drawn up by the said Subdelegate. (See hereupon Mr. Talon who must have the procès verbal of the entry into possession by said Sieur de S^t^. Loison.)

In the next year, 1672, the River Mississippi and, at the same time, the Illinois, Chasanons, and other tribes unknown to Europeans, were discovered by Sieur Jolliet and the Jesuit Father Marquet, who were as far as the 32^nd^ degree, and set up the King's arms, taking possession in his name of all those recently discovered nations.

And some years after, Sieur de la Salle, extended the same discovery farther, even unto the Sea, taking every where possession by the King's arms which he erected there.

All the foregoing demonstrates sufficiently the incontestable right the French have to the Iroquois lands, to those of the Stasas and all the other tribes inhabiting the countries aforementioned, and others whereof possession has also been taken in his Majesty's name, along the River S^{t}. Lawrence, the lakes it forms and the Rivers discharging therein, which constitute the continuation of the waters of said River S^{t}. Lawrence, (The River S^{t}. Lawrence is proved by the concession of M^{r} de Lauzon of the 15th May, 1656, to Sieur Dupuy, already mentioned under App. D.) from the gulf always following the some point of the compass, and extends beyond Lake Superior, proceeding from the Lake des Alépinigons. without any interruption of the navigation, our barks having always sailed from Lake to Lake along said river, the one making their voyage from the place called la Galette, to Niagara on Lake Ontario on Frontenac, and the others from above the Falls of Niagara unto the head of Lake Missigamé, or Illinois, passing through that of Erié, then following said River S^{t}. Lawrence by the Detroit and Fort S^{t}. Joseph, or du Luth, and thence into Lake Huron or the Fresh Sea, which communicates *(repond)* with the said lake of the Illinois as well as the said Lakes Superior and des Alépinigons, where the French actually are trading and have divers establishments; and it demonstrates their possession of the great River Mississippi which they have discovered as far as the South Sea, on which river also they have divers establishments, as well as on that of Oyo, Ouabache, &c., which flows into the said River Mississippi, and of the countries and lands in the vicinity of said rivers, where they actually carry on trade, which countries are easily recognized on the general map of North America.

ENCROACHMENTS OF THE ENGLISH ON THE TERRITORIES OF NEW FRANCE. 1699.

Memoir respecting the Encroachments of the English on the territories of New France.

It is not to-day that the English commence encroaching on the territories of New France. It is certain that there is no coast of North America in their possession from French Florida and the Boston country to Acadia, but what the French have first discovered and taken possession of before them. But the English, taking advantage of our civil wars, which gave occupation to the arms of our Kings Francis I., Charles the Ninth and their successors as far as Louis the thirteenth of Glorious memory, founded their Colonies in the new Countries and territories previously discovered by order of our Kings.

The Normans and Bretons first discovered, two hundred years ago, according to the History of Wiflet and Anthony Magin, printed at Douay, the Grand Cod Bank and the Islands of Cape Breton, since called of S^{t} Lawrence, and the Island of Newfoundland. Some Englishmen wishing, some years after that new discovery, to render themselves masters of the Cod fishery and of the said island of Newfoundland, agreed together to proceed to England to obtain an armed force and permission to drive the French from that quarter; but when their ships were on the Grand Bank, God so willing, a violent tempest arose which caused them all to perish and their project to fail.

From the time of Francis the first, King of France, and of Henry the 7th, King of England, the French and the English, the latter by the North, and the former by the Eastern and Southern, Coasts of North America as low down as the Gulf of Mexico, and after them the Dutch fruitlessly searched for a passage to the East Indies by New Jambe, which the Spaniards had recently attempted by the Gulf of Mexico; while Sébastian Cabot, John Davis, Forbichet and John Hudson, Englishmen, explored in various years the Northern regions from the 56th degree proceeding towards the Pole. Verrazano first discovered, in two Voyages, the last of which was in 1523, and in the name of Francis the first took posession of the sea coasts of America from the Islands of the Gulf of Mexico to the Gulf of S^{t} Lawrence and the Island of Newfoundland, that is to say, from the thirty-third to the forty-seventh degrees of Latitude.

In 1534, Jaques Cartier again explored the Island of Newfoundland, entered the Gulf and River S^{t} Lawrence, which he ascended in 1535, and in '41 and '42 explored as high as 200 leagues from its mouth, and began the first French settlements which were afterwards kept up by the Marquis de Roberval, under Charles 9th by whose order and on the petition of Admiral de Chatillon, Sieurs Ribaut and Laudonniere laid the Foundations, towards the Islands of the Gulf of Mexico, of a Colony called French Florida, or Carolina, from the name of Fort Charles which they erected on the river May, where they left Captain Albert in command. Here it was that Verrazano had commenced his explorations.

The Marquis de la Roche was sent to those Countries of New France as His Majesty's Lieutenant; next Sieur Chauvin and De Mons, gentlemen of the Bed Chamber, who also governed Acadia for King Henry 4th. In the reign of Louis 13th Sieur Champlain penetrated very far into the interior of the country; he fought twice, according to his own account, with the Upper Iroquois whom he attacked in their principal village.

These Barbarians had never before seen, nor heard the report of, an arquebuse, nor had any communication with Europeans. Champlain says they used only Arrows and hatchets of stone.

Finally, the Iroquois intimidated by the tintamar and execution of those fire arms, sued for peace, and in 1621 made Sieur de Champlain arbiter thereof.

He drew topographical Maps of the Iroquois Country and circumjacent places, so that since that time, the territory of these Indians is seen in the Maps, comprehended within that of New France.

The Iroquois, who waged considerable wars with the Hurons, from whom they took a number of prisoners and whom they finally destroyed in 1648, took it ill, after a sufficient length of time, that the remnant of their enemies should find an asylum in the French Colony, which they insulted from time to time, on the ground that we were protecting the Hurons against them.

The Court was informed hereof, and sent out some troops in 16 . . under the Command of M^r^ Tracy, viceroy of New France, and of M^r^ de Courcelles, governor, who abliged the Iroquois to sue for peace and to permit the planting of the Arms of France, with all due solemnity in the Country of these Barbarians. This act of vigor gave peace with these people for 25 years, until 1685, when the French dissatisfied with their conduct, advanced to the neighborhood of their Villages, the deputies from which afforded satisfaction to the late M^r^ de la Barre, notwithstanding all the opposition offered by the English in order to prevent their going to the French camp to treat there of an arrangement. On the English envoy's urging them to obey the orders of their Governor and not to go to meet M^r^ de la Barre, they declared to the Deputies, that they did not recognize any Master; that they had two arms, whereof one was extended towards their Father, the governor of the French; and the other towards their Brethern the English, and that their body was on their own territory where they acknowledged no other Master than the Creator of the Universe, who had granted it to them, and that it was by sufferance they allowed Europeans to come and settle in their vicinity on lands dependant on them, and on which the English did not locate until they paid them the price and indemnity of those lands; that their frontier colony was occupied only by their permission, and that, therefore, they had only to return to him who had sent them and to tell him that they were free and neuter, and that they did not acknowledge the Dominion of any power whatsoever.

Whereupon, the English having invited them anew to recognize their pretended Sovereignty, they answered haughtily and let loose on them some drunken and insolent young men, who insulting them obliged them to take to their heels, without having obtained any of their pretensions.

The English made these movements only from Commercial jealousy, imagining that M^r^ de la Barre was wishing to establish a new

post in the neighborhood of the Iroquois. Trade and the peace, between the French and the Iroquois, were thus maintained until Monsieur de Denonville having relieved M^r^ de la Barre, war was declared against the Iroquois in 1687, by the sacking of the Upper Iroquois Villages, beyond which M^r^ de Denonville erected a fort at the place called Niagara, on the South side of the Lake of the Iroquois called Frontenac.

Advantage was taken of this hostility by the English, to whom they promise whatever they pleased provided they would continue to sell them their goods at a cheap rate, especially arms and powder, for carrying on against the French hostilities which still continue.

In regard to the pretension of the English, that the Iroquois have acknowledged themselves vassals and subjects to the Crown of England, and that they ought to treat of peace with the French solely through the English.

The man named S^t^ Germain recently returned form the Iroquois country where he was a prisoner, asserts that the Iroquois publicly maintain that they have no masters, and that they allowed the English to assume that title only in order to enjoy the trade in goods and arms they required; but when they will be inclined to make peace, they will negotiate it by themselves, independent of the English, who are extremely apprehensive that the French will share the trade with them, as was the case before the War; And it is on this account that the English have made some of their people assume Black Gowns in order to instruct the Iroquois in Religion, to the exclusion of the Jesuits from among them, under the impression that they kept up a good understanding between these people and the French Nation which they would willingly see annihilated by those Barbarians, many of whom have followed these Fathers and have embraced and profess the Faith, and have rendered during the War signal service against the other Iroquois and against the English.

Count de Frontenac will have advised the Count in what terms he answered the Governor of New-York's arrogant menace.

Finally, it is of importance that in making Peace, things remain in the state they were in before the war, and that the Iroquois continue neuter, as they have been; otherwise, if a disposition be manifested to take sides with the Barbarians, it will be an eternal cause of hostilities, misunderstanding and division between the French and the English; and it is sufficiently well understood that if war be renewed between the two Crowns of France and England, the English would not fail to let loose on our Colony these Savage Mastiffs who can inflict more injury on it than the Engiish. Besides, it is not reasonable to be dependent on the English for satisfaction for insults these Indians may, eventually, offer the French. This would render them insolent and obtrusive, and affect the union and good understanding between the French and the English.

Letters from Canada dated the eighteenth of September 1698, state, that the English have come on an embassy to Quebec; that they claim to keep the Iroquois Nations, like goslings, under their control; they have told them and caused friendly Indians to say every thing capable of seducing them, and of subjecting them to the yoke of Sovereignty.

MEMOIR ON THE INDIANS BETWEEN LAKE ERIE AND THE MISSISSIPPI.

Memoir on the Indians of Canada as far as the River Mississippi, with remarks on their manners and trade. 1718.

The Niagara portage is two leagues and a half to three leagues long, but the road, over which carts roll two or three times a year, is very fine, with very beautiful and open woods through which a person is visible for a distance of six hundred paces. The trees are all oaks, and very large. The soil along the entire of that road is not very good. From the landing, which is three leagues up the the river, four hills are to be ascended. Above the first hill there is a Seneca village of about ten cabins, where Indian corn, beans, peas, water-melons and pumpkins are raised, all which are very fine. These Senecas are employed by the French, from whom they earn money by carrying the goods of those who are going to the Upper Country; some for mitasses, others for shirts, some for powder and ball, whilst some others pilfer; and on the return of the French, they carry their packs of furs for some peltry. This Portage is made for the purpose of avoiding the Cataract of Niagara, the grandest sheet of water in the world, having a perpendicular fall of two to three hundred feet. This fall is the outlet of Lakes Erié, Huron, Michigan, Superior, and consequently of the numberless rivers discharging into these lakes, as well as of other lakes towards the Sioux, with the names of which I am not acquainted. The Niagara portage having been passed, we ascend a river six leagues in length and more than a quarter of a league in width, in order to enter Lake Erié, which is not very wide at its mouth. The route by the Southern, is much finer than that along the Northern shore. The reason that few persons take it is, that it is thirty leagues longer than that along the North. There is no need of fasting on either side of this lake, deer are to be found there in such great abundance; buffaloes are found on the South, but not on the North shore.

A hundred leagues from Niagara, on the South side, is a river called Sandosquet, which the Indians of Detroit and Lake Huron take when going to war with the Flat-heads and other nations to-

wards Carolina, such as the Cheraquis, the Indians residing on the River Casquinampo and the ChaSanons. They ascend this Sandosquet river two or three days, after which they make a small portage, a fine road of about a quarter of a league. Some make canoes of elm bark and float down a small river that empties into the Ohio, which means Beautiful river; it is indeed beautiful, for it is nearly a quarter of a league in width, with a fine current without rapids, except one of about half an acre, and this river falls into the Ouabache, thence into the Mississippi forty leagues below the village of Rouinsac, where the Fathers are settled and where some Frenchmen live. This Ohio, or Beautiful river, rises 30 leagues south *(derriere)* of the Seneca nation. Beyond Fort des Sables on Lake Ontario and near the River *aux bœufs* is a river that flows into this Beautiful river.

Whoever would wish to reach the Mississippi easily, would need only to take this Beautiful river, or the Sandosquet; he could travel without any danger of fasting, for all who have been there have repeatedly assured me, that there is so vast a quantity of Buffalo and of all other animals in the woods along that Beautiful river, they were often obliged to discharge their guns to clear a passage for themselves. They say that two thousand men could very easily live there. To reach Detroit from this River Sandosquet, we cross Lake Erie from Island to Island and get to a place called Point Pelée, where every sort of fish are in great abundance, especially Sturgeon, very large, and three, four and five feet in length. There is on one of these Islands so great a number of Cats that the Indians killed as many as nine hundred of them in a very short time. The object of the Indians in making this traverse is to shorten their road considerably, and were they not to do so they must go as far as the river which flows from the Miamis, and which is at the head of the Lake.

At the mouth of the Detroit river, which is very wide, are four Islands called L'île au Bois blanc; that before it, L'île aux poux; the other, L'île aux esclaves, and the fourth, Grand Island, which is very fine and fertile, and extensive, being, as is estimated, from six to seven leagues in circumference. There is an extraordinary quantity of apple trees on this Island, and those who have seen the apples on the ground, say they are more than a half a foot deep; the apple trees are planted as if methodically, and the apples are as large as small pippins *(pommes d'apis)*. Abundance of excellent millstones are found on this Island; all around it are very fine prairies. It was a long time doubtful whether Detroit should not be founded there. The cause of the hesitation was, the apprehension that the timber might some day fail. Both shores of this Detroit river are lined with the most beautiful prairies that can be seen; the soil is the best that can be met, and the climate is very mild. It is six leagues from Bois blanc Island to the Fort of Detroit, where our

Frenchmen are. Two leagues from Fort Detroit is an Island called Isle aux dindes. It is so called because Turkies are always to be found there. It contains very little timber; only prairie. Four or five years ago, a man named Le Tonnerre, principal Chief of the Foxes, and two of the same tribe, were killed there by the Hurons settled at Detroit. The two Foxes who were with Le Tonnerre, were devoured by wild beasts, crows, or other vermin; but Le Tonnerre was still uninjured a year afterwards, not an animal having touched him. The fort of Detroit is South of the river. The village of the Poutouatamies adjoins the fort; they lodge partly under Apàquois, which are made of mat grass. The women do all this work. The men belonging to that Nation are well clothed, like our domiciliated Indians at Montreal; their entire occupation is hunting and dress; they make use of a great deal of vermillion, and in winter wear buffalo robes richly painted, and in summer, either blue or red cloth. They play a good deal at La Crosse in summer, twenty or more on each side. Their bat is a sort of little racket, and the ball with which they play is made of very heavy wood, somewhat larger than the balls used at tennis. When playing, they are entirely naked, except a breech cloth, and moccasins on their feet; their body is completely painted with all sorts of colors. Some, with white clay, trace white lace on their bodies, as if on all the seams of a coat, and at a distance it would be apt to be taken for silver lace. They play very deep *(gros jeu)* and often. The bets sometimes amount to more than eight hundred livres. They set up two poles and commence the game from the centre; one party propels the ball from one side and the others from the opposite, and whichever reaches the goal, wins. This is fine recreation and worth seeing. They often play village against village; the Poux against the Outaouacs or the Hurons, and lay heavy stakes. Sometimes Frenchmen join in the game with them. The women cultivate Indian corn, beans, peas, squashes and melons, which come up very fine. The women and girls dance at night; adorn themselves considerably, grease their hair, put on a white shift, paint their cheeks with vermillion, and wear whatever wampum they possess, and are very tidy in their way. They dance to the sound of the drum and Sisiquoi, which is a sort of gourd containing some grains of shot. Four or five young men sing and beat time with the drum and Sisiquoi, and the women keep time and do not lose a step; it is very entertaining, and lasts almost the entire night. The old men often dance the Medelinne; they resemble a set of demons, and all this takes place during the night. The young men often dance in a circle *(le tour)* and strike posts; it is then they recount their achievements, and dance, at the same time, the war dance *(des decouvertes)*, and whenever they act thus, they are highly ornamented. It is altogether very curious. They often perform these things for to-

bacco. When they go hunting, which is every fall, they carry their Apaquois with them to hut under at night. Every body follows, men, women and children, and winter in the forest and return in the spring.

The Hurons are also near; perhaps the eighth of a league from the French fort. This is the most industrious nation that can be seen. They scarcely ever dance, and are always at work; raise a large amount of Indian corn, peas, beans; some grow wheat. They construct their huts entirely of bark, very strong and solid; very lofty and very long, and arched like arbors. Their fort is strongly encircled with pickets and bastions, well redoubled, and has strong gates. They are the most faithful Nation to the French, and the most expert hunters that we have. Their cabins are divided into sleeping copartments, which contain their Misirague, and are very clean. They are the bravest of all the Nations, and possess considerable talent. They are well clad; some of them wear close overcoats *(juste au corps de capot)*. The men are always hunting, summer and winter, and the women work. When they go hunting in the fall, a goodly number of them remain to guard the fort. The old women, and throughout the winter those women who remain, collect wood in very large quantity. The soil is very fertile; Indian corn grows to the height of ten @ twelve feet; their fields are very clean, and very extensive; not the smallest weed is to be seen in them.

The Outaoues are on the opposite side of the river, over against the French fort; they, likewise, have a picket fort. Their cabins resemble somewhat those of the Hurons. They do not make use of Apaquois except when out hunting; their cabins in this fort are all of bark, but not so clean nor so well made as those of the Hurons. They are well dressed, and very laborious, both in their agriculture and hunting. Their dances, juggleries and games of ball *(la crosse)* and of the Bowl are the same as those of the Poux. Their game of the Bowl consists of eight small pebbles *(noyaux)*, which are red or black on one side, and yellow or white on the other; these are tossed up in a bowl, and when he who holds the vessel tosses them and finds seven or the whole eight of the same color he gains, and continues playing as long as he achieves the same thing. When the result is different, the adverse party takes the bowl and plays next, and they risk heavy stakes on all these games. They have likewise the game of the Straws, and all the Nations gamble in like manner.

The timber, in all those countries, is very fine, and, as well as the fruit, of all sorts. There are Nut trees with nuts similar to those of France; very fine apples and very handsome mulberry trees which bear excellent fruit, large in size and very long, and a vast quantity of chestnut trees bearing a large number of chestnuts. Lake Erié, which is fully three hundred leagues in circumference, is bordered with them.

One league from Fort Detroit is an island called Isle aux Cochons, a league long, having the finest timber in the world, and prairies without end. It is one of the handsomest islands that can be seen; and of very rich soil. Five leagues from the Fort is a small lake, called Lake S^{t} Clair, seven leagues long and not very wide. The shore is visible on both sides. This lake is well stocked with fish, and especially white fish, which, however, is not so good as that at Missilimakinac. Before reaching this lake you come to the Peninsula *(Presqu'ile)* where the Foxes were treacherously defeated.

I forgot to state the number of men belonging to the Detroit Tribes. The Hurons number one hundred men; the Poux, 180; the Outaouaes, about one hundred men and a number of women.

Twelve leagues from Fort Detroit, always going up the river, you will find the Misisagué Indians, who occupy a beautiful island where they raise their crops. They are about 60 or 80 men. Their language resembles that of the Outaouae; there is very little difference between them. Their customs are the same, and they are very industrious. All these Nations construct a great many bark canoes, which is a great assistance to them; they occupy themselves in this sort of work; the women sew the canoes with roots; the men finish them and make the [ribs] of these canoes, smoothen and floor *(varanguent)* them, and the women gum them. It costs some labor to build a canoe; it requires considerable [pains] and preparation, which are curious to behold.

Eight leagues further on is the mouth of Lake Huron, which is fully as large as Lake Erié. Thirty leagues up Lake Huron, tending to the West, on the route to the Missilimakinac, you find Saquinam, where some Outaouaes are settled to the number of 60 men. They occupy some islands at the entrance of the Saquinam, where they have their village and raise their crops and grain. When they are not at war with other Nations they make their fields on the main; but they plant always in two places for fear of a failure. The soil there is very good; game and fish abundant and of all descriptions.

This Nation is the most mutinous and the hardest to govern in all these parts. Their manners, resemble, in every respect, those of the Outaouaes. On the opposite or North shore of Lake Huron you have Matechitache; some Mississagués are there, whose manners are the same as those of the Outaouaes. You have the Toronto Carrying place, leading from Lake Ontario to Lake Huron, fifteen leagues long.

From Saquinam you go to Missilimakinac, the residence of the Jesuit fathers and of some Frenchmen. The voyage to Missilimakinac may, if you please, be dispensed with, in going to the River S^{t} Joseph, or to Chicagou. The Bay is on the same side as Missili-

makinac; it is settled by the Puans and Wild Rice Indians *(less folle avoine);* there are some Frenchmen there also. The Sacs, another Indian Nation, are convenient to these Tribes, as I have been informed, and fifteen or eighteen leagues the one from the other. The Puans and the Folle Avoines are not numerous; each nation may number 80 or 100 men. The Sacs are 100 or 120 men. The two latter have, as I learn the same customs as the Outaouaes and the Paux. Their language is not altogether the same, but whoever understands the Outaouaes can be understood by these Tribes. The Sacs resemble the Poux, because they are intimately allied together and have the same manners. The Sacs have their cabins on the same Fox river, that leads to the carrying place of the Ouisconsin river, which falls into the Mississipi; it is pretty convenient to the Sioux.

All these tribes are very industrious, and the women are four times more numerous than the men. The Foxes are 18 leagues distant from the Sacs; they number five hundred men, and abound in women and children; are as industrious as can be; raise large quantities of Indian corn, and have a different language from the Outaouae interpreter would be of no use with the Foxes. They are well fortified; have the same sort of dances and games as the Poutouatamis, but differ in regard to dress, for the men wear scarcely any cloth clothing, and the major portion of them do not wear any breech clout. As for the women, they all have them, and the girls wear, in addition, a black or brown fawn skin, embellished all round, some little bells, others with a sort or copper, or tin, tags; they also wear blankets. They are pretty enough and not black. There is excellent hunting in these parts, and the people live well in consequence of the abundance of meat and fish, of the latter of which this Fox river is very full.

The Foxes are fifty leagues, in the direction of Chicagou, form the Mascoutins and Quicapous, who reside together in a village on the bank of a river, the name of which I forget. Both these tribes together do not amount to 200 men; they are clever people and brave warriors. Their language and manner strongly resemble those of the Foxes; they are of the same stock *(jambe).* They catch deer by chasing them, and, even at this day, make considerable use of bows and arrows. The Quicapous and Mascoutins are not far, perhaps fifty leagues, from Chicagous, which they must pass on their way to Detroit or to the River S^{t} Joseph.

The River S^{t} Joseph is south of Lake Michigan, formerly the Lake of the Illinois; many take this river to pass to the Rocks, because it is conveinient, and they thereby avoid the portages *des Chaines*, and *des Perches.* It is situated at the head of Lake Michigan, and leads to the Rocks, an Illinois village.

The Miamis and Poutouatamis formerly resided with some Mis-

sionaries at the River S^t^ Joseph; it is not long since they were there. 'Tis a spot the best adapted of any to be seen for purposes of living and as regards the soil. There are pheasants as in France; quails and perroquets; the finest vines in the world, which produce a vast quantity of very excellent grapes, both white and black, the berry very large and jucy, and the bunch very long. It is the richest district in all that country. I believe they left it only because of the war between the Foxes, Sacs and Outaouaes and all other tribes of those parts. It is thirty leagues from the river S^t^ Joseph to Chicagou, which is thirty leagues from the Rocks. The Oujatanons were also at Chicagou, but being afraid of the Canoe people, they left it. It would not be difficult to induce them to return there, and it would be important that they should do so, for divers reasons; principally, because they are within the reach of the English and Senecas in consequence of the facilities of the road, and at Chicagou it is very different, there being nearly one hundred leagues of land travel.

The Illinois occupy the Rock on the bank of the river, and the French reside on the Rock which is very lofty and impregnable. As far as the eye can reach, is prairie. From the summit of the Rock you behold, roaming through the prairies, herds of the Buffalo of Illinois. This Nation is at war with the Foxes and Oujatanons. The Illinois of the Rock number 400 men, and are eighty leagues from the Oujatanons, and over a hundred and fifty leagues from the Foxes. Their language is different from that of our people at Detroit, yet our Poutouatamis partially understand them. Bows and arrows are considerably in use among them; they are comfortably clothed in deer, buffalo, wild cat, wolf, panther, beaver and otter skins; and all the tribes above mentioned have the entire body tattooed with all sorts of figures and designs. This description of Indians do not kill a great deal of beaver. Their games are the same as those of all the other tribes. They dwell on the borders of the Illinois river, and are very expert in whatever they manufacture, whether garters, sashes, or belts for powder horns, which are very beautiful in the finish and designs. The women are well made and not black; they spin Buffalo hair themselves, of which they make all those articles. The cabins of this Illinois tribe also are covered with Apaquois. They protect themselves against rain and snow, and are very adroit.

On this same river is an Illinois village called Pimytesouy, distant about fifty leagues or more from the Rock; about the same distance, on the same river, are the Caokias, who are Illinois. A priest, named Monsieur, Varlet, is their missionary; he proposes to return thither next spring, 1718. He has come down in quest of a priest to accompany him. This Nation is thirty leagues from the village of Roinsac, called Cascachias, where the Fathers reside; all are Illi-

nois and have the same manners. The French who reside in this village represent it as the finest of all the Indian Missions, and that they are very devout and an example to the French. This nation is very numerous and all have the same manners; very industrious and hard working. They raise, in these parts, a quantity of French melons, the pulp of which, inside, is green and of the most excellent quality. The climate there is very fine. In addition to raising a large supply of Maize, the Indians thereabouts produce also considerable Wheat. There are three grist-mills; one of these is a wind, another a horse, mill; the third, a quern. They have oxen, cows, hogs, horses, fowls; in fine, every thing suitable for life. The wheat comes up very fine there; it is sown in the Autumn, and the climate is milder than in France.

It is eighty leagues from this Illinois village to the mouth of the Ouabache, and 60 from the Ouabache to Natahou, down the River Mississippi. This is the only village to be met with along this river. It is five hundred leagues from the Sea to Rouinsac, where the Fathers reside, and in ascending the Mississippi from the Sea, a strong current is constantly encountered.

I return to the Miamis river. Its entrance from Lake Erié is very wide, and its banks, on both sides, for the distance of ten leagues up, are nothing but continual Swamps, abounding, at all times, especially in the fall and spring, with game without end; swans, geese, ducks, cranes, etc., which drive sleep away by the noise of their cries. This river is sixty leagues in length, very embarrassing in summer in consequence of the lowness of the water. Thirty leagues up the river is a plase called La Glaise, where Buffaloes are always to be found; they eat the clay and wallow in it. The Miamis are sixty leagues from Lake Erie, and number 400, all well formed men, and well tattooed; the women are numerous. They are hard working, and raise a species of Maize unlike that of our Indians at Detroit. It is white, of the same size as the other, the skin much finer and the meal much whiter. This Nation is clad in deer-skin, and when a married women goes with another man, her husband cuts off her nose and does not see her any more. This is the only Nation that has such a custom. They love plays and dances, wherefore they have more occupation. The women are well clothed, but the men use scarcely any covering and are tattooed all over the body. From this Miami village there is a portage of three leagues to a little and very narrow stream that falls, after a course of 20 leagues, into the Ohio, or the Beautiful river, which discharges into the Ouabache, a fine river that falls into the Mississippi 40 leagues from Cascachias. Into the Ouabache falls also the Casquinampo, which communicates with Carolina, but this is very far off and always up stream.

This River Ouabache is the one on which the Ouyatanons are

settled. They consist of five villages, which are contiguous the one to the other. One is called Oujatanon, the other Peanguichias, and another Petitscotias, and the fourth Les gros. The name of the last I do not recollect, but they are all Oujatanons, having the same language as the Miamis, whose brothers they are, and properly all Miamis, having all the same customs and dress. The men are very numerous; fully a thousand or twelve hundred. They have a custom different from all the other nations, which is to keep their fort extremely clean, not allowing a blade of grass to remain in it. The whole of the fort is sanded like the Tulleries, and if a dog happen to make any filth in it, the women take and remove it outside. Their village is situated on a high hill, and they have over two leagues of improvement where they raise their Indian Corn, pumpkins and melons. From the summit of this elevation nothing is visible to the eye but prairies full of buffaloes. Their play and dancing are incessant. All these tribes use a vast quantity of vermillion. The women wear clothing: the men very little. The River Ohio, or the Beautiful River, is the route which the Iroquois take. It would be of importance that they should not have much intercourse, as it is very dangerous. Attention has been called to this matter long since, but no notice has been taken of it.

The Mississipi rises in a lake in the direction of the Sioux and passes near the Illinois.

Such is about what I know of all those parts. A great many other rivers come from the direction of the Flat-heads and also fall into the Mississipi, but I am not acquainted with their names. One of them is called the Chaouenon.

ABSTRACT OF DESPATCHES FROM CANADA, RESPECTING OSWEGO AND THE WESTERN TRIBES. 1741.

On Marquis de Beauharnois receiving information from divers points, respecting the establishment at Choüeguen, where the English were building a stone house, the meeting which he held at his quarters of all the estates of the town of Montreal, took into consideration whether the sole means of preventing the English penetrating into the Upper countries, and depriving us of the trade of those parts, was not to dispatch immediately a detachment of regulars and militia to oppose the construction of the house at Choüeguen, and to drive the English from that post, in case they were not willing to abandon it on being summoned.

There was only one opinion on this point, and as private interest found itself countenanced by the King's service, and the safety of the Colony, specious reasons were not wanting to show forth all the consequences of an enterprise which seemed to threaten the Colony, and must deprive it of the entire trade, and thereby render open opposition to the English necessary.

But these reasons being counterbalanced by the inconveniences to result from so precipitous a proceeding—to wit, the uncertainty of success, and of the part which would in that case be adopted by the Iroquois, who have been unwilling to declare themselves, have obliged the Marquis de Beauharnois to revoke the order he had not been able to refuse to the ardor every one displayed to set out on this expedition; and to confine himself to the instructions of the Court, regarding that establishment; that is, to oppose it as much as possible, by employing the Iroquois for that purpose, without explaining himself any further.

The news received from the Upper countries to the effect that some underground Belts were sent by the English to divers Indian Nations, inviting them to rid themselves of the French scattered throughout that region; and that the Foxes had sent out some war parties against the Ilinois, whereby several Frenchmen have been killed, led the Marquis de Beauarnois to think that some brilliant action would be necessary in order to keep the Nations in check, and that the French and domiciliated Indians who had been called out for the expedition against Choüeguen might be sent, next year, against the Foxes. But as it was of the greatest importance to keep this project a secret, he contented himself with giving the Indians and the Militia, who had been warned, to understand that he calculated on them for next year, the season being too far advanced for the execution of the design against Choüeguen.

The Marquis de Beauharnois' opinion respecting the war against the Foxes has been the more readily approved by the Baron de Longueuil, Mess^rs^ De la Chassaigne, Lacorne, de Lignery, La Noue and Duplessis-fabert, whom he had assembled at his house, as it appears from all the letters that the Court has written since several years, that it has nothing so much at heart as the destruction of that Indian Nation, which cannot be prevailed on by the presents and the good treatment of the French, to live in peace, notwithstanding all its promises. Besides it is notorious that the Foxes have a secret understanding with the Iroquois to secure a retreat among the latter, in case they be obliged to abandon their villages.

They have one already secured among the Sioux of the Prairies, with whom they are allied; so that should they be pre-advised of the design of the French to wage war against them, it would be easy for them to retire to the one or the other, before their passage could be intersected, or themselves attacked in their villages.

M. DE BEAUHARNOIS TO COUNT DE MAUREPAS.

QUEBEC, 7th *November, 1774.*

MY LORD: I have just received letters from the Commandants of Detroit and Niagara of which I am enabled to give you an account in consequence of the return of *la Gironde* and the merchantmen which have been forced by contrary winds to put back. I have already had occasion to inform you of the dispositions of the Detroit Nations in regard to the declaration of war against the English, and that they had, in consequence, accepted the hatchet which I had caused to be tendered to them for the purpose of striking the English settled on the Beautiful river in the course of this winter, and that I had engaged the Miamis and the Ouiatanons to do likewise. Sieur de Longueüil writes me on the 1st of September, transmitting to me the message to and answer of the 4 Nations, copy whereof I annex. These Indians continue in the same sentiments, and he is even flattered by the ardor and zeal they evince on this occasion; on receiving intelligence of the arrival of several Englishmen at the White river, he immediately raised a party of thirty-five picked Outaŝais to plunder and kill them, or to fetch them prisoners to him, and set out on the 17th of September with every desirable demonstration of joy. This officer adds, that he is so much the more determined to urge on this party, as he is informed that the English were loaded with powder and ball, and resolved to annihilate the French traders who were going to that quarter; that he has farmed out, as he informs me, seven places for his Majesty's profit, pursuant to the orders I had sent him last year; that he has, also, sent messages to the Indians seated on this White river, whereof I had the honor to inform you last year, in answer to their request to him to send them back some Frenchmen, and that they would not suffer any Englishmen there; whereby he prevails on them, in like manner, to take up the hatchet and join their brethren of Detroit. I have no doubt, My Lord, but they will have determined on this course when they will see the Detroit Nations moving, and I have none either of their driving off the English in their neighborhood, by their incursions in the course of this winter there as well as on the Beautiful River, and against the Flatheads, whom they include in this war, and with whom it is to be expected the Hurons will not risk the entering into any negotiations for peace, even if, as they have been accused, they had felt disposed to do so of late years.

I expect to have the honor to report to you next year, My Lord, the progress of this party of Outaŝuas against the English on White River, whence they ought to have returned at the close of October; as well as those of which the Detroit Nations will send against the

other places in the course of this winter. The principal point was to get them to move. That is now effected, and provided they experience some losses at the hands of the English, it will be more difficult to stop them, in case the circumstances of peace require us to do so, than to determine them to enter on this great war, the events of which they seem to have accepted with pleasure.

As for the Iroquois of the Five Nations, Sieur de Celoron, the Commandant at Niagara, writes me on the 20th of last month that one of the brothers of Sieur de Joncaire, whom he had sent to the Senecas to examine what was going on there, had returned within two days, and reports that the result of the Council which the Five Nations and the English held at Orange this summer has been, a refusal to take up the hatchet which the English presented them, to strike the French who should visit them, and particularly Sieurs Joncaire and La Chauvignerie; that the Iroquois invariably answered all their demands by saying, that they would not do any thing; that they did not wish to take any part in the present war against their Father, Onontio.

Sieur de Joncaire the younger has added, according to Sieur de Celoron's letter to me, that during his sojourn among the Senecas, two English messengers had arrived there with Belts, to demand a Chief of each nation to guard the house at Choueghen, who had received for answer that they might guard it themselves; and on the messengers reproaching them that plenty of them were at Niagara, the Senecas had replied to them, that this Chief was there to settle any difficulties that liquor might occasion among the Indians in the work they had to do at the Carrying place; but as for the rest, they did not wish to participate in their war with their Father.

The Senecas have likewise sent word to Sieur de Celoron, to assure me that, whatever proposals and advances the English may cause to be made to them, they will never declare in their favor; that they requested me to be at ease on that score, and when they would recover from the affliction caused by the death of two of their Chiefs, they should go to the Onontagués, to light up the Council fire, and prevail on that Nation to be as firm as they, in the resolution of neutrality they have adopted, provided always the Beaver traps at Choueghen and Niagara remain untouched; which are the words they used to me this summer at Montreal.

This, My Lord, is the news I have this day received, which appeared to me worthy to be reported to you. My expectations of the result are thereby encouraged, in consequence of the hopes I entertain of the seeming dispositions of the Detroit Indians and of the Iroquois of the Five Nations. Sieur de Joncaire, whom I have sent to the latter, has orders to maintain them therein as much as possi-

ble. This, under existing circumstances, is the most favorable thing that is to be desired.

I am, with most profound respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble and
Most obedient servant,
BEAUHARNOIS.

CONFERENCE BETWEEN M. DE LA GALISSONIERE AND THE IROQUOIS.

Authentic Minute of the Speech of the Six Iroquois Nations, at the Castle of St. Louis of Quebec, in 1748.

This day, the second of November, one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight, at two o'clock in the afternoon, We, the undersigned, Notaries Royal, residing within the Provostship of Quebec, having been invited by My Lord Marquis de la Galissonière, General Commander of New France, and by My lord Bigot, Knight, Councillor of the King in his Councils, Intendent of Justice, Police, Finance and Marine in New France, repaired to the grand council chamber of the Castle of St. Louis of Quebec, wherein shortly after met the deputies of the Iroquois Nations, hereinafter named; the said deputies being to the number of about eighty, who were accompanied by Sieur de Joncaire, officer in the King's troops and interpreter, who informed us that these deputies were, for the most part, the principal chiefs of the said Nations; to wit, of the Senecas, Onontagués, Cayugas, Oneidas, and that they were empowered to speak [for the] Tascorins. At the instant entered the said Chamber my said Lords, the Commander and Intendant Generals, followed by a great number of persons of distinction, and being seated, My Lord, the General Commander, said:

"Children, I have invited you to-day to inquire if you are subjects of the English, as I have heard they pretend, and as I have been advised by Messrs Clinton and Shirley, Governors of New-York and of Boston, of whom these are the letters, wherein they write me that you are vassals of the Crown of England, and that you are bound to go to war for the English, whenever they order you so to do." And, thereupon, said letters have been exhibited in the original, and said Sieur de Joncaire having taken the translation, which, also, was on the desk, explained it to them in a loud voice, as well as the question of My Lord, the General Commanding, which they appeared clearly to understand, as divers persons there present, conversant with their language, have assured us.

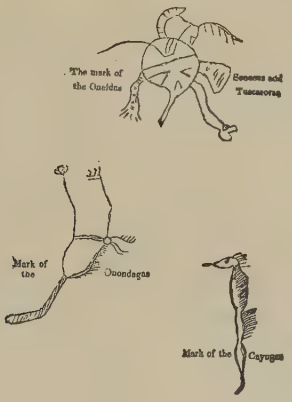
Then the said chiefs deliberated some time together, after which, Cachointioni, chief of the Onnontagues, speaking in the name of his village and of that of the Senecas, said: That formerly there were no Whites in the whole of this Continent, but that since about one hundred years both French and English have settled on it; that they established trade with the one and the other, in order to obtain guns, blankets and other commodities, formerly unknown to them; that they were, also, glad to see traders settling in their neighborhood, but that they had not ceded to any one their lands, which they hold only of Heaven. He finished by saying, that all he had said was in the name of the Nations here present, by their deputies, and even of the Tascororins.

Then rose Toniohae, a Cayuga chief, who repeated the same thing, and added, as a proof that the Six Iroquois Nations were not subjects of England, that in this and the preceding wars, the English had continually solicited them to take up the hatchet against the French, which they constantly refused to do, and will still refuse, being desirous to remain at peace with the French and English.

The Cayuga concluded by saying, likewise, that he spoke in the name of all the Nations present, and they all approved, in their customary manner, what he said.

Then My Lord, the General commanding, required of us a minute *(acte)* of all these speeches and answers given by the said Sieurs Deputies, and approved by all their confreres, and, also, demanded that it be signed by several of those present, especially by those who understand their language; which we have granted him to serve and be valid. And my said Lords, the General commanding and the Intendant, have signed these presents with Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Esquire, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of Saint Louis, Lieutenant-Governor of the town and Castle of Quebec, and other officers and persons of distinction present, to wit, M^r^ Jean Victor Varin, Commissary of the Marine, Intendant of Montreal, Paul de Becard, Esquire, Sieur de Fouville, Captain in the troops of the detachment of Marines maintained in this country for the King's service, Gaspard Chaussegros, Esquire Sieur de Léry, Captain and Engineer in Chief in this country, Knight of Saint Louis, Daniel Leonard Esquire Sieur de Beaujeu, Captain of said Troops; and, likewise, the following conversant with the Iroquois languages, to wit, Louis de Chapt, Esquire Sieur de Lacorne, also Captain of the Marines in this country, Pierre de Chapt, Esquire Chevalier de la Corne, also Captain of said troops, Philip Thomas de Joncaire, Esquire, Lieutenant of said troops and Interpreter aforesaid; Sieurs Legardeur de Montesson and Dagneaux de la Saussaye and Sieur Louis le Cavalier, also interpreter, and by us, the said Notaries, and the said Deputies, by name, have made and drawn the marks of their Nations, not knowing how to write.

Done and concluded at the said Castle Saint Louis of Quebec, the day and year aforesaid, thus signed on the minute or original remaining in the keeping and possession of Du Laurent, one of the said Notaries. La Galissoniere, Bigot, Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Varrin, Fouville, Chaussegros de Lery, La Corne, Beaujeu, the Chevalier de Lacorne, Joncaire, Dagneaux Douville, Montesson, Daillebousť, Dagneaux de la Saussaye, Le Cavalier, and Panet and Du Laurent, Subscribing Notaries, with paraphs. Signed, Panet and Du Laurent, Notaries.



MINUTE OF THE TAKING POSSESSION OF THE OHIO RIVER AND ITS TRIBUTARIES BY THE FRENCH.

Extract from the Journal of the voyage of M^r de Celoron, Captain of Infantry commanding the detachment sent to the River Ohio, by order of the Marquis de la Galissonniere, Captain-General for New France, to take possession, in the King's name, of said river and of its tributaries.

Copy of the record of the deposition of the leaden plate and the King's arms, buried at the mouth of the Ohio river, and of the inscription.

In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, we, Celoron, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, captain commanding a detachment sent by order of the Marquis de la Galissonniere, Captain-General in Canada, and the Beautiful River,

otherwise called the Ohio, accompanied by the principal officers of our detachment, have buried, at the foot of a red oak tree, on the South bank of the River Ohio, and opposite the point of a little island, where the two rivers, Ohio and Kanaougon, unite, and in forty degrees five minutes, twenty-three seconds, a leaden plate, with the following inscription engraved thereon:

INSCRIPTION.

In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, in the reign of Louis XV., King of France.

We, Celoron, commanding officer of a detachment sent by the Marquis de la Galissonnière, Captain-General of New France, to reëstablish peace in some Indian villages of these Cantons, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Rivers Ohio and Kanaouagan, this twenty-ninth day of July. as a monument of the renewal of the possession which we have taken of the said River Ohio, and of all the lands on both sides, up to the source of the said rivers, as the preceding Kings of France have enjoyed, or ought to enjoy, the same, and have maintained themselves there by arms and treaties, and especially by those of Riswick, Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle. We have, moreover, affixed the King's arms at the same place to a tree. In testimony whereof, we have signed and drawn up this present procès verbal.

Done, at the mouth of the Beautiful river, this twenty-ninth July, one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine.

Signed by all the officers.

(Signed) CELORON.

GOVERNOR HAMILTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

PHILAD[a] *October 2[d] 1749*

SIR: While the Deputys of the Six Nations were lately in the City I made it my business to enquire their sentim[ts] upon the march of such a Body of Frenchmen to Ohio, but found they had no other knowledge of it than what they gained after their coming into this Province, neither upon my own acquainting them with it did it seem to give them any uneasiness.

A few Days ago the Messenger I sent into that Country returned and gave me the following account of His transactions. That upon his Arrival at an Indian town, called Logg's Town, on a branch of Ohio, he learnt that about 200 French and thirty Indians were just departed from thence after having summon'd a Council of the In-

dians & made them a speech the purport whereof, as nearly as he could collect, together with their answer is inclosed. Whereupon the Messenger gathered the Chiefs of the Indians together & acquainted them that he was sent by me to apprize them of a piece of intelligence I had received from Your Excell^y & to put them on their guard in case the French might make any attempt upon them, & so repeated the substance of Your letter to me on that Subject. That when he had delivered his message the Indians expressed great thankfulness to their Brothers of New York & Pensylvania for their care in sending them an account of the French coming among them at a time when they did not expect them. That the Indians in Gen^l were much displeased at the proceedings of the French, & while he was among them held a Council in which it was resolved to fall upon them and cut them off, but that he advised them not to proceed in that manner, until they were more fully convinced by words, that the French intended by force to gain the Subjection of the Twitchwees & Wayandotts (two nations that live further down the River & who for two or three years past have dealt largely with our Traders) That with a good deal of difficulty he got them disswaded from falling on the French at that time, but that they were still determined to differ with them, if the Twitchwees and Wayandotts who had fortifyed themselves in their towns would begin to quarell, to which purpose he sent Deputys to Council with them, who were not returned when he came away. That in gen^l he found the Indians in Ohio heartily in the interest of the English, & fully bent to quarell with the French if ever they came again in the same hostile manner.

The French Officer who commanded the party understanding it was chiefly with this Province that those Nations of Indians trafficked put into the hands of some of our traders three Copys of the inclosed Papers to be delivered me, by which you will perceive they have it much at heart to regain that branch of Trade, which was in a manner lost to them during the war, by their Disappointm^t of regular Supplys of Goods from France; And at present from the Affection those Nations have entertained of the English on acco^t of their more friendly and reasonable manner of dealing with them, Upon the receipt of these papers I was apprehensive our traders might for the future be molested in their trade to that Country by Monsieur's carrying his threats into execution, & thought it incumbent on me to apprize them of this piece of Intelligence, that they might take their Measures accordingly, but I found them so satisfyed of the Friendship of the Indians, & so secure of their protection against the French that they are determined to prosecute their Trade among them, which has of late been a very valuable one.

I have sent by a sloop belonging to this City the Guns Your Excell^y was so kind to assist this Province with at a time when they

stood much in need of them, and am again requested to return you the grateful acknowledgm[ts] of the Gentlemen Associates of so great a favour. I have the honour to be, S[r]

Your most obed[t] hble Serv[t]

JAMES HAMILTON.

His Excell[y] Gov[r] CLINTON.

CAPTAIN DE CELORON'S CERTIFICATE THAT HE HAD EXPELLED ENGLISH TRADERS FROM THE OHIO.

We, Celoron, Captain, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, commanding a detachment sent by the Marquis de la Galissonière, Governor in chief of New France; have on the banks of the Beautiful River, summoned the Englishmen, whom we have found in an Indian town, situated on the bank of the Beautiful River, to retire with all their effects and baggage to New England, on pain of being treated as interlopers and rebels, in case of refusal; to which summons they have answered, that they were going to start for Philadelphia, their country, with all their effects.

Done in our camp, on the Beautiful River, this 10[th] August, 1749.

CELORON.

A Mons[r]

Mons[r] HAMILTON, Governeur de Philadelphia, à Philadelphia.

SPEECH OF A FRENCH OFFICER TO THE OHIO INDIANS.

The Speech of a French Officer who had the Command of 200 French and 30 Indians going down Ohio, delivered in Council to the Ohio Indians at an Indian Town called Log's Town.

CHILDREN: We are once more come to see you & further we are to let you know that we are to come next Spring and trade with you: We are now going down the River in order to whip home some of our children, that is the Twitchwees & Wayundotts & to let them know that they have no business to trade or traffick with the English: further Children we desire you may hunt this Summer & Fall, and Pay the English their Debts, for we will not suffer them to come here to trade after this winter.

So gave the Indians a Belt of Wampum.

To which Speech the Indians made little or no answer only gave the French to understand that the land was theirs & that while there was any Indians in those Parts they would trade with their Brothers the English; As for their pretending to whip home the Twitchwees & Wayundatts this Fall & sending their brothers the English home from trading with them next Spring, they looked on that Speech as a jest & desired them to consider the consequence that must attend a proceeding of that kind; for that to separate them from their Brothers the English would be like cutting a Man in two halfs & then expect him to live. They added no more but used them with a great deal of contempt while they staid in their Town.

ORDER FOR DELIVERING UP ALL THE PRISONERS.

George R.

Trusty and Well beloved, We greet You Well Whereas in Order to put a compleat End to the Calamities of the late War, and to extend the Blessings of peace to all Ranks of people, who may yet labour under those Calamities, We have come to the following Agreements with Our good Brother, the most Christian King, 1 ^{mo}: That all Prisoners whether English or French now detain'd by the Governors of Our Colonies or by those of New France in America shall be forthwith released—2 ^{do}: That after all the English and French prisoners shall have been reciprocally restored, the Indians prisoners in Alliance with, or under the protection of the two Crowns, Shall Likewise be set at Liberty on both sides; And 3 ^{tio}: That the respective Governours shall afterwards facilitate on their part the Redemption of any Slaves, which may still remain in the Indian Villages; Our Will and pleasure therefore is, that You do immediately upon Receipt hereof, give the proper Directions that the Same be forthwith carried into Execution by causing such French or Indian prisoners allied to or under the protection of the French King as may be detain'd in Your Government as Prisonors of War, to be restored into the Hands of the French Governor or Governors, or into the Hands of such Person or Persons as shall be duly authorized for that purpose; and by facilitating on your part the Redemption of any Slaves which may Remain in the Indian Villages. Provided however that the French Governor or Governors shall cause to be delivered up into Yours, or into the Hands of such Person or Persons as You shall empower to receive them, all English or Indian prisoners in our Alliance, or under Our protection, as may have

been taken by the French in the Course of the late War, & detain'd as prisoners of War; And shall likewise facilitate on his or their part, the Redemption of Slaves as abovementioned, And it is our farther Will and Pleasure that You, or the person or persons properly authorized by You, do agree with the French Governor or Governors, or with such person or persons as he or they shall authorize for that purpose, upon fixing a proper place or places for the exchanging and redeeming of the said respective prisoners and Slaves. And for so doing this shall be Your Warrant; And so We bid You farewell.

Given at Our Court at S^{t} Jamses's the Sixth Day of February $17\frac{48}{50}$ in the Twenty Third Year of Our Reign

By His Majesty's Command

BEDFORD.

Order for delivering up all English French and Indian Prisoners. & for facilitating the Redemption of Slaves in America.

A true Copy Exam^{d} p^{r}

GW BANYAR *D Sec^{t}ry*

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

[Extract.]

Feb^{ry} 19th $17\frac{48}{50}$.

Since my last I had a Conference with all the Sachems and Warriors of both the Mohawk Castles as I wrote your Excellency I expected. Inclosed you have what was any way material, by which and sundry other Instances it is most evident, the French are using all means & Stratagems in their power to overset all we have done this time past with regard to Indian affairs & will certainly accomplish, if proper methods are not immediately taken to prevent them, They have ever since the Peace, Officers & Interpreters with great quantities of Goods for presents among the Foreign Nations but much more at a settlement of Indians at Ohio River than any where else, as they are the only Body of Indians now upon the Continent whose Friendship or alliance is most worthy of courting or continuing wherefore if we lose them (who have been for these three years past so firmly attached to the British interests as by sundry instances can be made appear) it must be our own faults & the consequences may be very bad, tho' not immediately felt Wherefore I hope your Excellency and Council will consider seriously of the Importance thereof. Upon hearing that the Canadians were busy mustering up a number of men for some Enterprize in the Spring I

thought proper to send an express through the five Nations with a Belt of Wampum to acquaint them of it, and also to those Indians above mention'd desiring them to keep their Warriors home least the French, who are a designing people, should suprise them, as they have threatened them, such precautions are very requisite, as it shows them we are tender over their lives and safety, My opinion is that notwithstanding the stedfastness of them Indians at Ohio, if this government or Pensylvania, which lays more contiguous to them) do not exert themselves so as to counterballance the Favors of the French we shall inevitably forfeit their esteem, which may prove of worse consequence than people are aware of.—I am sir your Excellencys

most humble Servant
(sgd) WM JOHNSON

A true Copy G. CLINTON

HENDRICK'S SPEECH TO SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

At a meeting of the two Castles of the Mohawks Feb^{y} 2^{1} 17$\frac{49}{50}$ at Mount Johnson

PRESENT—All the Sachims & Chief Warriours of y^{e} Castles

Hendrick spoke & said

BROTHER WARRAGHIYAGEE: We are come here to acquaint you with what news we have received from the Southward, and also from the Westward.

As the five Nations arrived at Philadelpnia last Fall, they met the Scha,wan,ooes there, and the Scha,ni,ha.der ad,yghroo,nees who were glad to see them, and welcomed the Five Nations heartily on their arrival, and to shew their Friendship & brotherly love to the five Nations, presented them with a Pack of Skins.

The Scha,ni,ha,der,adygh,roon,ees & Schawan,oo,es on their meeting the Five Nations at Philadelphia after welcoming them, told the Five Nations that according to their promise made to the Governor and you at Albany last meeting and also to us, that as they lived too far from us, they would move to a place called Scha,han,do,a,na, were they then were but were still in a moving posture towards the five nations, picking up a little of every thing they could get to help them on their journey, and that they had now a pritty large Bundle meaning about two Bushells of Wampum, which they sent by them to be divided among the Six Nations, as a certain token of their Friendship, and coming to settle among them as soon as possible.

They then shewed the Wampum & then lodged it with me, which was a greater quantity than ever I saw before.

Then Hendrich proceeded to tell me about the French army which went last summer to the Westward and spoke

Brother Warraghiyagee: As Mons Celleron the French commander of the Forces (who went last Summer to destroy the Settlement of Indians at Cajuhaga on Belle River who are in the British interest) arrived there with his Forces, the Indians having notice of their coming from you, were ready to receive them and fixed a number of Guns upon which the Commandant was grazed by a ball, which discouragement, together with his seeing so great a number of Men there ready to give him Battle, damped his Spirits so that he thought proper to pass by, and sent a message immediately to Canada with the account of their Numbers & his reception at his return he begged to have a meeting with said Indians, when he told them that he came purposely on their accounts, and to serve them, hearing that the English encroached upon their Lands and were to build Forts and settle towns. Whereupon their Father meaning the Governor of Canada sent him with orders to dispossess the English and prevent their coming among them for the future but not to hurt them. After that was over and he thought he had satisfied or removed their Jealousies he gave them a large Belt of Wampum, with a strong invitation to go to Canada to speak with the Governor and told them they should be there at the time the Bark is easily plucked off the Trees, meaning Spring without fail and that their Father would receive them with open arms. The Indians all in a Body made answer they would not go to Canada and so returned his Belt saying why should you expect us to Canada to speak with you when we have refused speaking to you the whole course of the War—returned his Belt.

Meeting with no success Mons^{r} Celleron retired and by the way inquiring of his Interpreter and Indians who were with him, whether they did not know of any Indians in the way who were friends to the French, they told him of one who formerly lived in the Senecas country, but now lived at a place called Cas,cagh,sa,gey who they took to be a friend of theirs upon which they sent him word to meet at a certain place, accordingly he met them, Upon which the French Commandant telling him he depended upon him as a friend, and one whom he looked upon as next his heart and desired he would acquaint him with all the news from the Governor of York the Governor of Philadelphia, the Five Nations and all the Indians in their Interest, and what their designs were

The Indians gave him no satisfactory answer telling him that he knew nothing extraordinary, but that the Governor of Philadelphia, some time ago sent their Indians settled on Ohio River 12 Barrells of Gun Powder &c for their use

M^r Celleron on parting gave said Indians and family the strongest Invitation imaginable to go with him and live at Ca,da,ragh,-que. The Indian asked him for what reason, as he had a better hunting place where he then was and insisted on knowing his reason for so ernest an Invitation

The Frenchman told him but charged him strictly at the same time not to discover it, for several reasons, it was out of regard for his safety. That the French Governor was fully determined early in the Spring to destroy all the Five Nations, Giving said Indian a present in order to sew up his lips, or bind him a secresy but in vain, for he immediately disclosed all the French officers said to him to the Sachims, who sent you this account now and promise they will immediately send you word, if the hear any further News of the French designs, And the five Nations expect you will strictly enquire into the designs of the French, as you may have more frequent opportunities and acquaint them immediately with what you hear

Gave a Belt of Wampum

GOVERNOR CLINTON OF NEW YORK TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

FORT GEORGE, NEW YORK, *7^th June 1750.*

MY LORDS: Your Lordships will perceive by the inclosed Papers that the Gov^r of Canada, under feigned artificial pretences keeps the English and Indian Prisoners still in Canada, which I am pursuaded is done with a design to lessen the esteem the five Nations of Indians have of the English Strength and Power in respect to that of the French and to weaken the influence the English have hitherto had on those Indian Nations and others in alliance with us and to withdraw their dependance on us

This proceeding of the Governors continuing to be of a piece, with what I have formerly informed your Lôrdsps by my letters of the 29^th may and 24 Sept^r 1749 confirms my opinion of the designs of the french Governor. It appears to me to be of the greatest consequence to the British Trade, among the numerous nations on the Continent to the Westward of the English Colonies and the safety of those Colonies in case of War with France, effectually to support those nations who joined us in the late War and who (as appears by the copy of M^r Johnsons letter inclosed) are at this time in danger by the French exciting the Indians in alliance with them to make war on them I shall do all in my power on this occasion

But as the Assembly of this Province has not granted a single farthing for any exigences whatsoever and if I be allowed to judge from what has been the Practice in former times they will not in all probability grant money for this service till after the Indians shall be actually attacked and thereby any assistance we can give them come to late

Your Lordships will observe, from the Minutes of Council, my proposal, in case the Mohawks were attacked, that they should be supported by the Militia, of the Inhabitants who are intermixed with the Mohawk Settlements, and your Lordships will perceive, that the Council seem to be of opinion, that I could not command the Militia without the Assistance of an Act of Assembly for that purpose I was advised by some gentlemen of the Law, that as the Power of the Militia is undoubtedly in the King, every power necessary for the exercise of that Power must be likewise necessarily in the King, but as the Chief Justice declares himself of a different opinion without doubt the People will favor the opinion which increases their own power and therefore I thought it not proper to subject His Majestys Authority to such kind of dispute at this time However as the Power of the Militia in the Plantations may be of the last consequence in the Plantations it must require your Lordship attention

M^{r} Hamilton in his letter to me, thinks the Indian Nations on the River Ohio so much attached to the Britis^{h} Interests, that he seems not apprehensive of the designs of the French, but I think by our situation and the Correspondence the five Nations have with the distant Nations I can be better informed than he can be and certainly the French will keep their designs against them as much a secret from those nations as they can

I must intreat your Lordships serious consideration on this affair, and that such application be made to the Court of France, as shall be thought proper in order to restrain the Governor in these attempts inconsistent with the Amity so lately established between the Crowns of Great Britain and France.

I have communicated the Intelligence I have, to the Governors of Pennsylvania & Virginia, because the Indians on the River Ohio, who seem to be in most immediate danger, are by their situation nearest to those Provinces and trade immediately with them

I have received His Mâtys orders for the Exchange of Prisoners, which I shall carry into execution with all convenient Speed and Prudence I can

I am with the greatest Respect
My Lords
Your Ldps mo humble
and most obedient Serv^{t}
(sg^{d}) G CLINTON.

P. S. I have just received several Affidavits from Albany to contradict that part of Monsieur Jonqueres letter in relation to the French Interpreter & the French Indian

G. C

GOVERNOR HAMILTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

PHILADELPHIA *31st May 1750*

SIR: I forbore answering your Excellencys letter, relating to Indian Affairs by the last post in expectation of being able to give some fresher Intelligence than possibly you might have received, touching the State of affairs among the Indians at Ohio I am now to acquaint you that since that time, I have two accounts from thence, by persons who left it on the 8th & 15th of this month both agreeing in substance, That there were among them reports of hostile preparations carrying on in Canada against them and the six Nations, but that the matter was much doubted by the Indians, some giving credit to it, and others not beleiving a word of the story; That however all the Indians are in a fighting posture, fearing the worst and will keep themselves so: And upon the first intelligence of the French coming into their parts, they will go out from their towns in a body, and by parties harrass or fight them in their march. And that as all the Indians there are hearty very numerous and agreeing well together, it is thought that this summer will not produce any disturbance

I am very sensible tis of great importance to the British Interest in general, to cherrish and protect the Indians in our Alliance but particularly to these two Provinces, which reap such considerable benefits from their Trade, and for that reason I shall ever be ready to afford them all the Assistance in my power, when regularly demanded, but considering that they are as strictly united with this Government as with any other on the Continent, and that we have on all occasions acted as friendly a part by them, it is natural to think that had they apprehended such imminent danger as is set forth in Coll Johnsons lettre they would as freely have applyed to this Government for assistance, as to that of New York and by Messengers who were known to be of consequence with them, nothing of which kind having been done, I can not venture to put the Province to considerable expence, without receiving some stronger evidence of the necessity of it, than Coll Johnsons letter to the Governor of an other Province, Neither indeed do I think the people under my care, would have reason to be pleased with such

a conduct. I shall therefore wait some time in expectation of hearing from them on this subject, and when ever they require it in a proper manner shall most willingly assist them to the extent of my power.

One of the Traders who left Ohio on the 15th Instant, tells me, that before he came away he heard a message from you delivered to them by one of the six Nations with which they were extremely pleased.

I expect shortly a further account of these matters from my Secretary, who has been now three weeks in the Woods in company with some Indians of the Six Nations, and if I find it worthy of your notice shall not fail to acquaint you with it as soon as possible—

I am with all imaginable Regard Sir

Your Excellencys most humble

and obedient Servant

sgd JAMES HAMILTON

His Excellency Govr CLINTON

GOVERNOR CLINTON TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

FORT GEORGE, NEW YORK, *June 7th 1750.*

MY LORD DUKE: Your Grace will perceive by the inclosed Papers, that the Govr of Canada, under feigned artificial pretences, keeps the English and Indian prisoners still in Canada: which I am persuaded is done, with design to lessen the esteem the Five nations of Indians have of the English strength and power, in respect to that of the French, to weaken the influence the English have hitherto had on those Indian nations, and others in alliance with us, and to withdraw their dependance on us—

This proceeding of the Govr continuing to be of a Piece, with what I formerly informed Your Grace by my letters of 29th May 24th Septr 1749. confirms my opinion of the designs of the French Governour. It appears to me to be of the Greatest consequence to the British trade, among the numerous nations on the Continent, to the Westward of the English Colonies, and the safety of these Colonies, in case of war with France, effectually to support those nations, who joined us in the late war, and who (as appears by the copy of Mr Johnson's letter inclosed) are at this time in danger, by the French exciteing the Indians, in alliance with them, to make war on them. I shall do all in my power on this occasion, but as the Assembly of this province has not granted a single farthing for any exigency whatsoever, and if I be allowed to judge from what

has been the practice in former times, they not in all probability grant money for this service, till after the Indians shall be actually attacked, and thereby, any assistance we can give them come too late—

I must intreat Your Graces serious consideration of this affair, and that such application may be made to the Court of France, as shall be thought proper, in order to restrain the French Gov^{r} in these attempts, inconsistent with the Amity so lately established between the Crowns of Great Britain & France.

I have communicated the Intelligence I have, to the Governours, of Pennsylvania and Virginia, because the Indians on the River Ohio, who seem to be most in immediate danger, are by their situation nearest to those Provinces, and trade immediately with them.

I have received His Maj$^{ty's}$ orders for the exchange of prisoners, which I shall carry into execution, with all the convenient speed and prudence I can. I am with the greatest respect

My Lord Duke.

Your Grace's most humble
and most obedient servant
(Signed). G. CLINTON.

To His Grace the Duke of Bedford.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Aug. 18th, 1750.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY: I am to acquaint you that three days ago Nichus the Sachim who was so long Prisoner in Canada, came with Hendrick, Abraham and the rest of them to tell me all the News they had heard in Canada and earnestly begged I would communicate it to your Excêllcy which I will as far as is material, He says that Jean Ceur, a French, Interpreter, a noted man among the Indians is sent with an other officer along with him, to Ohio River in order to bring that body of Indians (who are stedfast in the British Interest) over to the French, if they possibly can by any means, having for that purpose a large quantity of valuable goods to distribute among them and all other Nations he goes through. If your Excellency will allow me to give you my opinion, and that of all the Indians, I spoke to on that head, the only way is to send an account of it immediately to Governor Hamilton who may have time to overset their schemes if he will but send proper persons their to talk with said Indians and tell them they only go as spies

there &c it would be most requisite at the same time to send them a present—This account may be depended on, for the Interpreter Arent Stevens, who came lately from Oswego confirms it having spoke with Jean Ceur there; who made no scruple of telling several people of the purpose of his journey thither. If the French should by their valuable Presents &c overset our Interest with said Indians the five Nations must certainly submit also as them very Indians are the Chief and trustiest Allies, we or the five Nations have, wherefore I hope there may be proper means and Dispatch used to stop an affair of so great importance. As for my sending them any message it would be too late, as he was so far a head, ere we could know it, they can be there before him yet from Philadelphia. The next thing of consequence which he told me, was that he heard from several Indians when [he was there] that the Governor had given orders to the Priest, who is now settled below Cadaracqui to use all means possible to induce the five Nations to settle there, for which end they have a large Magazine of all kind of clothing fitting for Indians as also arms, Ammunition Provision &c which they distribute very liberally

I can not omit acquaint^{s} your Excellency how insolent Nichus & Hendrick &c behaved now at my house they entered it in a great Passion, would not even shake hands with me or the Interpreter, I asked them what they meant by such behaviour, they answered they had sufficient Reason: saying your Excell^{cy} myself &c: were all French and had endeavored all in our power to bring the French Governor into our Plot which was to fall upon all the Indians on both sides and destroy them, that they were all assured of it, it being told to Nichus by all in Canada, and further says that the Governor of Canada, in a full meeting of Indians produced a very large Belt of Wampum he had from your Excellency desiring him to join you in said Scheme, but declared he would by no means agree to any such thing having too great a regard for all Indians whatsoever this was corroborated by an other account he had in Canada of what passed between your Excellency and Deligneries, being told him by one of the French Indians who attended Deligneries, in this manner—That after Deligneries and his party set off for York the last time, that Hendrick and a party of Mohawks came to Albany in order to kill them, but on my acquainting your Excellency of their design you put a stop to it for that time; After Deligneries was there above 50 days to no purpose as your Excellency would allow him no access. A York gentlemen asked him if he did not take notice of a great concourse of People every day resorting to the Fort, he answered he did, and supposed they were about settling that affair of the Exchange of Prisoners, no says the Yorker the Governor is scheming how to destroy all the Indians, in conjuction with your Gov^{r} and it is agreed upon and settled, upon which you

wrote a letter to Deligneries about it, which when he received ordered Beaubassin to interprette it to his Indians then there, which he did with an easy low voice. Deligneries desired him to read it aloud, for such a vile thing should not be kept private, after that he tells the Indians he would take upon him to answer your Excellency, which was that he was well assured of the Governor of Canada's love and regard for all of his Children that he would never come into any such thing, but would protect them from any attempts of that kind might be made against them This together with the other story of the large Belt of Wampum before mentioned made all the Indians imagine it to be actually Fact, adding they plainly saw there was a coolness on your side, as you had not spoke to them in so long a time which convinced them you had no love for them—This and a great many other things they said, not worth mentioning now, which I assure your Excellency gave me three days hard work to get the better of, but at last convinced them it was french Policy (which they are remarkable for) to stir up the Indians against us and make a division among the five Nations, which could they accomplish they would set one half to kill the other so that at last there would not be one of them left, which is what they aim at the French took a great deal of pains also to hurt my Interest among the Indians by telling the Indian Prisoners &c that it was owing to me, that they were detained so long in Canada, by reason of my hindering the Indians to go there on the Governors invitation and assurance of releasing them all immediately if only one of them would go there in the name of the rest and make proper submission I had no great difficulty to settle this point with the Indians after making them sensible of the Governor of Canadas design in it which I told them was to bring them to make submission, and then lay them under such obligations as would make Slaves or Tools of them for ever after to him, they answered they were sensible of it, and heartily glad I did not suffer them to go. Give me leave to acquaint your Excellency of one thing which would be of Service, and much commended by every one who has the least spark of Goodness, that is your Excellencys recommend^{s} the poor people to the Assembly who were so long Captives in Canada and taken in our Service. I mean Van Scoike, Christopher M^{c}Grah, William Goff. and the four Indians whose loyality & Stedfastness (notwithstandall the Temptations thrown in their way) could not be shaken. An other thing very requisite to be done is the sending Smiths among the five Nations as soon as possible for they every day desire it, forbidding them at the same time or any others to bring any Spirituous Liquors among any of the five Nations, for it is actually the ruin of them; the penalty should be very great else they will not regard it I yesterday received a piece of News from Lieutenant Lindesay, that an Onondaga Indian told him (as a secret) that the French were

endeavoring all they could to get liberty to build a Fort at Onondaga where they promise the Indians they shall always be supplied with powder, Lead, Clothing &c in plenty—If they should succeed the consequence may be easily judged—I thought it my duty to acquaint your Excellency immediately of an affair of so great importance, and shall endeavor to get further information and try to stop it as much as possibly I can, & beg leave to subscribe myself your Excellencys most sincere

and most humble Servt

(sgnd) WM. JOHNSON.

A true Copy

GEO. CLINTON.

LIEUTENANT BUTLER TO COLONEL JOHNSON.

Oswego *Septr 3d 1750.*

Sir: The 28th or 29th Aug last came a Caghnawagah Indian to Oswego soon after he landed, desired to wait on the officer, accordingly I went with him to Captn Lindesay. He said was lately come from his castle, but some [time] before he left it heard the following News Vizt

That the Governor of the three Rivers had been with a Nation of Indians living there or thereabouts & told them he was lately come from over the Seas, but before he left the old countrys had heard how much the New England People wronged them in their Lands, that he likewise understood they had lost several of their young men in the late War for which they had not yet taken revenge & said very much in order to spirit up the Indians against the English giving them at the same time all such things as Indians use in time of War, upon which about twenty young fellows rose up and declared they would immediately go a fighting & so set out for the Eastward of Boston, the News of which soon reached some other Nations, who sent ten young men after them in order to fetch them back, they were overtaken in the woods but could not be prevailed on. Upon which they went to the Governor in Chief & complained of the Governor of the three Rivers, saying the Indians were now all at Peace with the English & would gladly remain so The Governor told them he had nothing to do with what that Gentleman did in sending out the Indians. The Indians were very much dis-

pleased at the Governors answer & said that Nation might look to themselves for they would not assist them against the English

I am Sir

Your mo obedient
humble Servant
(sg[d]) THO[s] BUTLER.

To Coll W[m] JOHNSON

A true Copy Exam[d] P[r]

G W BANYER *D Secry*

MESSAGE OF MIAMIS AND HURONS TO THE GOVERNOR PENNSYLVANIA.

Copy of a Message delivered by Andrew Montour Indian Interpreter at Ohio, to the Governor of Pensylvania.

MAY IT PLEASE THE GOVERNOR: The Twightwees who were admitted into the Alliance of the English in a Treaty held at Lancaster two or three years ago sent their Deputys to Allegheney last Winter, with a Message addressed to the six Nations, and other Indians living on Ohio and to the several English Provinces accompanied with this string of Wampum.

The Message delivered by the Deputys of the Twightwees was as follows

BRETHERN OF THE SIX NATIONS AND ALL THE ENGLISH LIVING ON OHIO, AND ALL THE ENGLISH GOVERNORS: "We the Twightwees who are now one with you desire that the Road, which has lately been open between us, being a new one, and therefore rough blind and not well cleared may now be made plain, and that every thing which may hinder the Passage may be removed out of it, so effectually as not to leave the least obstruction, and we desire this may be done, not only as far as where you live, but beyond you to the places where our brethren the English live, that there Traders whom we desire to see amongst us, and to deal with us for the future, may travel to us securely & with Ease

"Brethren, we are yet young and unexperienced, you the six Nations are our elder brothers, and can advise us what to do on all occasions. We therefore put ourselves under your care, and request that you will look upon us children, and assist us with your Council, and we promise to follow whatever advice you give us; for we are sensible that it will be for our Good. Our Father Onontio has kept us poor & blind, but thro' your means we begin to open

our eyes and to see things at a great distance. We assure you by this String of Wampum, that we the Twightwees, have entirely laid Onontio aside, and will no more be Governed by his advice nor any longer hearken to what he shall say

This is our settled Determination, and we give you the strongest Assurances that we shall abide by it, and of this we desire you will inform the Six Nations Indians at Onondago and all the Indians who are in their and your alliance and likewise the Governor of Pensilvania and the other English Governors"

Sir, I have it further in charge to relate to you the answer which the six Nation Indians at Ohio. gave to this Message of the Twightwees

Brethren the Twightwees, Harken to what we say and consider our answer as the joint answer of all the Nations of the Indians living in these Parts, of our Fathers the Six Nations living at Onondago and the English Governors all of whom we include in this answer

Brethren of the Twightwee Nations, "You have by your Deputies "desire of us, that we would open the new Road between us and you "wide and take out of it every thing that can possibly hinder our "Travelling safely and pleasantly to one an other, and that the Eng- "lish Trader may come more amongst you. And further that you "have henceforth put yourselves under our care and desire we will "assist you with our Council and that you have entirely laid aside "Onontio, and will be no more governed by his Councils"

"We declare ourselves well pleased with every part of your Mes- "sage and will heartily join with you in making the Road perfectly "clear and free from all impediments We will take you under our "care, and assist you on all occasions in the best manner We trust "your Determinations are made with the utmost seriousness and "Deliberation, and that you will adhere to what you say—The Eng- "lish & We are firmly united together, We are all one people and "our hands joined so together, that nothing can separate them "You have joined hands with them & us tis true, but yours are yet "like the hands of Infants, they can not take hold of the chain of "Friendship with so much strength as those of riper years; but we "advise you to take as strong an hold of it as ever you can and to "form an union that nothing can break through—If any Tree "should fall & block up the Road between us, be sure let us all put "our hands to it, and unitedly & amicably, like Brethren, throw it "out of the Road—Dont let us act single on any occasion, but alto- "gether, and then shall we have the more strength"

Sir: I am further ordered to tell you that a Message arrived from the Twightwees just before I left Allegheny to acknowledge that they had received the Ohio answer, and returned thanks, and gave further Assurances that they would continue true to their new

L'AN 1749 DV REGNE D
°FRANCE NOVS CEL
DETACHEMENT ENVOIÉ
DE LA GALISSONIERE CO
LA NOUVELLE FRANCE
TRANQVILLITÉ DANS
DE CES CANTONS AVONS
AU CONFLUENT DE LOHIO
PRES DE LA RIVIERE OYO
RIVIERE POVR MONUMENT
POSSESSION QUE NOUS
RIVIERE OYO ET DE
TOMBENT ET DE TOU
CÔTES JVSQVE AVX SOV
AINSI QVÉN ONT JOVY
PRECEDENTS ROIS DE
SONT MAINTENVS PAR
TRAITTES SPECIALEM
D'VTRECHT ET D'AIX

LANE S. HART, STATE PRINTER.
1877

LOVIS XV ROY DE
ON COMMANDANT D'VN
PAR MONSIEVR LE M.IS
MANDANT GENERAL DE
OVR RETABLIR LA
QVELQVES VILLAGES SAUVAGES
ENTERRÉ CETTE PLAQVE
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AUTREMENT BELLE
DU RENOUVELLEMENT DE
VONS PRIS DE LA DITTE
OUTES CELLES QUI Y
ES LES TERRES DES DEUX
CES DES DITTES RIVIERES
OV DÛ JOVÏR LES
RANCE ET QUILS SÝ
LES ARMES ET PAR LES
NT PAR CEVX DE RISWICK
LA CHAPELLE

Engagements & expected to receive the Answer of the English Governors by the first Trader that should come into their parts in the Fall

S^r: I have finished what was given me in charge with respect to the Twightwees, but I have still something to communicate to the Governor of Pensilvania and all the other Governors on the Continent, which was communicated to me by the Owendaets (otherwise called the Ionontady-Haga Indians) in conjunction with the other Indians settled on Ohio, be pleased therefore to receive a message sent by the owendaets and the other Indians.

Brethren the Governors of Pensilvania and New York: When you were at War with Onontio, we were perswaded by Corlaer to strike the French, you have since made peace with Onontio, and we expected that we were included in that Treaty, but we dont find it so, for the French are always threatning us, and have put us into so much fear by their menaces, that we dare not suffer our People to go to the hunting places at a distance from us least we should meet a party of French, This was the case all last summer, and we have received Intelligence from the Six Nations, that the French in Canada are now making Military Preperations, and intend to attack us this summer. Brethren you ought to have included us in your Peace, but since you did not, we now request that the English Governors would jointly apply to have us included in the Peace, that we may not be subject to their intimidations and Resentment of the French but be in quiet as well as you

Here he finished and gave a String of Wampum—

N B The Owendaets lived on the other side of Lake Erie before the commencem^t of the War: but left their Settlements and came on this side the Lake, and committed Hostilities against the French & dare not return to their Towns but remain with the other Indians on Ohio

The above is a true Copy of an Indian Message delivered by M^r Andrew Montour Indian Interpreter at Ohio, & entered into the Council Books exam^d by me & Certified this 20 Sep 1750

RICHARD PETERS
Secy of Pensylvania

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Sept^r 25.1750

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY: This is to acquaint your Excellency, that the bearers hereof are two English men belonging to Pensylvania Government, and as they were trading among the In-

dians of Ohio River last Summer as usual were taken Prisoners by seven Indians sent by the commanding officer of De Troit for said purpose, and by him detained ever since the beginning of last June, it plainly appears by all the circumstances that he the said officer sent the Indians to take or destroy what English men they could meet, as the Indians told those young men so & shewed them the Ammunition Tobacco &c[a] which the said officer gave them for their Journey: And when they brought said Prisoners to him, he was very thankfull and rewarded them well which said Prisoners were eye witnesses to. He being releived by an other officer, took those two Prisoners with him, in order to bring them to Quebec, but they luckily made their escape from him half way between Niagara & Oswego from which they came to me in a miserable naked condition. They say the French are making all the Preparations possible again the Spring to destroy some Nations of Indians very stedfast in our Interest, which if they succeed in, will be of very bad consequence They met in the Lake ten or twelve large Battoes, laden with Stores & Amunition for said purpose, with whom were several officers in particular two sons of one of their L[t] Governors whom I suppose to be Mons[r] Longquiles Sons, certainly they have something in agitation which they want to put in execution as soon as they can; having accounts from several Hands lately which corroborate Those two men say that the French at Detroit and thereabout have offered and given some Indians great Presents to go & take or destroy one M[r] Crochan & Lawrie, two of the cheif men who trade from Pensylvania and have the most influence on all Indians, living thereabouts of any that ever went among them or in all likelyhood ever may—Should they succeed therein it would certainly be a great Step towards their gaining them Indians who are as yet very strongly attached to the British Interest and double the number of the five Nations. more over if the French go on so, there is no man can be safe in his own house for I can any time get an Indian to kill any man for paying of him a small matter Their going on in this manner is worse than an open War. Jean Ceur whom I mentioned to your Excellency some time ago is now gone among S[d] Ohio Indians in order to Sperit them up against the English (I wish he may meet with his proper desert) I hope your Excellency will pardon my troubling you with so long a Detail of this kind but [as] I thought it my duty to acquaint you of every thing that may come to my knowledge relating to the Service of the Province, hope you will excuse it and beleive me to be with all sincerity and Esteem Sir

Your Excellencys

most obedient Servant

WM JOHNSON

GOVERNOR CLINTON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

NEW YORK *19th Decr 1750*

MY LORDS: I have just time to transmit to your Lordships a Paragraph of a letter from Coll Johnson of 6th Instt which came to my hands last night (viz) "I shall do myself the Honor of send- "ing your Excellency a Plate of Lead full of Writing, which some "of the upper Nations of Indians stole from Jean Ceur, the French "Interpreter, at Niagara, on his way to the River Ohio, which river "& all lands thereabouts, the French claim as will appear by said "writing. It gave the Indians so much uneasiness that they imme- "diately dispatched some of the Cayuga Cheifs to me with it, tell- "ing me as their only reliance was on me, earnestly begged I would "communicate the Contents thereof to them which I have much to "our Interest and their satisfaction.

As an other vessel will sail in two or three weeks, by which time I expect to receive the above described Plate of Lead your Lordships may be assured, that I shall communicate the contents as it may be of great importance at this time to clear up the Incroachments the French have made on the British Empire in America.

I am with the greatest regard
My Lords
Your Lordships most
obedient humble Servant
G: CLINTON.

GOVERNOR CLINTON TO GOVERNOR GLEN OF S. C.

FORT GEORGE NEW YORK *18th Dec. 1750*

SIR: I have the favor of your letter of the 25 Septr and am greatly obliged to you for the information you have given me concerning the Indians depending on your Government & shall take an opportunity to give you an account of the five Nations & other Indians we have any connection with

By the copy of Mr Weiser the Pensilvania Interpreter's Journal sent me by Governor Hamilton, I observe the six Nations, in answer to Mr Lees message to them, decline going to Fredericksburgh, desiring him to move his Council Fire to Albany where the will gladly hear what he has to say: Hence appears the necessity of transacting business with them at that place, where they have most usually held their Publick Treaties

I agree in your Sentiments that we should concert a general comprehensive Plan, to unite together in one Band of Friendship all the Indians upon the Continent, that are in alliance with or have any dependance on, the British Governm[t] and that this would be the only effectual means to secure them in their attachment to us. But as I conceive this cannot be carried into execution, unless by a meeting of the several Governors, or commissioners authorized to do it, I have notified my intentions of meeting the Six Nations at Albany in the first week in June next, to the several Governors, and recommended this matter to them as of the greatest importance and I flatter myself with your Excellencys Presence and Assistance or that of Commissioners from your Government it will I think be a favorable Juncture for establishing a Peace between the Six Nations and the Cattawbas and other Southeren Indians, with whom the Six Nations are at War if the latter can be prevailed on to send Deputies to this meeting which I hope you will use your Interest to incline them to

If this proposal of an Interview between the several Governors, or commissioners representing them, be approved of and they meet accordingly, it will I conceive be very proper they should then examine into, and draw up a state of the Indian affairs to be laid before His Majesty, and at the same time consider whether, it would not be a proper step to agree on a Representation to the Governour General of Canada touching the conduct of some of the Governors & officers under him, who have been guilty of Infractions of the Treaties of Peace subsisting between Great Britain & France, and particularly of the 15 Article of the Treaty of Utrecht. Especially if it is done with such a concurrence, upon good proofs, which I hope all who know of any such will come furnished with or with the means of procuring them.

I am &c.

G. CLINTON.

His Excellency Gov GLEN

GOVERNOR CLINTON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

NEW YORK *17th Janry 1750*

MY LORDS: In my letter to your Lps. of the 19th Ult° I acquainted you with my Expectation of Receiving a Leaden Plate, from Coll° Johnson lately got from the French, touching a pretended claim of theirs to lands near the River Ohio; I have since received it, and now enclose a copy of the superscription thereon, and of the speech

made to Coll Johnson by a Sachim of the Cayouga Nation of Indians, sent by the five Nations to inform himself of the purport of that Plate, of which I have also sent copies to Governor Hamilton the only step the Council thought necessary at this time to be taken by me on the occasion

I have the Honor to be with
very great regard
My Lords
Your Lordships most
obedient humble Servant
G CLINTON.

CONFERENCE BETWEEN SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON AND A CAYUGA SACHEM.

MOUNT JOHNSON *Dec 4th 1750.*

Att the desire of the Five Nations I called the Cheifs of the Mohawks to my house where Scanaghtradeya Cayuga Sachim after the usual compliments spoke to me as follows

Brother Corlear, & Warraghiyagee

I am sent here by the five Nations (with a piece of Writing which the Senecas our Bretheren, got by some artifice from Jean Cour) to you ernestly beseeching you will let us know what it means, and as we put all our confidence in you our brother, hope you will explain it ingeniously to us. delivered a Leaden Square Plate.

A Belt of Wampum

Brother

I am ordered further to acquaint you, that J^{n} Cour the French Interpreter when on his journey (this last summer) to Ohio River spoke thus to the five Nations, and others in our alliance

Children

Your Father (meaning the French Governor) having out of a Tender regard for you, consider the great difficultys you labour under, by carrying your Goods, Canoes &c, over the great carrying place of Niagra, has desired me to acquaint you that in order to ease you all of so much trouble for the Future, he is resolved to build a house at the other end, of said carrying place which he will furnish with all Necessarys requisite for your use

A Belt of Wampum.

Brother,

Jean Cour, also told us that he was now on his way to Ohio River, where he intended to stay three years, & desire some of us to ac-

company him thither, which we refused, whereupon he answered he was much surprized at our not consenting to go with him in as much as it was for our Interest & ease he was sent thither to build a house there also, at the carrying place between said River Ohio & Lake Erie, Where all the Western Indians should be supplyed with whatever goods they may have occasion for, & not be at the trouble & Loss of time of going so far to Markett as usual, (meaning Oswego) after this he desired to know our opinion of the affair, & begged our consent to build in said Places, he gave us a large Belt of Wampum therewith desiring our Answer which we told him we would take some time to consider of

Brother, we have nothing further to add at present but to acquaint you that your Brethren the Senecas have made two New Sachims which they desired I would let you know & their Titles, so that when you may have occasion to speak to them, yo should not be at a loss therein, they are called Onoghcaritawey & Sagangiona two very good men, whom we hope may be agreeable to you

A String of Wampum

Brethren of the five Nations

I am always glad to see you here at my house, but never more so than at this juncture, as it puts it in my Power now to be of the greatest Service to you, and of convincing you, that the confidence you have always reposed in me, was justly grounded, and will ever prove the greatest advantage to you while you continue to behave as you should & follow your brother the Governors advice, & not suffer yourselves to be wheedled or misled by the fine Speeches, of your greatest enemy the French, who have not nor never had, your Welfare at Heart, as you are sensible of, from their many former cruelties & ill Treatment to your people, But their Scheme now laid against you, & yours (at a time when they are feeding you up with fine Promises of serving you in several Shapes) is worse than all the rest, as will appear by their own writing here on this Plate . . *Note.* I repeat here the substance of said writing with some necessary additions. Giving a large Belt of Wampum to confirm what I said, which Belt with the rest are to be sent through all the Nations, as far as Ohio River

Brethren this is an Affair of the greatest importance to you, as nothing less than all your Lands, and best Hunting Places are aimed at with a view of secluding you entirely from us, & the rest of your Bretheren, viz^{t} the Philadelphians, Virginians &ca, who can always supply you with the necessarys of Life, at a much lower rate than the French ever did, or could, and under whose Protection you are, & ever will be safer and better served in every respect, than under the French. These and a hundred other substantial reasons I could give you to convince yeu that the French are your implacable ennemies. But as I told you before the very Instru-

ment you now brought me of their own writing, is sufficient of itself to convince the world of their Villainous designs, therefore I need not be at the trouble so shall only desire that you & all other Nations in alliance with you, seriously consider your own Interest, & by no means submit to the impending danger which now threatens you; the only way to prevent which, is to turn Jean Cour away immediately from Ohio, & tell him that the French shall neither build there, or at the carrying place of Niagara, nor have a foot of Land more from you.

Brethren what I now say I expect & insist upon it be taken notice of & sent to the Indians at Ohio, that they may immediately know the vile designs of the French.

A Belt of Wampum

Brother Corlear & Warraghiyagee

I have with great attention & surprise, heard you repeat the substance of that Devilish Writing which I brought you & also with pleasure notice your just remarks thereon, which really agree with my own sentiments on it. I return you my most hearty thanks in in the name of all the Nations for your Brotherly love and Cordial advice which I promise you sincerly (by this Belt of Wampum) shall be communicated immediately and verbatim to the five Nations by myself & more over shall see it forwarded from the Senecas Castle with Belts from each of our own Nations to the Indians at Ohio to Strengthen your desire as I am thoroughly satisfied you have our Interest at Heart

WILLIAM JOHNSON.

LIEUTENANT LINDSAY'S REPORT OF INDIAN NEWS, &c.

A Report of the News I have had from the Indians &c

Oswego Feb 5th $17\frac{50}{51}$. Came here three Frenchmen from Onondaga, and told me they were come from the place Joncaire was at (on the River Ohio) with a message to the Governor of Canada, desiring men &c to be sent him in order to build a Fort there, I understood they had been at our several castles, telling them what they were to do soon after Adrawanah (one of the Cheifs of the Cahugah Castle) came here, I spoke to him of this, and told him they might now see the bad consequence of our Indians going to Canada, and receiving presents from the Governor of said place, for now he looked on them as his Slaves, and Tributaries and did what he pleased without their leave or consent.

I also told him I was informed they had built a Fort at the Carrying place (above Niagara) from the Iry to this Lake, and desired if they had any regard for their own property, that they would have a stop put to it. He replyed the five Nations had heard of this Fort and had appointed some Indians to go and prevent the building it further

April 3rd Joncaires Brother came here in his way to Niagara, and said he was going to command the new Fort on the carrying place above Niagara.

May 4th Came here a Mesasagah Canoe (with Indians) who came and saw me and told for News, that there was an Army passed Cataracque, in order to build a Fort where Joncaire was, and to run off the Shawanahs, Chanundadies, and Twig-Twee Indians (who live at Kyahagah on the Drafts of Ohio & Ohio) and with whom the Philadelphians trade, and to drive them from thence, and that there was a good many Indians to go with said army. I told them as they had entered into an Alliance with the Five Nations (which place belonged to them) and that many of the five Nations lived there as well as the other Nations aforesaid. I hoped the would join the five Nations in defence of said Indians, and opposed the views of the French, which was to make slaves of all Indians. Adrawanah being here I sent for him, and made them repeat the News to him, who seemed much troubled with it. I did all I could to shew the Frenches Views in all their doings, and to shew that they treated the five Nations and all other Indians, as their Slaves, who had neither liberty nor property

Schanahary (an other Cheif of the Cahugahs) coming here the next day I was at the same pains with him

May 5th This day came here a Seneca Indian who informed me that the French (who are building a Fort near the Twig Twees) hearing of three Philadelphia Traders, that were going to trade with that Nation, sent for them to smoke a Pipe in a friendly manner, which they accepted of, and as soon as they came took everything from them, and put the men in Irons. On hearing this I sent for Schanahary, and told him the News, he said they had heard it, and had sent to know the certainty of it, and said the Five Nations were determined to assist and defend all those Indians who live at Cayahagah, and to protect the English that traded there—

I told all our Indians that were here, that when I came here first. I had opposed their going to Canada, to receive Gifts and presents from thence for that was selling their Liberty and property and they might now see come to pass. For the Governor of Canada looked on what was theirs as his own and did what he pleased without their leave or consent as they saw by the Fort built at the carrying place above Niagara, and that they were about to build

where Joncaire is, which place I was well informed they had given or sold to the Governor of Philadelphia, and whether they had done that or not (as it was theirs) I hoped they would allow no Fort to be built there but would all join & defend the Philadelphia Traders—The Five Nations & others who lived on Ohio, or any of the Rivers terminating therein when the English had any commerce

JOHN LINDESAY

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HAMILTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

PHILADELPHIA May 15. 1751.

SIR: I deferred answering your Excellencys Letter of 13th April, till I could certainly inform you what Part this Province would Act with regard to the Treaty to be held at Albany in the next month; and I am now extremely mortified at being obliged to acquaint you, that contrary to my expectations, our Assembly has altogether declined having any thing to do in that treaty; as you will see by the Copy of their message inclosed

Although from the religious principles of a great majority of the House I never expected they would enter into any offensive Measures to protect the Indians against the French; yet I made not the least doubt, but that in order to shew them countenance, and to secure their good will; they would at least have contributed a very handsome Present to be delivered with Yours and those of the other Governments, which would have made the whole appear more considerable and better worth their acceptance. This I did not fail to press upon the Principal Members in repeated conferences both before and during the time of their last sitting, tho' without effect, so that whatever may be the consequence of our not acting with the spirit & resolution the present state of Indian affairs seems to require, and the circumstance of this Province very well enabled us to do, I cannot reproach myself with having omitted any thing in my Power that would have contributed to so good a purpose

Upon the death of Canassatego and some other of the principal Sachims of the six Nations who were our very good friends—We have thought it necessary to send to the Council at Onondago, a message of condolence with a small present of one hundred pounds value, and as there will be soon an opportunity of meeting that council together at Albany: I am to request of Your Excellency that Mr Weiser our Province Interpreter may have your permition to deliver the same at that place whereby much time & trouble will be saved to this Government

If our Assembly had entered heartily into the measures propos'd in your Excellency's letter of the 18 Dec^{r} I fully intended to have waited on you at Albany; and to have joined in my best endeavors towards restoring our Indian affairs and putting them on a better foot for the future. But as they have neither thought fit to advise my joining in these measures, nor made any provision of Presents suitable to the importance of the occasion. I must deny myself the satisfaction I proposed in paying my respects to you in Person, and have only to wish all possible success to your labors for the publick Service

I beg the favor of your answer whether M^{r} Weiser may be permitted to deliver the forementioned small Present at Albany and am with all possible Regard Sir

Your Excellencys

most obedient humble Serv^{t}

JOHN HAMILTON

New York Copy Exam^{d} P^{r}

GW BANYAR *D Secry*

His Excellency Gov^{r} CLINTON.

GOVERNOR HAMILTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

PHILAD^{a} *June 6th 1751.*

SIR: I am favored with your Excellencys Letter of the 27th of May, expressing your consent to the delivery of our small Present at Albany: for which I am now to return you my thanks; and to assure you M^{r} Weiser shall in all things conform himself to the conditions therein mentioned

I am much obliged to your Excellency for imparting to me the Intelligence from M^{r} Lindsay great part whereof I am inclined to beleive is true, having myself in april last received from M^{r} Croghan, an information of very nearly the same import, which I enclose for your perusal—This Account I laid before the Assembly at their Sessions in May, and in repeated conferences with the principal members, pressed them to enable me to do some thing effectual for the Preservation of that part of His Majestys Dominions, as well as for the security of our Indian Trade, both which were in danger of being lost by the Frenchs taking possession & building Forts on the River Ohio even within the Limits of this Province as we have reason to beleive. But all arguments that could be used on that occasion availed nothing towards inducing them to do what was indispensably their Duty to his Majesty and to the people they repre-

sent. Hence it is that I have little reason to expect they will ever act a proper part in Indian affairs, untill either some notable calamity befall our back inhabitants, or till they have such injunctions laid upon them from home as they will not venture to disobey

I beg leave to express my acknowledgement of your great civility upon this, and all other occasions and am with all imaginable Regards

Sir,

Your Excellency's
most obedient & most
humble Servant
JAMES HAMILTON

MINISTERIAL MINUTE ON DESPATCHES FROM LOUISIANA.

18th September, 1750.

We learn by letters just received from Mr de Vaudreuil, Governor of this Colony, dated the month of June and month of July, that the English are more active than ever, not only in spreading themselves over the Continent both in the direction of Louisiana and in the interior of the Canadian territory which unites the two Colonies, but moreover in exciting the different Nations of Indians against us.

They have been for a long time at work to gain over the Chactas, a very numerous Nation of Louisiana; they had succeeded in attaching to their party a pretty influential Chief named Red Mocassin (*Soulier-Rouge*), who for many years gave trouble to our Colony, and by whose death the influence of the English was much weakened. By force of presents they have, however, preserved some villages, from which a few warriors came last year to make an attack on two of our settlements. Mr de Vaudreuil has required of the villages of our allies to avenge this insolence, which they did with so much success, that they brought him one hundred and thirty scalps to Mobile on the fourteenth of April last. This brilliant achievement on the part of our allies has determined the greatest portion of the revolted villages to alter their sentiments, or at least their conduct in our regard; and in order to afford Mr de Vaudreuil proofs of their sincere return, they have been out against the Chicachas, twelve of whose scalps they brought him, and have, likewise, killed three English traders, who were opposed to their reconciliation with their brethren; all the villages of the Nation except two, came afterwards in a body to Mr de Vaudreuil, to whom they

made the strongest protestations of their resolution to labor earnestly to root out the English from among them.

Everything passed off well in the conferences with these Indians, among whom he distributed some presents; in that distribution he made a distinction in favor of those who were most prominent, and remarks, that he hopes to succeed in expelling the English from among that Nation, and in destroying that of the Chicachas, which is already greatly diminished.

He has also received the visit of some fourteen villages of Alibamons, Talapouches and Abékas, Nations inhabiting the frontier of the English Colonies, and has had reason to be well satisfied with the dispositions in which he found them.

He is equally so with the other allied Nations, and observes, that with the assistance to the Colony which he has been promised, he will be able to make more progress than he has hitherto done.

He is, however, not free from uneasiness in regard to the projects of the English. He has learned that they have succeeded in causing a revolt among the Miamis, at present settled on the Rock river (marked with a cross on the map), the Ouyatonons, a Miami tribe, the Maskoutins settled in the same quarter and the Peanguichias on the River Ouabache, and in engaging them in a conspiracy against us. These Indians had even invited the Illinois to join them, but the latter refused, and it was by them that M^r^ de Vaudreuil has been informed of these movements. This Governor observes that he will not spare any effort to dispel this storm, but that M^r^ de la Jonquière, who has been informed of it, was to have adopted some measures in Canada.

We have learned, in fact, that M^r^ de la Jonquière had been in receipt of nearly the same intelligence, and was to send last spring a detachment to that quarter, according to other information which he was expecting.

We must not be surprised that the English are seeking to insinuate themselves among our Indian Nations; they cannot even be prevented making that attempt, besides our doing the same thing. Most of these movements on the one side and the other can be attributed only to the cupidity of private Traders, who run every risk to extend their commerce.

But what merits most our attention is the design of the English to push their settlements into the interior of the country so as to be able to interrupt the communication between the two Colonies of Canada and Louisiana.

With this view it is that they, since a long time, are projecting a settlement on the Beautiful river; M^r^ de la Galissonnière, who had been informed before his departure, that they had dispatched some people thither, determined on sending a detachment also there, to force them to retire, and M^r^ de la Jonquière has observed, lastly,

that the officer in command of that detachment had returned and reported that the English had retired at the first summons.

Moreover, the regulation of the boundaries was arresting these sort of enterprises; but in the uncertain state of that regulation, no other course remains than to watch the conduct of the English, in order to prevent their undertakings, and this is what has been recommended to the Governors of the two Colonies.

MEMOIR ON THE FRENCH COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA.

The pretensions set up by his Britannic Majesty's Commissioners respecting the extent of Acadia, and the measures which England is prosecuting to reëstablish herself on that part of the American Continent, are of a nature to demand the most serious attention on the part of the government.

Whilst peace appeared to have lulled the jealousy of the English in Europe, this bursts forth in all its violence in America; and if barriers capable of staying its effects be not opposed at this very moment, that nation will place itself in a condition to completely invade the French Colonies at the opening of the first war.

It is with this view that it would secure to itself all the avenues of Canada. In order to show the importance of this matter it will be necessary to enter into some detail regarding that Colony and the neighboring countries.

The utility of Colonies in general will be first, but briefly, established. None of the objections that can be presented against Canada, in particular, shall be concealed, but it will be demonstrated that there are essential and paramount reasons for carefully attending to the preservation, strengthening and increase of that Colony.

Its description will be begun at the North and with Hudson's bay, which bounds it on that side; thence we shall review, in succession, the settlements in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Ile Royale and Acadia; whence we shall proceed along the River St. Lawrence towards the centre of the Colony. The importance of the posts of Chouaguen, Niagara, Detroit and Illinois will be examined; the necessity of keeping up the communication with Louisiana by the Beautiful river; and from this various information, will be deduced the means considered indispensable to effect the overthrow of the ambitious projects of England, and to preserve to France countries which have become one of the most interesting portions of the Domain of the Crown.

All these different subjects will be treated in so many separate Articles.

Article 1st.

Of the Utility of Colonies and the necessity of Attending to their Preservation.

It is not proposed to dwell on the Utility of Colonies. There are few persons at this day who do not admit that they are in some degree necessary to a great State.

If any doubt on this point still exist in men's minds, it would suffice, in order to remove it, to cast an eye on the accounts of the revenue of the King's farms, the immense quantity of all sorts of commodities and manufactures sent to the Colonies, the returns which come from them, some whereof are necessary to manufactures, others to wants which have become habitual, and in some degree indispensable, in the Kingdom; finally, on the surplus exported to foreign countries, and which contributes essentially to make the balance of wealth incline in favor of France: objects which become daily more interesting, according as each State forms new projects in order to dispense with the products and manufactures of its neighbors.

Those who have had occasion to visit the Islands, in the neighborhood of the Tropics, have had an opportunity to see for themselves the quantity of very rich lands at present in St. Domingo and Martinico; and without crossing the seas are not a vast number of families seen, every day, who were poor and have acquired very considerable wealth in a short time, almost without risk, and with trifling industry and labor.

Morover, and this is a reflection deserving of particular attention, the question is not whether Colonies shall in future be established or not; they are established, and the most of them firmly established. It is to be determined whether they will be handed over to jealous neighbors, whose entire ambition is to strip France of them.

Article 2nd.

Objections against the Preservation of Canada and Louisiana.

It may be objected that we must carefully preserve such of the Colonies as are a source of revenue to the State and of wealth to the Kingdom, as St. Domingo, Martinico and the other Tropical Islands; but that those Colonies, which, far from being productive of revenue or wealth, are, like Canada and Louisiana, an expense, ought to be abandoned to themselves.

It is not designed to lessen the weight of this objection, on the contrary it will be corroborated by the enumeration of all the inconveniences or disadvantages which nature, events or circumstances have attached particularly to these two Colonies.

1st Their immense extent often prevents their being ruled by the same mind, and able to afford each other that assistance they mutually stand in need of.

2nd They cannot send nor receive anything except by sea, and by the mouths of two rivers more than nine hundred leages distant, whatever course be taken. The interior of the country is liable to be exposed to great scarcity of goods from France and to be glutted with its own products should a maritime power, such as England undertake to blockade the only two outlets of that vast Continent.

3rd It is not even impossible for that power, or some other, to seize on the lower part of one, or of both, rivers, and erect forts there, which would, doubtless, most seriously jeopard these two Colonies.

4th Although these Colonies may be able to furnish Europe and the Islands of America with the same commodities as New England, we must not flatter ourselves that they can ever do so as cheaply, especially those of great bulk which ordinarily constitute the principal and most certain object of trade: the difference arising from the difficulty of navigating both rivers, from the length of the voyages, and from the inability of going to Canada except at a certain season of the year, whilst it prolongs the voyages and renders it more expensive and difficult, and increases its dangers, augments, at the same time, the rate of insurance.

5th If this be not an inconvenience in the time of peace, and on the contrary, it may, perhaps, be an advantage that these two Colonies should not be able to dispense with France as well for clothing and liquors as for powder and arms; such is not the case in time of war. The apprehension of a scarcity obliges a large stock to be kept continually on hand; independent of the current expense, which is considerable, we are necessarily obliged to make very large advances.

6th The expense of the Colonies not only exceed, and will continue for a long time greatly to surpass, their revenue, but they are very unequal and subject to forced augmentations, especially in time of war, when the want of the Indians renders it necessary to gain these over by force of presents.

None of the particular objections that can be offered against these Colonies have, it is believed, been omitted, and it is presumed that they have been presented in all their force. The reasons which avail for the preservation of those Colonies, notwithstanding all these disadvantages, remain to be examined.

Article 3rd.

Of the Importance and Necessity of Preserving Canada and Louisiana.

Motives of honor, glory and religion forbid the abandonment of

an established Colony; the surrender to themselves, or rather to a nation inimical by taste, education and religious principle, of the French who have emigrated thither at the persuasion of the Government with the expectation of its protection, and who eminently deserve it on account of their fidelity and attachment; in fine, the giving up of so salutary a work as that of the conversion of the heathen who inhabit that vast Continent.

Yet we shall not insist on these motives; and how great soever may be the inconveniences set forth in the preceding article, neither will we object to them, the future and uncertain revenues both of Canada and of Louisiana, although, nevertheless, these are extremely probable, since they have for basis an immense country, a numerous people, fertile lands, forests of mulberry trees, mines already discovered, &c.

We shall confine ourselves to regarding Canada as a barren frontier, such as the Alps are to Piedmont, as Luxembourg would be to France, and as it, perhaps, is to the Queen of Hungary. We ask if a country can be abondoned, no matter how bad it may be, or what the amount of expense necessary to sustain it, when by its position it affords a great advantage over its neighbors.

This is precisely the case of Canada: it cannot be denied that this Colony has been always a burthen to France, and it is probable that such will be the case for a long while; but it constitutes, at the same time, the strongest barrier that can be opposed to the ambition of the English.

We may dispense with giving any other proofs of this than the constant efforts they have made, for more than a century, against that Colony.

We will add, however, that it alone is in a position to wage war against them in all their possessions on the Continent of America; possessions which are as dear to them as they are precious in fact, whose power is daily increasing, and which, if means be not found to prevent it, will soon absorb not only all the Colonies located in the neighboring islands of the Tropic, but even all those of the Continent of America.

Long experience has proved that the preservation of the major portion of the settlements in the Tropical islands is not owing so much to their intrinsic strength, as to the difficulty of conveying troops thither from Europe in sufficient numbers to subjugate or keep them, and of supporting such troops there; but if the rapid progress of the English Colonies on the Continent be not arrested, or what amounts to the same thing, if a counterpoise capable of confining them within their limits, and of forcing them to the defensive, be not formed, they will possess, in a short time, such great facilities to construct formidable armaments on the Continent of America, and will require so little time to convey a large force

either to St. Domingo or to the Island of Cuba, or to our Windward islands, that it will not be possible to hope to preserve these except at an enormous expense.

This will not be the case if we make a more energetic and generous effort to increase and strengthen Canada and Louisiana, than the English are making in favor of their Colonies; since the French Colonies, despite their destitute condition, have always waged war against the English of the Continent with some advantage, though the latter are, and always have been, more numerous; it is necessary to explain here the causes to which this has been owing.

The first is the great number of alliances that the French keep up with the Indian Nations. These people, who hardly act except from instinct, love us hitherto a little, and fear us a great deal, more than they do the English; but their interest, which some among them begin to understand, is that the strength of the English and French remain nearly equal, so that through the jealousy of these two nations those tribes may live independent of, and draw presents from, both.

The second reason of our superiority over the English is, the number of French Canadians who are accustomed to live in the woods, like the Indians, and become thereby not only qualified to lead them to fight the English, but to wage war even against these same Indians when necessity obliges.

Hence 'twill be seen that this superiority of the French in America is in some sort accidental, and if they neglect to maintain it, whilst the English are making every effort to destroy it, 'twill pass into the hands of the latter. There is no doubt but such an event would be followed by the entire destruction of our settlements in that part of the Globe.

This, however serious it may seem, would not be our only loss; it would drag after it that of the superiority which France must claim over England.

If anything can, in fact, destroy the superiority of France in Europe, it is the Naval force of the English; this alone sustained the house of Austria at the commencement of the war of the Spanish succession, as it caused France to lose, at the close of the last war, the fruit of the entire conquest of the Austrian Lower Countries.

We must not flatter ourselves with being able long to sustain an expenditure equal to theirs; no other resource remains then but to attack them in their possessions; that cannot be effected by forces sent from Europe except with little hope of success, and at vast expense, whilst by fortifying ourselves in America and husbanding means in the Colonies themselves, the advantages we possess can be preserved, and even increased at a very trifling expense, in comparison with the cost of expenditions fitted out in Europe.

The utility of Canada is not confined to the preservation of the French Colonies, and to rendering the English apprehensive for theirs; that Colony is not less essential for the conservation of the Spanish possessions in America, especially of Mexico.

So long as that barrier is well secured; so long the English will be unable to penetrate it; so long as efforts will be made to increase its strength, 'twill serve as a rampart to Louisiana, which hitherto sustains itself only under the shadow of the forces of Canada, and by the connection of the Canadians with the Indians.

Should and unforseen revolution disturb the inmate union now existing between the two Crowns, we should even be able, by means of Louisiana, to share with the Spaniards the profit of the rich settlements they possess in America; but this event appears so distant, that it is the opinion that France, for its own interest, and in order to remove every jealousy, must not seek to extend its possessions Westward, that is to say, towards the Spaniards, but apply all its resources to strengthen itself at the East, that is, in the direction of the English.

In fine Canada, the fertility whereof is wonderful, can serve as the granary of the Tropical Colonies, which, in consequence of the men they destroy, sell their rich products very dear. It is proved that the number of Canadians who die in these Colonies that are admitted to be the most unhealthy, is much less than that of European French.

All that precedes sufficiently demonstrates that it is of the utmost importance and of absolute necessity not to omit any means, nor spare any expense to secure Canada, inasmuch as that is the only way to wrest America from the ambition of the English, and as the progress of their empire in that quarter of the globe is what is most capable of contributing to their superiority in Europe.

Article 4th.

Of Hudson's Bay.

Having treated of Canada in general, we consider ourselves bound to enter into some details respecting its different parts, and shall commence with those of the North.

Hudson's bay, which was one of its most lucrative establishments, has been ceded to the English by the Treaty of Utrecht under the denomination or title of restitution. They carry on a profitable trade there, but the excessive cold and the difficulty of subsistence will never permit them to form establishments there capable of affording any uneasiness to Canada; and if the strength of the latter country be augmented, as proposed, 'twill possibly be in a condition, in the first war, to wrest Hudson's bay from the English.

The Treaty of Utrecht had provided for the appointment of Com-

missioners to regulate the boundaries of Hudson's boy; but nothing has been done in that matter. The term, Restitution, which has been used in the Treaty, conveys the idea clearly that the English can claim only what they have possessed, and as they never had but a few establishments on the sea coasts, 'tis evident that the interior of the country is considered as belonging to France.

Article 5th.

Of the French Posts in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; of Ile Royale and Acadia.

We shall say but one word on the posts France possesses as well on the coast of Labrador as on the Gulf of St. Lawrence for Seal fishing. These posts are useful to commerce in time of peace, but afford trifling advantage over the enemy in time of war.

The loss of Acadia has necessitated a very particular attention to be paid to Ile Royale, where Louisbourg has been built and fortified. Acadia constituted, formerly, a part of Canada, and is doubtless one of the most serious losses we have experienced at the peace of Utrecht. The establishment of Louisbourg, with a view to repair that loss as much as possible, is but a feeble recompense.

'Tis universally admitted by all those acquainted with the locality, and cannot be too often repeated, that if Canada does not take Acadia at the beginning of the next war, Acadia will take, or cause the fall of Louisbourg.

It is not, however, to be concluded, as many seem to have done in the last war, that the preservation of Canada depends absolutely on Louisbourg. It has been proved that Canada could sustain herself without that place; but 'tis no less true that it is of great advantage to her in time of war.

The simple view of the position of Louisbourg dispenses with entering into any detail in this regard; but if it be evidently useful to New, it is no less so to Old, France both in time of war and of peace.

The harbors of Ile Royale, especially that of Louisbourg, are most favorable situated as a place at which vessels may touch on their return from long voyages, also as are treat for privateers and a point whence they can have an opportunity of destroying the enemy's trade, inasmuch as on leaving that port they are almost on the track of all the rich ships of the world.

In fine, it is, next to Acadia, the best adapted situation for the fishery; a branch of trade as useful on account of the money it saves to and brings in the Kingdom, as well as on account of the great number of seamen it employs, exercises, accustoms to labor without exposing them to acute and mortal diseases; an advantage not enjoyed by the rich Colonies of the Tropics.

The importance of these objects must tend to excite more attention than ever to the means of securing the preservation of Ile Royale, and arresting the progress of the English in the direction of Acadia, so that the settlements they are making there may approach Canada and Louisbourg only as little as possible.

Nothing is more essential to the preservation of Ile Royale than to secure for it the means of communication with Canada, and to spare no pains to establish entrepôts of provisions, and especially of cattle as well in Ile Royale itself, though they cannot be either considerable or sufficient, as in the Island of St. John (which is better adapted for that purpose), and in that part of Canada bordering on the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

There is a part of the year when there is no communication between Louisbourg and Canada by the River St. Lawrence, and no route practicable except by way of the River St. John.

This is one of the principal considerations that gives interest to the preservation of that part of Canada, which the English would appropriate under the name of Acadia. Its soil, of itself, is of little fertility; any detachments at all considerable cannot be supported there for a long time to come; but the River St. John, which runs through that country, is the sole available route during six months of the year, between Louisbourg and Quebec; and the only one affording passage to small detachments, which, dispersed through the woods and sustained by the Indians, are often capable of disconcerting the projects of the English and rendering their execution of them difficult and murderous. Were they masters of this communication, the aid of the Indians would at the same time be lost, Louisbourg would find itself abandoned too often and for too long a time to its own strength, not to succumb to the first hostile attack, and the environs of Quebec would be exposed to the incursions of the enemy by reason of the facilities the latter would possess of reaching that city by ascending the River St. John, which rises in the vicinity of the settlements bordering on the River St. Lawrence. So many powerful reasons show the necessity of attending to the preservation of that part of Canada.

Hence it results that to much precaution cannot be used in arranging the boundaries of Acadia. According to strict construction of the Treaties, and the ancient descriptions of that Province, the cession made to the English terminates at Port Royal and its liberty *(banlieue)*, and at the part of the coasts which extends from the extremity of the Bay of Fundy unto Cape Cansoe. They must not possess anything on the Bay of St. Lawrence nor towards the Isthmus, nor towards what is called Minas, the inhabitants of which are French and Catholics. If, nevertheless, for the sake of peace, it be determined to cede to them a portion of the Peninsula, which doth not appertain to them, it seems that it ought not to be done,

except in return for some advantages, and that it could not be done with safety but by attaching some conditions thereto, without which it would be better perhaps that the claims on both sides remain, with the resolution to maintain them by force in case the English should employ any to extend their possessions beyond what is legitimately their right.

The conditions on which it is presumed that France could cede the part of the Peninsula belonging to her, are

1st That the English should not erect any fort, make any sedentary settlement, nor any improvement on the Island of Canso, which should remain neutral; nor along the coast of the Peninsula from Cape Canso, to Bay Verte, which coast should remain in the possession of the Indians; that the Isthmus should not be fortified by either party within a distance of three or four leagues, and that the passage across it should remain open to the French to go from one sea to the other; that the English should not be at liberty to pass thé Gut of Canso, nor navigate the Gulf; and in order not to afford them reason to complain that exorbitant conditions are exacted, it might be stipulated that France would not, on its side, build any fort within three leagues of the coast of the Etchemins and of the Bay of Fundy, nor establish any Fishing post in that part of the sea.

2nd. That all the French settlers should be permitted to leave English territory with their property and cattle, and for this purpose should be allowed a period of 18 months, to count from the day they would have commenced to enjoy this permission.

3rd. That the boundary line of New England should remain fixed at the River Kinibequi, or at such other (river) to be agreed upon, which would be on the Boston side, at least twenty leagues from the River St. John; that, moreover, the Abenakis should be maintained in the possession of their villages of Narantsouak and Panaouamské and continue to enjoy the protection of France.

4th. That in future the water-shed *(les eaux pendantes)* should serve as the boundary line reciprocally of both nations along the frontiers between New England and the other colonies which lie along the same line as far as and including Georgia on the one side, and Canada and Louisiana on the other; this would carry with it the abandonment by the English of Fort Chouaguen, otherwise it would be impossible to maintain a durable peace between the two Colonies, and this circumstance must render it evident how essential this last condition is. Its importance will be more fully developed in the next article.

Article 6th.

Of the Canadian Posts Inland.

The interior of Canada is traversed by the River St. Lawrence, and the Lakes which supply the waters of that great stream.

Its navigation and trade can be interrupted more easily than people suppose. That facility, which a powerful maritime enemy can possess, is one the greatest misfortunes of Canada; a partial remedy only can be applied to it, by building one or two forts at Gaspé and the Seven Islands, under the cover of which vessels may retreat, but the true remedy would be, to place the Colony generally in a position to overawe those in the possession of England, and to make her fear war in America.

We shall not speak of the naval expedition the enemy might be able to make for the conquest of Canada. Though they should succeed, which could not be the case except by a very rare combination of circumstances in their favor, we do not think they would find it easy to retain that place even one minute.

But should they continue to increase the strength of their colonies, and should the French Colonies not advance in the same proportion, 'tis not to be doubted but the former will soon be in a condition to lay waste Canada nearly to Montreal, and even to pillage the latter place, which would render the French as despicable in that country as they are now respected there, and terminate shortly in their entire ruin.

One of the principal means to avoid this misfortune is strengthen, still further, not only Quebec and Montreal, but also Fort S^{t}. Frederic, at which place it would be essential to settle a large, well fortified French village, in time of peace, and to attract thither an Indian village in time of war. All that will cost little, if at the same time we take care to settle some farmers on Lake Champlain, and form some villages there.

It would be proper, also, to fortify, but discreetly, the post established in 1748 on the River S^{t}. Lawrence by M^{r} Picquiet near La Galotte, Fort Frontenac and to settle some villages in the vicinity.

Fort Frontenac is at the outlet of Lake Ontario, on which the English have established a post or fort called Chouaguen; an usurpation the most flagrant, and at the same time the most pernicious to Canada.

This post, located on ground, and on the borders of a lake, always in the possession of the French, has not been erected by the English until a number of years after the Treaty of Utrecht, and in period of profound peace. The Governor of Canada then confined himself to protests, and the post has continued, and remains, when it ought to have been pulled down in the beginning by force.

Now the English regard that post as an acquired right, and rely on the article in the Treaty of Utrecht, which states that the French will not molest the Five Cantons of Indians, subjects of Great Britain. The engagement that France has contracted by that article reduces itself to not attacking the Iroquois, against whom the English were, at that time, apprehensive the Canadians

would wage war. But, besides, what is said of the authority of the English over the Iroquois, is a simple enunciation; it does not constitute a title; it could not make subjects of the Iroquois; they do not depend on England either in fact or of right; they have made war and peace before and since the treaty of Utretcht, without the consent and against the will of the English; they have publicly protested their independence, which they have constantly enjoyed without the English having dared or daring to contradict them in America.

Moreover, this article of the Treaty of Utrecht, however favorable it may be presumed to be to the English, leaves the question of territory totally undecided; the stipulations it contains respecting the liberty the Indians shall enjoy, of visiting indiscriminately the Colonies of both Nations, and the mutual obligations not to molest them, deprive the French of no possessory rights they might have acquired, anteriorly, over territories not yet subject to any proprietorship, whereof the Indians have not even an idea; besides, the personal subjection of these Nations would not entail that of a country, because they have no circumscribed limits, and being liable to change of habitation, being, really, dispersed in divers places, in which privilege they are not to experience any molestation, it would follow from the pretension of the English that the Iroquois would transport the dominion of England in every place they might transport their habitations to, even were it in the centre of the French Colonies, such as the vicinity of Montreal, where two villages have been formed. The absurdity of the consequence demonstrates both the little foundation of this pretence and the necessity to return from it to the preliminary question, to wit: Who first took possession of that territory? Then the question can neither be doubtful nor equivocal in favor of France.

We shall not enter here into any lengthy discussion on the point of right; but we must not omit observing that this post, which has been almost regarded as an object of trifling importance, is capable of causing the entire ruin of Canada, and has already inflicted on it the greatest injury.

There it is that the French often carry on a fraudulent trade which transmits to England profits the most unquestionable, that Canada ought to afford to France.

There it is that the English scatter rum among the Indians, the use of which had been forbidden them by the King's Ordinances, because it set them crazy.

I fine, it is there that the English entice all the Indian Nations, and endeavor by force of presents, not only to debauch them, but also to induce them to assassinate the French traders dispersed throughout the vast extent of the forests of New France.

As long as the English will possess Chouaguen there will be a per-

petual distrust of Indians the most loyal to the French: twice more troops than the state of the Colony requires, or comports with its condition, will have to be maintained in times of the most profound peace; forts will have to be established and kept in an infinite number of places, and very numerous and very expensive detachments sent almost every year, to restrain the different Nations of Indians. The navigation of the lakes will be always exposed to be disturbed; agriculture will not advance, except very slowly, and cannot be pursued except in the heart of the colony; in fine, matters will be always in a situation possessing all the inconveniences of war, even without any of its advantages.

Nothing, then, must be left undone to destroy this dangerous post, on the first occasion for reprisals the English will offer by some of those hostilities they are but too much accustomed to commit in time of peace; supposing that its cession, by common consent, cannot be obtained, for some equivalent.

What has been observed already in the course of this Memoir, when treating of the utility of Canada in regard to the preservation of Mexico, shows the absolute necessity of the free and certain communication from Canada to the Mississippi. This chain, once broken, would leave an opening of which the English would doubtless take advantage to get nearer the silver mines *(la source de l'argent)*. Many of their writings are full of this project, which will never amount to anything but a chimera, if France retain her Canadian possessions.

That of the River Oyo, otherwise called the Beautiful river, is the most interesting in this relation. It rises near the country at present partly occupied by the Iroquois, runs southwardly, falls into the Ouabache, and with that river into the Mississippi.

This last has been discovered by Sieur De la Salle, who took possession of it in the King's name; and it would perhaps to-day be full of French settlements, had not the Governors of Canada been deterred from establishing permanent posts there by the apprehension that a counterband trade between the French traders and the English would be the consequence.

Neither have the English any posts there, nor did they come to that quarter to trade, except clandestinely, until the last war, when the revolt of some neighboring nations against the French, encouraged them to come more boldly.

They have been summoned since the peace, to retire, and if they do not do so, there is no doubt but the Governor of Canada will constrain them thereto by force, otherwise the case would be the same as at Choueguen, and this misfortune would be still more disastrous, for a post on the Beautiful river would possess more opportunities to do damage than Chouaguen alone.

1st They would have much greater opportunities there than at Chouaguen to seduce the Indian nations.

2nd They would possess more facilities to interrupt the communication between Canada and Louisiana, for the Beautiful river affords almost the only route for the conveyance from Canada to the River Mississippi, of detachments capable of securing that still feeble Colony against the incursions of the neighboring Indians of Carolina, whom the English are unceasingly exciting against the French.

3d If the English ever become strong enough in America to dare attempt the conquest of Mexico, it will be by this Beautiful river, which they must necessarily descend.

4th By it alone will they also be able to attack, with any considerable force, and any hope of success, the Illinois posts and all those which will be established along the River St. Louis, otherwise, Mississippi.

5th It is, moreover, by that route that they can attack the post of the Miamis, which, again, cuts off one of our best communications with the River Mississipi, and involves the loss of Detroit, an important post whereof mention will be made hereafter.

The establishment of some posts on the Beautiful river is considered, then, one of the most urgent expenses; but 'tis believed, at the same time, that these posts will not acquire any solidity except so far as the strength of Niagara and Detroit will be augmented.

This last mentioned place demands, now, the greatest attention. Did it once contain a farming population of a thousand, 'twould feed and defend all the rest. Throughout the whole interior of Canada, it is the best adapted locality for a town where all the trade of the lakes would concentrate; were it provided with a good garrison and surrounded by a goodly number of settlements, it would be able to overawe almost all the Indians of the Continent. 'Tis sufficient to see its position on the map, to understand its utility. It would stand on the River St. Lawrence within reach of the Oyo, the Illinois, the River Mississipi, and in a position to protect all these different places, and even the posts north of the lakes.

Continuing the same route and the same views, the post deserving of most attention next to Detroit, or concurrently with it, is that of Illinois.

Here the climate is almost altogether changed; we are no longer exposed to the rigors of a seven months' winter; nor obliged, as in the neighborhood of Quebec, to make ruinous clearances for the purpose of improving very poor lands. Beyond the banks of the river, the entire country is open, and waiting only for the plough; there are, already, some settlers supplied with a pretty good stock of cattle, but nothing in comparison with what they could accom-

modate. Moreover, these vast praries, which, in various directions, extend as far as several hundred leagues beyond the River Superior, are covered with an innumerable multitude of buffaloes, a species which will probably not run out for many centuries hence, both because the country is not sufficiently peopled to make their consumption perceptible, and because the hides, not being adapted to the same uses as those of the European race, it will never happen that the animals will be killed solely for the sake of their skins, as is the practice among the Spaniards of the River de la Plata.

If the Illinois buffaloes do not supply the tanneries with much, eventually, advantages at least equivalent may reasonably be expected, on which we cannot prevent ourselves dwelling for a moment.

1st These animals are covered with a species of wool, sufficiently fine to be employed in various manufactures, as experience has demonstrated.

2nd It can scarcely be doubted that by catching them young and gelding them, they would be adapted to ploughing; perhaps, even, they would possess the same advantage that horses have over domestic oxen, that is superior swiftness; they appear to be as strong, but perhaps are indebted for this to wild breeding; in other respects, they do not seem difficult to tame; a 4 or 5 year old Bull and Cow have been seen that were extremely gentle.

3rd Were the Illinois country sufficiently well settled to admit of the people inclosing a great number of these animals in parks, some of them might be salted, a business susceptible of being extended very considerably, without Illinois possessing a large population for that purpose. This trade would perhaps enable us to dispense with Irish beef for Martinico, and even to compete with the English, and at a lower rate, for the supply of the Spanish Colonies.

'Twill, doubtless, be objected that these advantages are very remote, and that possibly unforseen obstacles will occur; but be this consideration ever so remote, one question always remains, not whether this post must be abandoned, but whether it will be delivered up to England, who will make a permanent entrepôt of it for the purpose of attempting the conquest of Mexico.

We pass over the mines which 'tis pretended have been discovered in that quarter. Apart from the insufficient information we possess respecting them, it is the opinion that no attention ought to be paid to the subject, until we will have received a sufficient accession, principally of men, grain and cattle.

Article 7th.

Of Louisiana.

We shall not dwell at any length on what relates to Louisiana, which, in its present feeble condition, cannot sustain itself independent of Canada.

Louisiana is a country very susceptible of useful husbandry, and lacking only settlers. It can be peopled from the mouth, and from the upper part, of the river, and neither of the two is to be neglected. The progress of trade will be most rapid by filling up that section convenient to the sea; but it is doubtful whether this is the part to which government ought to direct its principal attention. Aside from being most liable to excite the envy and clamors of the neighboring Colonies, it is the section which will be soonest peopled without any intervention on the part of government.

If the strength and permanency of the posts alone are to be considered, then Louisiana must be settled from the upper part of the river. It ought to derive its principal strength and resources from the post of the Illinois mentioned in the preceding article. This post, as represented, is by no means so attractive as the lower part of the river; it is in some sort a lost country, where trade will not flourish for a long time, nor rapid fortunes be realized; but as a recompense for that, they will be perhaps more solid than in any other part of the Colonies.

It must be considered, also, that the difficulties of ascending the river are so great that the lower section of the Colony can never feed Illinois; the latter post, on the contrary, appears to be located expressly to secure the subsistance of New Orleans, whither 'twill be able to send grain and meat in all seasons, and despite all the Naval force of the world.

Some observations might be made on the neighboring posts of Georgia and Carolina, but as they are immediately connected with the government of Louisiana, and I have only an imperfect knowledge of them, I shall abstain from speaking of them, the rather as this Memoir is already lengthy, and the remarks on the Beautiful river and Chouaguen are applicable to those posts.

Conclusion.

The result of this memoir is, that no means must be neglected to increase and strengthen Canada and Louisiana; to settle permanently the neighborhood of Fort St. Frederic, and the posts of Niagara, Detroit and the Illinois.

For this purpose the resolution ought to be adopted to send a great many people to New France, in order to enable those who have the administration thereof, to work at the same time at the different proposed posts.

These people ought to be principally soldiers, who can in a very short time be converted into good settlers.

Some smugglers, and even some bad women *(femmes de mauvaise vie)*, may be added to them, but none of the latter must be sent until applied for, which probably will not be soon, as there are generally more women than men in Canada.

Some sturdy beggars can be also added, but they must be few at a time, so that they may be forwarded, according as they will arrive, to the different places where they are to work.

In fine, nothing must be spared to strengthen these Colonies, since they may, and are to be considered as the bulwark of America, against the attacks of the English; since they alone can make up for the want of Naval forces, and the outlay they will occasion will save more considerable expense whereof the effects are much less certain, especially if we allow ourselves to be reduced to the necessity of having to transport reinforcements thither from France, in order to preserve these Colonies in time of war; and since they cannot be abandoned to their actual strength alone, without being delivered over in some sort to the English, who, by the wealth they would draw thence, to the exclusion of other nations, would most certainly acquire the superiority in Europe.

December, 1750.

CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE MARQUIS DE LA JONQUIERE AND THE INDIANS.

Propositions of the Onondagas of the Five Nations to the Marquis de la Jonquiere, Governor, Lieutenant-General for the King, throughout the entire of New France, the territories and country of Louisiana, in presence of the Civil and Military Chiefs of the Iroquois of the Sault Saint Louis, and of the Lake of the Two Mountains, of the Abenaquis of Saint Francis, and of the Otasais Sinagos and Kiskakons of Missilimakinac, which propositions, as well as the answers, have been interpreted to each Nation, word for word. The 11th of July, 1751.

Propositions.

Kak8enthiony, Onondago speaker. By two strings.

1.

I speak for the Onondagas, and on behalf of the Five Nations.

2.

You see all your children assembled here by your order; we met with an accident yesterday, a woman belonging to our Nation was dangerously wounded by her grandson, who was drunk; we are sorry for it, but we console ourselves because this woman belongs to us, and the affair was between relations. 'Twere well that no Brandy be drank until business shall have been transacted.

3.

Father, You have had the goodness to send persons to meet us at Lachine to wipe away our tears and clear our throats; we thank you for your kindness; permit us to do the same in your presence, by our brethren of the Sault and of the Lake.

Addressing those of the Lake and of the Sault, by three Strings.

4.

Brethren of the Sault and of the Lake, I wipe away your tears: we ought all forget our past trouble; the presence of our Father Onnonthio must render us more joyous; I clear your throat and ears with these three Strings.

By three Strings.

5.

We are very glad to give you news of your warriors, who, to the number of eighteen, were defeated last year at the Ant-hill *(montagne de la Fourmi)*; we learned from an Oneida that two of our young men, who had been with them, were killed by the Cherakis, but we doubt not they were accompained by the English, and that these struck the blow, for none had been scalped, and your men have been found with their arms, clothes and wampum, which the Cherakis would not have failed to take; it is to be presumed that the English committed this murder.

6.

Exhibiting a Belt.

Here is a Belt which was given to us by Mékinack, an Otasais chief of Detroit, on the behalf of the Marquis de la Galissonniére in the name of all the French and ten other Nations, his children, who were, then, assembled with him, to inform us that we had committed a grave error in allowing a settlement to have been made on the Beautiful river, and to pursuade us to cause our young men and the nations who are gone thither to retire; we are always ready to obey that message; we have summoned the English to withdraw from the other side of the mountain, in order that the earth be free, it being essential to preserve the hunting of those countries for the warriors.

7.

We have already obeyed M[r] de la Galissonniere's Belt, by showing it to the young men who are on the Beautiful river; 'tis true our people resort there, but 'tis only for the purpose of hunting, of which the English deprive them; we have sent these English word to retire.

8.

By a Belt deposited at the Store in Montreal.

Father, Here is a Belt on which you will find marked the Nations who united with us to make those young men retire: we assure you we will not permit any Nation to establish posts there; the Master of Life has placed us on that territory, and we alone ought to enjoy it, without anybody having the power to trouble us there.

There are people belonging to all Nations on the Beautiful river, we pray you to have them sent off, especially those of the Sault and of the Lake, the Abenaquis and Outa8ais, whose chiefs are here present.

9.

When Mékinac gave us M[r] de la Galissonniere's Belt he recommended us to obey our Father's message; to be careful not to commit blunders; he threatened us, and requested us not to allow ourselves to be spoken of in connection with bad business.

By a Belt deposited in the Store at Montreal.

10.

I told Mékinac in reply, that he was foolish as I; that trouble originated as much with him as with me. I added: remember, when you met us at Chouaguen, you communicated news to us, and have always created trouble; control your people only, I will control mine, and you will see that things will go well, and that the nations will be quiet, we are Onnontio's children and as loyal as you can be.

Answers of the General, by two Strings.

1.

Son Kak8enthiony, I have listened attentively to all you have said to me for yourself and for the Five Nations, though each village ought to have sent deputies with you.

2.

I see you here present, my dear children, with pleasure; I would have been very glad had you come all of last year; I expected you, and though children who love their father sincerely ought to leave everything to go and see him, yet, impatient as I was to give you proofs of my goodness, I deputed Sieur Chabert de Joncaire to go to all your villages to pay you a visit from me; and charged him to come himself and bring me news of the Five Nations.

I feel great interest in the assault committed on a woman of your village by her grandson. I hope the attention paid her by my Surgeon will operate her cure; it is for you, children, to administer such correction as you will find suited to this young man.

Were my orders not contravened, my children would never get drunk; but they are so smart that they deceive me, and find Frenchmen who treat them to brandy in secret, of which you ought to take care.

3.

My attention in sending to meet you at Lachine, must prove to you my good feelings; I desired not that you should arrive in my village with wet eyes; I had your tears wiped away by your son, M^r^ de la Chavignerie, and had your throat cleared in order that your words may flow free and easy.

By three Belts.

Children, You have done well to wipe away the tears of your brethren of the Sault and of the Lake; I would be rejoiced if my presence made you forget all your troubles; if you interpret my sentiments towards you all, correctly, you will be pursuaded that I labor only to make you happy.

4.

I grieve much for the melancholy fate which befel, at the Anthill, eighteen Iroquois of the Sault, whereof two were young men of yours. I unite with you, my dear children, in bewailing them.

5.

I see the Belt which was sent by the Marquis de la Galissonière in the name both of the French and ten other nations.

I applaud your constant readiness to obey that Belt, and cannot sufficiently exhort you to do your best to get your people and the other nations to retire from the Beautiful river to their ancient village; 'tis certain, my children, that these tribes cannot do anything but mischief there, and if you would make use of the authority you have over them, they would conclude on following your good advice.

The steps I have taken to oblige these nations to withdraw, ought to convince them that I have only their interest at heart, and I am sufficiently disposed to believe that they would have profited by the amnesty I granted to them, had the English, who are with them, not urged them not to listen to my voice.

You cannot deny that these English are the authors of all the mischief; you ought to oblige them not to appear any more on the Beautiful river; I agree that you should hunt there; the French have never troubled you, whilst the English occupy themselves only with their own plans which tend to your ruin; confess, my children, that they have no right to go there, and that they would be careful not to make their appearance in that quarter, did you not receive them there.

6.

You ought not content yourself with showing the Marquis de la Galissonnière's Belt to the Nations on the Beautiful river; you ought, also, to tell them decidedly, that you would constrain them to obey that Belt; had you spoken to them in this tone, you would have made them think seriously, and the Earth would be at peace.

I know that you are accustomed to go to hunt at the Beautiful river, and that you never come back without having transacted some business with the English; I can also add, that some of your young men, as well as some belonging to other nations, always remain there; it is in this way that that country now finds itself inhabited by several bands of different nations, who prefer a lawless life to living in their village in the centre of their families.

The English are much less anxious to take away your peltries than to become masters of your lands; they labor only to debauch you; you have the weakness to listen to them, and your blindness is so great, that you do not perceive that the very hand that caresses you, will scourge you like negroes and slaves, so soon as it will have got possession of those lands.

By a Belt deposited in the store at Montreal.

7.

I shall always preserve the belt you have given me to let me know the nations who have united with you to carry out M^r^. de la Galissonnière's good views.

I cannot but believe the assurance you give me that you will not permit any nation to establish posts at the Beautiful river; doubtless you have not spoken without reflection; but how comes it—do you deceive me?—that the English traders have each their house, or their huts there? Whence comes it—do you desire to conceal from me—that your people live with them, hand and glove *(a pot et a feu)*; truly, my children, your conduct hardly corresponds with my intentions; I cannot perceive, without deep pain, that the blindness of all the nations does not permit them to see that they are nourishing vipers in their bosom, whose sting will be more dangerous to them than the death of themselves, their children and all their posterity.

I repeat that the lands on the Beautiful river are to be reserved for your hunting, and you may be assured that I will aid you with all my might to drive from them all those who will trouble you there.

No nation is ignorant that I have, up to the present time, used every mild means to recall back to their villages the nations who have taken refuge at the Beautiful river; I must not even conceal from you that they have somewhat abused my kindness, and yet my heart, which breathes only love for my children, would be disposed

to pardon them all their past faults, and I would still open my arms to receive them. You of the Lake and you Otasais, pay attention to what I have just said, and on your side, use all your efforts to recall all your people back to your village; I recommend you to do so, and require it of your friendship for me.

8.

Mékinac could not too earnestly recommend you to obey M^r. de la Galissonnière's message, and not to allow yourselves to be spoken of in connection with bad business.

9.

The answer you gave Mékinac pleases me, and you surprise me by saying that he has meddled with bad business; I shall not fail to reproach him with it.

I see that he has been at Chouaguen like many others; Rum draws you all to that place; you have no idea, children, how pernicious that liquor is to you. The English employ it to spoil your heart and senses, and you must, moreover, have perceived that such liquor injures your health. How many of your brethren has it not killed.

We, Pierre Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, Commander of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King throughout all New France, the territories and countries of Louisiana.

Certify the present copy to be conformable to the original remaining the office of our Secretary. In testimony whereof, we have signed these presents, caused the same to be sealed with the seal of our Arms, and to be countersigned by our Secretary.

Done at Montreal, the 15^th^ of February, 1758.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

By my Lord

(Signed), SAINT SAUVEUR.

MARQUIS DE LA JONQUIERE TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

[TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.]

MONTREAL, *10^th^ August, 1751.*

SIR: I did not receive, until the 3^rd^ of this month, the despatch your Excellency did me the honor to write to me by M^r Cornelius Cuyler on the 12^th^ of June last.

You cannot complain, Sir, of the post I have caused to be erected at the foot of the Niagara carrying place, much less pretend that

it is an usurpation on the lands of the subjects of the King, your Master.

Your Excellency might as well have said that I have invaded the territories of the King of Great Britain, for if it were true that the Iroquois of the Five Nations are his subjects, their lands would incontestably belong to his Britannic Majesty.

This, nevertheless, Sir, is the foundation you have wished to give to your complaint.

My answer will convince you that it has no solidity.

You, very unadvisedly, and in opposition to your own understanding, call the Five Nations subjects of the King, your Master. They are no such thing, and you would be very careful not to put forth such a pretension in their presence. You treat them with much more circumspection; and it is yet to be established *(a naître)* that they have regarded the English in any other light than as their brothers. This is an evident proof that so far from acknowledging them as their Masters, they declare themselves, on the contrary, in every respect, independent of them; and they even do not conceal that the English hold directly from them the posts they have in their territory, and that they will oblige them to surrender these whenever they shall think proper.

If the Five Nations were to subject themselves to any Crown, they could not help acknowledging the dominion of the King, my Master, and their neutral inclination would lead them to do so.

In fact, Sir, you are not ignorant, and ancient and modern history bear testimony, that the French are the first white men that appeared on the territory of the Five Nations. It is with them that they first formed an alliance of friendship. It is from them they have received their first assistance; accordingly from that very moment did they call the French their Father.

It is unquestionable, then, that the French were the first to penetrate into the territories of the Iroquois; from that very moment they have taken possession of it, and this possession has been uninterrupted.

Now, were these lands susceptible of any dispute between the Kings, our Masters, and the question had been discussed at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle, it could not, in fair justice, but be decided in favor of France.

But the Iroquois wish to be the sole masters of their lands; they cease not to say that it is God who gave them to them, and that they acknowledged him alone for Master and Sovereign. This they have signified by authentic documents to the English and to the French.

I add, that the French, after having conquered their lands in the wars they had with them, gave those back to them and restored them to their rights by solemn treaties.

From all which it must be concluded that your Excellency has had no authority to object against the post I have caused to be established. It has been erected with the perfect knowledge of the Iroquois of the Five Nations, who alone are competent to complain of it. They did not oppose it; they consented to it, and have acknowledge that it would contribute as much to their advantage as to that of the French. It is only a house of refuge *(hospice)*, an entrepot of provisions, and a halting place for French voyageurs from the upper country.

I never should have thought that you would have claimed the four Englishmen who have been arrested, inasmuch as they have stated that they had a license from the Governor of Philadelphia, and none of them having exhibited it to me, they are considered as vagabonds and bush rangers.

But as your Excellency takes their part, and as nothing less than that is necessary to persuade me that you authorize and approve their conduct, I will consent to explain the reasons which caused their capture.

You are not ignorant, Sir, of the expedition M^r^ de Celoron made in the year 1749 to the Beautiful River by order of the Marquis de la Galissonnière; that he renewed for, and in the name of the King, my Master, the possession which his Majesty always held of those lands; that he summoned all the English traders there at the time to retire; that he wrote to the Governor of Philadelphia to inform him that he had fulfilled his mission, and to warn him that if any English traders should thereafter again make their appearance on the Beautiful River, they would be treated without any delicacy.

I had the honor to write you myself on the 7^th^ of March, 1750, on that subject, and to request your Excellency to issue an order forbidding all the subjects of New England to go and trade on the territory of the King, my Master. In the same letter I had the honor to express to you my just sensibility at all the secret movements of the English to induce the Indians, who, from all time, have been our closest allies, to destroy the French.

Although you did not honor me with any answer, I flattered myself, notwithstanding, that you would adopt strict measures to arrest the course of all these seductions, and maintain, on your side, the union that ought to subsist between us. But the result has undeceived me. The English, far from confining themselves within the limits of the King of Great Britain's possessions, not satisfied with multiplying themselves more and more on Rock river *(Riviere a la Roche)*, with having houses and open stores there, have, more than that, proceeded, within sight of Detroit, even unto the fort of the Miamis.

This proceeding, following so many unneighborly acts, the evil consequences whereof we but too sensibly feel, have placed M^r^ de

Celeron, the commandant at Detroit, under the necessity of ordering these Englishmen to be arrested.

Three of them were first arrested at Ayonontout, the place selected in 1747, by Nicolas, the Rebel Huron Chief, as his stronghold, near the little lake of Otsanderket that is to say within ten leagues of the town of Detroit. The names of these three Englishmen are Luke Arowin, an Irishman by birth, an inhabitant of Pensilvania, Joseph Fortiner, an inhabitant of the town of Gergé, and Thomas Broke, an inhabitant of Linguester. Lastly the fourth Englishman, named John Pathin, an inhabitant of Willenstown, has been arrested in the French fort of the Miamis, by M. de Villiers, commandant of that post.

The capture of these four English ought not surprize you; 'tis certain, Sir, that they did not risk coming to say, under his M. C. Majesty's cannon, except with sinister views.

Here is proof of it.

1st None of these Englishmen were ignorant of M. de Celoron's interdiction to the English traders in 1749; that interdiction is public throughout every place in New England, and consequently they are in the wrong when they do not confine themselves there.

2d It cannot be said that they were at Ayonontout to trade with the Indians, because they had nothing but presents to distribute among them.

3d It is so evident that they wish to hold a Council with the Indians in every respect fatal to the French, that they encamped in a place selected by Nicolas, a Huron chief, a rebel to the French, for his stronghold; they doubtless wished to persuade the Indians to entertain the same feelings as Nicolas, and to attach the most influential to them, in order to resuscitate that chief, who is dead, and to put in execution his nefarious project.

4th What is remarkable and conclusive is, that the leader of these three Englishmen, Luke Arrowin by name, speakes all the Indian languages, is accustomed to the Upper Countries, and is very capable of making them subscribe to whatever he wishes.

This is so complete a proof, that it is unaswerable. As for John Pathin, he entered the fort of the Miamis to persuade the Indians who remained there, to unite with those who have fled to the Beautiful river. He has been taken it the French fort. Nothing more is necessary.

The little property that was taken belonging to these prisoners, has been claimed by the Indians as plunder. They have not been ill treated. Mr. Cuyler saw three of them in this town, who have their liberty, and want nothing. John Pathin could enjoy the same freedom, but he is so mutinous, and uttered so many threats, that I have been obliged to imprison him at Quebec.

You perceive, Sir, that the English traders observe no longer any

discretion, that nothing can restrain them, and that they are redoubling their efforts to excite the Indian Nations against the French. 'Tis time to correct this, and you cannot do it too promptly.

If any Frenchman was wicked enough to do any thing perjudical to the English, I would have him punished most severely, and if any are so venturesome as to go on the King if Great Brittain's lands, I disavow them from this moment, and consent that you secure their persons.

Mr. Cuyler will have the honor to report to you all the regard I have had for him, and that I granted him my authority for all the business he had to transact in this Colony, although the French have nothing directly or indirectly to do with it.

He will be able also to tell you how sincerely I desire to reëstablish the most perfect intelligence between the subjects of our Governments; to this I shall direct all my attention, and as soon as your Excellency will unite your efforts to mine, we shall have no difficulty in succeeding.

I must not conceal from you, Sir, that your Deputy, Mr. Cuyler, has brought hither with him his brother, Mr. John Cuyler, who is not mentioned in his pasport. It has been reported to me that this John Cuyler, who is a merchant, was trading with the French, and even with the Indians, and was constantly conferring with them in the house in which he lodged in this town, all which is highly improper.

I have the honor to advise your Excellency, that I issue my orders to have all the English sent back to New England, who will come to this Colony unprovided with a passport from their governor.

I shall await impatiently your answer.

I have the honor to be respectfully,

Sir,

Your most humble

and most obedient servant,

LA JONQUIERE.

GOVERNOR CLINTON'S NOTES ON THE GOVERNOR OF CANADA'S LETTER.

Notes on the Gov^r of Canada's letter of the 10^th^ August 1751.

His Excell^cys^ letters of the 12^th^ of June last represented to the Gov^r^ of Canada, the infractions of the Treaty of Utrecht, in regard to the Fortifications he is building at Oniagara on the lands of the Five Nations, and nearly in the middle of their Country. And in regard to four English Traders, who were, in time of peace, supposed to be taken Prisoners on Ohio River, and plundered of their Merchandize, which his Excell^cy^ supposed, was without the Gov^r^ of Canada's knowledge or consent; but, requesting his enquiry into those things. and if found true to desist from building, and to set the prisoners at liberty and to recompense them for their damages.

The Gov^r^ of Canada, by his answer of 10^th^ August, confesses the things complained of to be true, does not deny them to be infractions of the Treaty of Utrecht, but advances a number of facts groundless and false in themselves, which (says he) had they been known at the Treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle the Dominion of England over the Five Nations would not have been acknowledged by his Master the King of France, but rather that of his Master, says the four prisoners were taken trading with the Indians at Ohio, contrary to an ordinance of his, forbidding the English to trade there; tho' that be a country belonging to the Five Nations, and the Twightees and other Indians upon it who are not Natives of the Five Nations, have been long agoe received by this Govern^t^ into the same Covenant Chain with the Five Nations.

This seems to be treating his Britanick Majesty and the Treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle with contempt, and the latter seems (what he says) beyond an answer, for the very answering would, it seems, be admit'ing solemn Treaties to be called in question. If any answer be thought of to him it ought to be, with the utmost caution and deliberation, and best advice possible.

It would seem proper, that one copy of the letter be sent forthwith to the Gov^r^ of Pennsylvania for his sentiments upon it, as the prisoners belonged to that Govern^t^ and a great part of Ohio River is actually within the grant to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania. It would seem also proper that other copies be laid before his Maj^tys^ Ministers for redress from the Court of France, and that the Gov^r^ of Canada may be recalled, and punished for the infractions of the Treaties, and contempts expressed in his letter

So far on the letter in General. I shall now make some remarks upon some of the Paragraphs of the letter.

N° 1. To deny, that the Five Nations ever were subjects of the

King of Great Britain, when his Dominion over them is expressly acknowledged by the 15th Article of the Treaty of Utrecht, is a piece of unparalelled effronterie

The sentiments which he there says the Five Nations have, are what the French have been inspiring them with for many years with the utmost application; and I wish they may not have prevailed too far. And if other measures be not speedily taken as to Indian affairs, there is no small probability that they will prevail.

N° 2. I do not believe that the French were the first white people that appeared upon the lands of the Five Nations, it is near a hundred and forty years agoe since the Dutch settled at Albany and Schenectady, which places are a part of the Country that did belong to the Five Nations, as appears by the Registers of Indian affairs here, and other authentic Monuments; and I question if the Five Nations had then, or for scores of years after, ever made friendship with the French, because of the assistance that the French, from their first coming to America always gave to the Algonquins, the most ancient and inveterate Enemies of the Five Nations.

N° 3. I know of no possession, that the French had of any part of the Country of the Five Nations, till long after their submission to the Dominion of great Brittain and some few years before the Revolution; and the first possession of the French of any part of their Country, was I believe at Cadaraghqui, and that was no more at first, then leave from the Five Nations to build a trading house in their Country for their convenience, but they afterwards having fortified that Place, the Five Nations took it from them twice, and tho' at the peace they made with the French in 1694 (because not assisted in the War by any of the Colonies but New York and found that they gave them not sufficient assistance) the French insisted upon settling again at Cadaraghqui, yet the Five Nations absolutely refused their consent to it, as appears by the Indian Registers here.

The French possession of Detroit was not till after the peace of Reswick and it appears these incroachments were greviously complained of by the Five Nations to the Govr of New York, and they insisted then that His Britanick Majesty should apply to the French Kings for redress.

For that they converting those settlements into Fortifications, they saw, might in time, deprive them of their Beaver hunting Country, which extends from Cadaraghqui Lake to the Northermost part of the Huron's Lake, bounded on the Southward by Lake Erie and Detroit, and I suppose it was the many applications to the Court of Great Brittain after the peace of Reswick and during Queen Anne's war against those incroachments of the French, that induced the Court of Great Brittain to insist at the Treaty of Utrecht upon an absolute acknowledgement of the Dominion of Great Brittain over the Five Nations, which was conceded to by

the 15th Article; for as to their first time of settling near Oniagara, it was only about the year 1720; and these three are the only settlements I know of, that the French have in the Country of the Five Nations, how far these (complained of as before) will be from supporting the assertion of the Govr of Canada, I submit.

No 4. The settlement he is now making at Oniagara into a Fortification, is done in the sight of and in defyance of the Five Nations, and of the Treaty of Utrecht. The last conference with the Five Nations at Albany in July last, will show how far they are from consenting to it; they are too sensible of the consequences of it ever in their senses to consent. Possibly the pretence he uses, in saying that it is only for a place of refreshment for Travellers, may, with large presents have prevailed on some particular Men of the Five Nations to consent to it, as was done at their former settlements at Cadaraghqui, Detroit and near Oniagara; but the sad experience, the Five Nations have found those refreshing places turned into Fortifications in defyance of them, and that they keep them against the Treaty of Utrecht, and all the applications that have been made for redress; and by means of these they will before long, if a proper remedy be not found, not only deprive the Five Nations of their Beaver Hunting Country, but stop all intercourse between the English, and the Far Nations of Indians in allyance with the Five Nations, as Oniagara is the Rout by which they come.

As to the Four prisoners, it would seem that the Govr of Pennsilvania is the most proper person to make remarks on that part of the letter.

GOVERNOR CLINTON OF NEW YORK TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

New York, *5 Novembr 1751.*

My Lords: As it is expected, that the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania may make application for an order, to put a stop to any grants of lands in this Province to the Northward boundary of Pennsylvania, I have though it proper to inclose a copy of the Lieut Govers of Pennsylvania's letter to me on that subject, together with the opinion of the Council of this Province thereon.

I shall only add, that there is a large Tract of vacant Land in this Province to the Northward of Pennsylvania, and that any order to stop the grant thereof (till that Northern boundary be fixed) may be a prejudice to the peopling and cultivating of this Province, and likewise a prejudice to His Majtys Revenue, by his Quit rents,

unless care be taken at the same time that the necessary expence be provided for ascertaining of that line without delay.

I take this opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your Lord^{pps} Secretary's letter dated July the 9th 1751. (with the Three Acts of Parliam^{t} relating to the British Plantations enclosed) and shall govern myself accordingly in the several matters therein contained.

In eight or ten days I expect another Vessel will sail for England, and as the Assembly of this Province is now sitting, I purpose to do myself the honour to transmit to your Lord^{pps} an account of their proceedings.

I am with very great respect
My lords,
Your Lord^{pps} most obedient and
very humble servant,
G CLINTON.

GOVERNOR HAMILTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON OF NEW YORK.

PHILADELPHIA. *13. Sept^{r} 1751.*

Sir: I was prevented by indisposition from acknowledging the Receipt of your Excell^{cys} letter, of the 13th of August, with the intelligence that accompanied it, relating to the French designs upon Ohio. As our Assembly was then sitting, [I] immediately laid it before them for their consideration, tho' at the same time I had no reason to expect, they would advise the taking any vigorous Measures, to oppose the execution of the French schemes, so that I was not at all disappointed, when they let me know, that at present they did not incline to do any thing in that affair.

The Gov^{r} of Canada's letter of which you are pleased to inclose me a copy in yours of the second instant, is indeed a singular piece of argumentation; but though his reasonings are every where false, as might be easily proved, yet I think it will be to no purpose to confute them, since little regard will probably be had to any thing that can be said on this side the Water. I am therefore very glad you have been able to furnish his Maj$^{ty's}$ Ministers with so explicit a declaration of the French, upon that head, that they may, if they think it adviseable, to take proper measures to prevent the consequences likely to ensue from Councils founded on such manifest contradictions to Treaties.

What I am now about to represent to your Excell^{cy}, will I hope be considered as my indispensible duty to the Proprietaries of this Province, whose interests, if my information be true, may be very

much affected, by the proceedings of Coll: Johnson and some other Gentlemen in your Govern^{t}, who I am told have obtained a warrant for laying out a very large tract of Land, more than one hundred thousand acres, on the East branch of Susquehannah River, to adjoin the line of this Province. Now, as the Northern boundary of Pennsilvania is not yet fixed, those Gentlemen for want of due information, may probably by virtue of this Warrant, survey lands within our Province, which may hereafter occasion disputes, between us, especially if settlements should be made upon them. With a view therefore of avoiding every thing of that kind, I should be much obliged to your Excell^{cy}, to signify to the Gentlemen concerned in that Grant, that I will advise the Proprietaries of it, by the next conveyance, that if the please they may take immediate measures for settling their Northern boundary with the Crown. Such a step which it is the Proprietaries interest to take, will put the boundary out of dispute, and then these Gentlemen or any others concerned in grants of land, will be under no difficulty where to locate their Warrants, but till that be done, it appears to me, they will run a great risk in their locations.

As a testimony of my regard for those Gent^{n}, and for their further information, I beg leave to acquaint your Excell^{cy}, that the Province of Pennsylvania, by the Royal Patent, is to contain all the lands within five degrees of West Longitude, from the River Delaware, which is the Eastern boundary thereof; and three degrees of Latitude, beginning at a circle drawn at twelve miles distance, Northward and Westward, from the Town of Newcastle, and to be bounded by that circle, till it intersects a line running due west from the Town of Newcastle, and by that line continued due West to the limits of Longitude above mentioned, which part of the said circle, and due west line, is to be the south boundary of the said province, so that it is of little import in what degree of latitude that part of the said circle and West line fall, nor what it is supposed to be in the patent, since Newcastle is a certain determined point or station given and fixed in the patent, from whence and not from any imaginary point or line in the heavens, the three degrees of latitude are to be measured. If these Gentlemen therefore will consider how far three degrees of latitude to be measured from Newcastle will extend, (perhaps not short of the latitude of Albany) they will be the better able to judge how to keep their survey clear of this province.

I have not gone into this account of the Bounds of Pennsylvania with any design to begin a dispute, but merely with a view to apprise your Excell^{cy}, and the Warrantees, of the light in which the boundaries of this Province are considered here. And that in my opinion it would be for the interest of the parties, that our proprietaries should first be made acquainted with their Grant, before

they put themselves to any considerable expence about it, in order that they may take measures with the Crown, to ascertain their Northern boundary. But if the lands should be actually located, and there should be reason to think any part of the survey comes within the line of this Province, I hope your Excell^cy for prevention of any future disputes, will permit the Agents of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania residing here, to lodge a Caveat in your Land Office, against the acceptance of such survey.

I am much obliged to your Excell^cy for the care you have always taken to communicate to me whatever has appeared to you, to merit the attention of this Govern^t, which Indian Affairs most particularly do. And shall request of you the continuance of the same good disposition. And hoping your health is perfectly reestablished by means of the country air, I have the honour to subscribe myself with very great regard.

Sir,

Your Excell^cy's most obedient
humble servant
JAMES HAMILTON.

MINISTERIAL MINUTE ON THE ATTEMPTS OF THE ENGLISH TO SETTLE ON THE OHIO.

CANADA.

23^d September, 1751.

The English always occupied with plans to extend their possessions, and to confine those of his Majesty, in North America, have undertaken since the last war to carry their trade towards the Beautiful river, which is situated in the interior, between Canada and Louisiana, and forms the principal communication between these two Colonies; to corrupt the Indian Nations of that quarter, and even to establish posts there.

The Marquis de la Jonquière having been informed of those attempts, adopted measures last year to prevent their success. He organized divers detachments of Frenchmen and Indians, which, according to his arrangements, were to form a junction this spring to proceed at once to the Beautiful river, drive the English from it, and bring back the Indians who might have allowed themselves to be debauched by the intrigues of that Nation.

News of the result was expected at the end of this year, but private letters have arrived from Canada stating that the Marquis de la Jonquière has abandoned that project, and insinuating that pri-

vate interest has led some one in whom he had placed his confidence, to dissuade him from it, by making him apprehend creating thereby a general Indian war.

This motive would be good, if it were valid. It is proper always to avoid, as much as possible war with the Indians ; but, it appears, that on this occasion, it was not difficult to guarantee himself against it.

The question is not to operate against the Indians, but to prevent the interloping trade the English are driving in a country belonging to us, and which, previous to the last war, they would be careful not to dispute us; this is proposed to be effected by checking at the same time the views they entertain of establishing posts there. It is easy, therefore, to render the Indians indifferent in this regard ; nay, even to induce them to understand that for the sake of their own tranquillity and of the freedom of their trade, in which we have never clogged them, they must wish that we should stop the progress of the English schemes.

'Twould therefore be unfortunate if the Marquis de la Jonquière has abandoned the project he had formed for that purpose ; and although the private advices announcing that change on his part may be unfounded, it appears, nevertheless, proper not to keep him in ignorance of them ; to inform him, at the same time, that his Majesty continues to expect the execution of this project ; that there is, in fact, no other course to adopt than to drive from the Beautiful river any European foreigners who will happen to be there, so as to make them lose all taste for returning thither, observing, notwithstanding, the caution practicable in these sorts of matters.

As for the rest, there is no reason to apprehend any justifiable complaints on the part of the Court of England. The French were the discoverers of the Beautiful river, which has always served as a communication, as already observed, between Canada and Louisiana. We always carried on trade there without any interruption, and have sent considerable detachments thither on various occasions.

MINISTERIAL MINUTE ON THE ENGLISH ENCROACHMENTS ON THE OHIO.

CANADA, 1752.

The Marquis de la Jonquière reported last year, that the Indian Nations of the Upper Countries were threatening a sort of general conspiracy against the French, and that the English who succeeded in debauching them by presents and intrigues, were pledged to sustain them by arms.

He stated, at the same time, that the reports made to him by some faithful Nations, caused him to conclude that effectual measures must be indispensably adopted, both to bring the nations that had joined the conspiracy, back to their attachment to France, or to oblige them to return to their duty, and to destroy, by force of arms, the posts the English might have undertaken to erect on our territory toward the River Oio, whence they set all these movements on foot; and this Governor transmitted at the same time, a plan of operations which he was to execute, and which consisted principally in dispatching at the beginning of Autumn last year, several detachments for various posts, whence they were to make a junction at the opening of the spring, at a rendezvous indicated to them, to act according to circumstances.

We learn by letters received from the Marquis de la Jonquière, and dated last September, that his plan was badly executed; that the officers entrusted with its execution had undertaken nothing against the rebellious Indians, nor against the English posts, and that the movements of those Indians are becoming every day more dangerous.

The Marquis de la Jonquière states, however, that he does not despair of reëstablishing tranquillity in the Upper Country; he has adopted new measures for that purpose, and explains the details thereof in the annexed letter.

Meanwhile he has caused the arrest of 4 Englishmen who were trading on the lands of the Colony, and were endeavoring to debauch our Indians. It appears from the interrogatories they were subjected to at Quebec, that they were authorized by the English Governors, though they had not, however, produced their passports. The Marquis de la Jonquière has sent three of them to France, the 4th being unable, from sickness, to embark. Those three have been imprisoned at Rochelle, and 'tis proper that they be left there. It is not expected that the Court of England will reclaim them; at least they have not claimed that class of prisoners who had been taken in Louisiana, some years before the last war, and sent to France. But at all events, should any complaint be made on this subject, it will be easy to give an answer to it. As for the rest, the seizure of these trading posts is the least expensive, least inconvenient, and perhaps the most effectual way to put a stop, in the Indian country, to the movements the English are endeavoring to excite there.

EARL OF ALBERMARLE TO THE EARL OF HOLDERNESSE.

PARIS, *March 1, 1752.*

MY LORD: I must acquaint your Lordship, that in the month of November last, I received a letter from three persons, signing themselves John Patton, Luke Irwin and Thomas Bourke, representing to me that they were Englishmen who had been brought to Rochelle and put into prison there, from whence they wrote; having been taken by the French subjects, who seized their effects as they were trading with the English and other Indians on the Ohio, and carried prisoners to Quebec, from whence they had been sent over to Rochelle, where they were hardly used. Upon this information I applied to M. St. Contest, and gave him a note of it, claiming them as the King's subjects, and demanding their liberty and restitution of their effects, that had been unjustly taken from them.

These three persons, I find by the paper your Lordship has sent me, are of the number of those demanded of the French by Mr. Clinton, and named in M. de la Jonquière's letter. I have wrote a merchant at Rochelle to inquire after them, and to supply them with money, to make their journey hither, if they are not gone, that I may receive from them all the informations necessary; on my seeing M. St. Contest next Tuesday, I will represent the case to him, in obedience to his Majesty's commands; that M. la Jonquière may have positive orders to desist from the unjustifiable proceedings complained of; to release any of his Majesty's subjects he may still detain in prison, and to make ample restitution of their effects. And I shall take care to show them the ample necessity of sending instructions to their several Governors, not to attempt any such encroachments for the future.

MINUTE OF INSTRUCTIONS TO BE GIVEN TO M. DUQUESNE.

CANADA. INDIANS.

It appears from a letter of the Marquis de la Jonquière, that the efforts the English are making, and the expenses they incur, to gain over the Indians, are not without success among several Nations.

Information has been received last year of the progress they had already made among the Indians in the environs of the River

Ohio, where they have undertaken, since the peace, to form some establishments.

The Marquis de la Jonquière had rendered an account of a plan he had prepared both to drive the English from that river and to chastise the Indians who allowed themselves to be gained over. That plan was to dispatch several detachments of Frenchmen and Indian allies, who were to form a junction at a rendezvous which was indicated to them, to operate afterwards relative to the object of that movement. Although the details of the Marquis de la Jonquière's dispositions in this regard might call forth some observations; yet as the project was good, and was, besides, to have been executed before that Governor could receive these remarks, his Majesty thought proper to approve what he had done. But all the consequent operations reduce themselves to the seizure of some English traders with their goods, and to the murder of two Indians of the Miamis Nation.

The seizure of the English traders whose effects have been confiscated and even plundered by our Indians, cannot but produce a good effect, by disgusting the other traders of that Nation. But the murder of the two Miamis may be attended by unfortunate consequences; and in fact intelligence has been received that it had already caused a good deal of excitement among the rebel Nations.

The Marquis de la Jonquière pretends that if his expedition has not had the success he expected, it was because Sieur Celoron, Major and Commandant of Detroit, which was to be the centre of all the operations, has badly executed the orders and instructions he had given him.

But it would be useless, now, to enter into the examination of the faults that may have been committed. We must start from our present position, and establish some principles on which his Majesty may issue such orders as he may deem proper.

The English may pretend that we are bound by the Treaty of Utrecht to permit the Indians to trade with them. But it is certain that nothing can oblige us to suffer this trade on our territory.

Accordingly in all the alliances or quasi treaties or propositions we have had with the Far Indians, we have never obliged them expressly to renounce going to the English to trade; we have merely exhorted them to that effect, and never did we oppose that treaty by force.

The River Ohio, otherwise called the Beautiful river, and its tributaries belong indisputable to France, by virtue of its discovery by Sieur de la Salle; of the trading posts the French have had there since, and of possession which is so much the more unquestionable as it constitutes the most frequent communication from Canada to Louisiana. It is only within a few years that the English have

undertaken to trade there; and now they pretended to exclude us from it.

They have not up to the present time, however, maintained that these rivers belong to them; they pretended only that the Iroquois are masters of them and being the Sovereigns of these Indians, that they can exercise their rights. But 'tis certain that these Indians have none, and that, besides, the pretended sovereignty of the English over them is a chimera.

Meanwhile 'tis of the greatest importance to arrest the progress of the pretensions and expeditions of the English in that quarter. Should they succeed there, they would cut off the communication between the two Colonies of Canada and Louisiana, and would be in a position to trouble them, and to ruin both the one and the other, independent of the advantages they would at once experience in their trade to the prejudice of ours.

Any complaints that may be presented to the Court of England against the English Governors would be altogether futile. On the one hand it would be very difficult to obtain proofs of the most serious facts; and on the other, no matter what proofs may be produced, that Court would find means to elude all satisfaction, especially as long as the boundaries are not settled.

It is neccessary then to act on the spot, and the question to be determined is, what means are the most proper.

It is not known what steps the Marquis de la Jonquière will take this year; but whatever they be, it appears that the orders to be given on this subject to M[r] Duquesne, who is to succeed him in government, must have principally for their object, to avoid, as much as it will be possible, an Indian war on that account.

Wars of this character are always extremely expensive, and very rarely productive of any real advantage.

Therefore, without undertaking, as the Marquis de la Jonquière appears to have proposed, to drive from the River Ohio the Indians who are looked upon as rebles or suspected, and without wishing even to destroy the liberty of their trade, it is thought best to adhere to two principal points.

1[st] To make every possible effort to drive the English from our territory, and to prevent them coming there to trade.

2[d] To give the Indians to understand at the same time that no harm is intended them, that they will have liberty to go as much as they please to the English to trade, but will not be allowed to receive these on our territory.

There is reason to believe that by this course of conduct; by providing our posts with plenty of goods and preventing our traders dictating to the Indians, our trade will soon recover the superiority over that of the English in those parts; for 'tis certain the Indians do not like to go into their towns, nor forts.

The Marquis de la Jonquière has rendered an account of a solemn Council which was held on the 11th of July last with the Onontagués of the Five Iroquois Nations, in the presence of the chiefs of the Iroquois domiciliated at the Sault St. Louis and at the Lake of the Two Mountains; of the Abenakis of St. Francis and of the Outaüois of Michilimakinac. Everything appears to have gone off well in that Council on the part of those Indians, who have evinced very favorable dispositions. But two articles were discussed there, respecting which it is proper to give Mr Duquesne praticular orders.

The first is relative to the lands on the River Ohio. The Onontagués asserted in their speech, that these lands are the property of the Five Nations. The Marquis de la Jonquière has unadvisedly answered them so as to countenance that pretension, by giving them to understand that the French would not settle on those lands without their permission.

'Tis necessary to disabuse them on this head. They have, in fact, as has been already observed, no right to the River Ohio. We had discovered it long before they themselves had known it, and we have resorted it when no other Indians were there but the Chaoüanons, with whom they were at war, and who have always been our friends.

The second turned on the murder of 18 Iroquois by some Cherokees. The Marquis de la Jonquière took advantage of that occasion to induce the Iroquois to make war on the Cherakis, who are allies of the English. He expects great advantages from this war; and by letters from Mr de Vaudreuil, Governor of Louisiana, it appears that such is his opinion, also, on that point. But 'tis not known whether it would not be of more advantage to endeavor to make peace between these two Nations, and to profit by that occasion to conciliate the Cherakis in our favor. There is, at least no doubt that the English pursue that course, and will succeed in it sooner or later.

However that be, 'tis considered proper to direct Mr Duquesne to lay down henceforward in Canada a different system from that always followed hitherto in regard to wars among the Indians. With a view to occupy and weaken them, the principle has been to excite and foment these sorts of wars. That was of advantage in the infancy of the settlement of Canada. But in the condition to which these Nations are now reduced, and in their present dispositions generally, it is in every respect more useful that the French perform between them the part of protectors and pacificators. They will, thereby, entertain more consideration and attachment for us; the Colony will be more tranquil in consequence, and we shall save considerable expense. Cases, however, may occur in which it will be proper to excite war against certain Nations attached to the English; but even such cases call for two observations; one, to endeavor,

first, to gain over these same nations by reconciling them with ours; and the other, to be as sure as possible that our Indians will not suffer too much from these wars.

The Marquis de la Jonquière has likewise reported the measures he has adopted for the continuation of the Indian movements in the direction of Acadia. They correspond with the caution prescribed to him in regard to the English. There is nothing to be changed on this head in M^r^ Duquesne's instructions. It appears merely proper to enjoin on him expressly to prevent the French painting or dressing themselves like Indians, in order to assult the English. 'Tis a flagrant treachery which must not be permitted even in time of war.

There is still other particular details in the Marquis de la Jonquière's letters respecting the Indians; but they do not deserve his Majesty's attention, and, besides, do not call for any special instructions to M^r^ Duquesne. It is observable, however, that all that transpires among them the different nations, goes to show that the English are employing every sort of manœuvre to debauch them. What is the most unfortunate is, that they are now incurring more expense than they have ever done.

Approved. April, 1752.

M. DE LONGUEUIL TO M. DE ROUILLE.

21 April, 1752.

My Lord: The late Marquis de la Jonquière had the honor to report to you, in his letter of the 13^th^ 7^ber^, the ill success of the orders he had given in a secret instruction to M^r^ de Celoron; that the band of *La Demoiselle* and other Indians of the Beautiful river had pushed their rebellion to excess, had adopted the English and had openly declared themselves the sworn enemies of the French.

In the same letter that General had the honor to inform you that he had adopted wise measures to secure the conquest of *La Demoiselle's* fort, to expel the English from the Beautiful river, to punish the Indian nations and to make them feel the King's power.

I doubt not, my Lord, but that the letter had at first created great hopes of the execution of the expedition which was projected and concerted in the best possible manner by the late M. de la Jonquière.

But the despatch which that General had the honor to write you on the 29^th^ of October, on the subject of M^r^ de Belestre's voyage, and of the scalps taken by the Nepissings, will only create an appre-

hension in your mind that his orders and purest intentions would still be fruitless.

In fact, my Lord, the orders which Mr de la Jonquière dispatched last spring to Mr de Celoron, and repeated in his letter to him of the first of October, were not executed any more than those he had given him as far back as 1750, before his departure for Detroit. I cannot actually fathom the reasons which prevent that officer obeying them, as he makes no mention thereof in the letter he has written to the late Mr de la Jonquière on the twenty-sixth day of January last.

That letter has been preceded by several other despatches from Mr de Celoron and the Commandants of our other posts at the South, even, I think, at Illinois, but neither the one nor the other has reached me. Mr de Celoron had addressed these despatches to Mr de la Lavalterie, the Commandant at Niagara, who detached a soldier to convey them to the Fort Rouillé, with orders to the storekeeper of that post to transmit them promptly to Montreal. It is not known what became of that soldier. About the same time a Mississagué from Toronto arrived at Niagara, who informed Mr de Lavalterie that he had not seen that soldier at the fort, nor met him on the way. 'Tis to be feared that he has been killed by Indians, and the despatches carried to the English. Mr de la Valterie has not failed to recommend to this Indian to make every search on his way back to his village, and to assure him, that should he find that soldier, and convey the despatches entrusted to him to the storekeeper of Toronto, he would be well rewarded.

Mr de Celoron's letter is accompanied by one that Mr Desligneris wrote to the late Mr de la Jonquière on the 4th of January. 'Tis from this last letter that I learned more particularly the unfortunate state of our affairs.

From the accounts which Mr de Celoron transmitted to late Mr de la Jonquière subsequent to those, a detail of which that General had the honor to give you, and previous to Mr Celoron's being able to receive his last orders, sent in his letter of the first of October, it appears that it will be out of his power to make any movement.

He observes, first, that after the arrival of the Millitia men under the command of Lieutenant de Longueuil, and twenty days' consultation among the nations, the latter had concluded, our force being insufficient to attack *La Demoiselle* and his allies, to keep the hatchet to use it when complete success would be certain, and to wait until the spring; that the delay these Indians demand, puts it out of his power to execute anything with the few Frenchmen he has; that is easy to perceive, by the manœuvre of the Indians, that they cannot be induced to follow the French unless the latter are in strong force; that he has notified the Commandants of the River St. Joseph and of the Syatonons of the resolutions of these Indians had adopted, and that, should their Indians be of the same mind,

nothing can probably be effected, and they must confine themselves to putting their posts in a secure state.

In a letter of the 18th of September, Mr de Celoron notifies Mr de la Jonquière that no dependence is to be placed on the Indians for any expedition, although Mikinac had assured him that nothing but the fear of the small pox had stopped him, and that all the villages will march in the spring, if forces be sent. Finally, Mr de Celoron states, in his last letter, that he cannot say anything positively respecting the nations of his post, as he had not seen them since their departure for their winter grounds.

Mr de Ligneris, Commandant at the Ȣyatanons, believes that great reliance is not to be placed on the Maskoutins, and that their remaining neutral is all that is to be expected from them and the Kispapous. He even adds, that we are not to reckon on the nations which appear in our interests: no Ȣyatanon Chief has appeared at his post for a long time, although they had promised to inform him of all that they knew.

Mr. de Villiers, Commandant at the Miamis, has been disappointed in his expectation of bringing the Miamis back from the White river, part of whom had been to see him, the small pox having put the whole of them to the route. Coldfoot and his son have died of it, as well as a large portion of our most trusty Indians. *Le Gris*, Chief of the Tepicons, and his mother, are likewise dead; they are a loss because they were well disposed towards the French.

The Nations of the River St. Joseph, who were to join those of Detroit, have said that they would be ready to perform their promise so soon as Onontio would have sent the necessary number of Frenchmen. The Commandant of this post writes on the 15th of January that all the Nations appear to take sides against us, that he would not be responsible for the good dispositions these Indians seem to entertain, inasmuch as the Miamis are their near relatives.

The Missilimakina Nations who had in like manner promised, have not budged either. Mr Duplessis Fabret writes on the first of January that he has been informed some of the enemy have been seen on the Grand river.

It is exceedingly probable that the Commandant at Fort Chartres will not have any greater authority over the Nations of his post.

The result of all that I have the honor of reporting to you, my Lord, is that not only have our rebels of the Beautiful river not experienced any ill treatment from the Nations that the late Mr de la Jonquière had excited against them, but even moreover, that the same Nations promised wonders to that General only with a premeditated view to deceive him, and that at heart they preserve the same feelings of attachment for those rebels to whom they are connected by blood.

The perfidy of these Nations, however unfortunate it may be, is

not the most untoward event that could happen to us, and it was not without reason that the late Mr de la Jonquière questioned whether the two scalps taken by the Nepissings would give any trouble to our rebels, or render them more mutinous. His alternative has been but too well realized to our greatest disadvantage.

On the one hand, Mr de Joncaire repeats that the Indians of the Beautiful river are all English, for whom alone they work; that they are all resolved to sustain each other, and that not a party of Indians goes to the Beautiful river but leaves some there to increase the rebel forces.

On the other hand Mr de St. Ange, Commandant of the post of Vincennes, writes to Mr Desligneris to use all means to protect himself from the storm which is ready to burst on the French; that he is busy securing himself against the fury of our enemies.

The Commandants of our posts have so much more cause to be on their guard against all events as our enemies have steeped their hands in French blood, and as we deeply feel the cost of two scalps taken by the Nepissings near *La Demoiselle's* village.

The Miamis of Rock river have scalped two soldiers belonging to Mr de Villiers' fort; this blow was struck last fall, doubtless shortly after that of the Nepissings.

The Pianguichias, who were at war with the Chaouanons, according to the report rendered by Mr St. Clin to the late Mr de la Jonquière, have declared entirely against us. They killed at Christmas five Frenchmen at the Vermillion. Mr Desligners, who was aware of this attack, sent off a detachment to secure the effects of the Frenchmen from being plundered, but when this detachment arrived at the Vermillion, the Pianguichias had decamped. The bodies of the Frenchmen were found on the ice.

Mr Desligneris was assured that the Pianguichias had committed this act, because four men of their Nation had been killed by the French at the Illinois, and four others had been taken and put in irons. It is said that these eight men were going to fight the Chikachas, and had, without distrusting anything, entered the quarters of the French who killed them. It has been reported, also, to Mr Desligneris that these Frenchmen had recourse to this extreme measure only, because a Frenchman and two slaves had been killed a few days before by a party of Pianguichias, and that the Indians in question had no knowledge of that circumstance.

The like report was made to Mr de St. Ange, Commandant at the post of Vincenne, and that many of the Illinois had been defeated.

On the 19th of October the Pianguichias had killed two more Frenchmen, who were constructing pirogues, lower down than the post of Vincenne.

Two days afterwards the Pianguichias killed two slaves in sight of Fort Vincenne.

The murder of these nine Frenchmen and these two slaves is but too certain.

M^r^ de Joncaire has informed the late M^r^ de la Jonquière, by a letter of the 6^th^ of September, that he had been assured by a party of the warriors, that the Flatheads had scalped three Frenchmen at a place called *La Chutte*, in the lower part of the Beautiful river, and took a fourth Frenchman prisoner, whom they delivered, with the scalps, to the English; this news may be false, though there is reason to believe that it is true.

I expect nothing less than to learn by accounts I shall receive this spring, that other Frenchmen have been killed. The advices I have received from all quarters leave me no doubt on this head.

M^r^ Desligneris thinks that many of the Syatonons, who form with the Pianguichias and the Miamis but one Nation, may join them.

A Squaw, the widow of one of the Frenchmen who had been killed at the Vermillion, has reported to M^r^ Desligneris that the Pianguichias, Illinois and Osages were to assemble at the Prairies of . . . . . , the place where Mess^rs^ de Villiers and de Noyelle attacked the Foxes about twenty years ago, and when they had built a fort to secure their families, were to make a general attack on all the French.

'Twas also reported to M^r^ Desligneris that a Pouteouatami chief, of the River St. Joseph, being at the Syatonons in the fall with letters from him, whilst he was at the Miamis, told a Pianguichias chief, privately, that his Nation would never accept the tomahawk to strike the Miamis. This assurance may have greatly emboldened the Miamis.

M^r^ de Joncaire writes, on the 30^th^ of August, that he had just learned that a meeting of the Illinois, Syas, Pianguichias, Miamis, Delawares, Chaouanons and the Five Iroquois Nations, was to be had this year at *La Demoiselle's*, and that the whole tends, in his opinion, to a general revolt.

The storekeeper of Toronto writes to M^r^ de Verchères, Commandant at Fort Frontenac, that some trustworthy Indians have assured him that the Saulteux, who killed our Frenchmen some years ago, have dispersed themselves along the head of Lake Ontario, and seeing himself surrounded by them, he doubts not but they have some evil design on his fort.

There is no doubt, my Lord, but 'tis the English who are inducing the Indians to destroy the French, and that they would give a good deal to get the savages to destroy Fort Toronto, on account of the essential injury it does their trade at Choueguen.

The capture of the four English traders by M^r^ de Celoron's order last year, has not prevented other Englishmen going to trade to the Vermillion river, where the Reverend Father la Richardie wintered.

It has been reported to M^r^ Desligneris that other English traders had been to the Beautiful river and to the White river to trade, under the guidance of some Syatanons who were wintering there.

An English trader assured M^r^ de Joncaire that the Governor of Virginia was coming in the beginning of September with 800 horses, to the Beautiful river to hold a council with the Chaouanons at Cheningué.[1]

Finally, the English have paid the Miamis for the scalps of the two soldiers belonging to M^r^ de Villiers' garrison.

To so many circumstances equally critical, are superadded the scarcity of provisions, and great appearance of famine at our Southern posts.

M^r^ de Celoron writes, on the 12^th^ of September, to M^r^ de la Jonquière that the Indian corn is worth twenty *livres* the *minot*, payable in peltries, and that he will possibly be obliged to send away some of the Canadians from Detroit owing to the want of provisions.

To add to the misfortunes, M^r^ Desligneris has learned that the Commandant of the Illinois would not permit Sieurs Delisle and Fonblanche, who had contracted with the King to supply the Miamis, Syatonons, and even Detroit with provisions from the Illinois, to purchase any provisions for the subsistence of the garrisons of those posts, on the ground that an increase of troops and families had arrived who would consume the stock at the Illinois.

M^r^ de St. Ange, Commandant at Fort Vincenne, does not state anything in this regard to M^r^ Desligneris; he merely says that he has no intelligence from the Illinois, and that he is still uncertain whether the convoy had arrived there.

Whatever augmentation of troops and families may have taken place at the Illinois, 'tis certain that, on receipt of the letter, Mess^rs^ de la Jonquière and Bégon have written to the Commandant and Commissary of Fort Chartres, who will do their best in order that Mess^rs^ Delisle and Fonblanche may perform their contract, unless they suffer from a similar scarcity to ours. The great difficulty is, the arrival of the General and Intendant's orders at their destination. M^r^ Desligneris sent them off on the 3^d^ of January by 4 Mascoutins, but he doubts much if they will reach the Illinois; he knows not, even, that they will arrive at the post of Vincenne, on account of the enemies that encompass him.

The crops have also failed at the Beautiful river. M^r^ de Joncaire and the other Frenchmen have been reduced to a couple of handsful *(une jointee)* of Indian corn a day; neither meat, nor grease, nor salt.

Famine is not the sole scourge we experience; the small-pox commits ravages; it begins to reach Detroit. One woman has died of it at the Huron village.

[1] Now, Warren, Warren county, Pennsylvania.

This disease prevails also at the Beautiful river.

'Twere desirable that it should break out and spread, generally, throughout the localities inhabited by our rebels. It would be fully as good as an army.

Before the small-pox broke out at Detroit, 40 persons died belonging to the village of the Stasois, and almost as many at the Poutesatamis.

Kinousaki is likewise dead. We lose a chief who was, apparently, much attached to the French.

M^r^ de Celoron has been again told that the remainder of the fugitive Hurons will retire to Detroit this spring. The contagious disease will contribute a great deal to their return.

You are fully informed, my Lord, by the detail that I have just had the honor to submit to you:

1^st^ That the expedition which M^r^ de Celoron was ordered to get up, did not take place.

2^nd^ That the promises the Indians had made to the late M^r^ de la Jonquière were feigned, and that they are more in favor of our rebels than of us.

3^d^ That the attack of the Nepissings has only rendered our rebels more dangerous.

4^th^ That the Miamis have scalped two soldiers.

5^th^ That the Pianguichias have killed 7 Frenchmen and two slaves.

6^th^ That the same Nation had, shortly before, killed another Frenchman and two slaves.

7^th^ That, according to what has been stated to M. de Joncaire, the Flatheads have scalped three Frenchmen and taken a 4^th^, whom they delivered to the English with said scalps.

8^th^ That we are menaced with a general conspiracy.

9^th^ That we must fear even for Toronto.

10^th^ That the English are the indirect authors of the murder of the French.

11^th^ That famine at Detroit and its dependencies is quasi certain.

12^th^ That small-pox is ravaging the whole of that Continent.

You perceive, my Lord, the sorrowful condition of the entire of that Upper Country. I am invested, by the death of the Marquis de la Jonquière, with the government of Canada, under very unfortunate circumstances. I lay before your eyes the blood of the French of that Colony, of which you are the powerful protector. My zeal, my fidelity for the King's service, and the love I feel for my country combine to inspire me with just sentiments of vengeance; everything urges me not to defer it, and to make our enemies feel his Majesty's power. But I have thoroughly searched for solid means to second my wishes. Though I overcome, at first, certain obstacles, I am always met by the insufficiency of provisions, canoes

and time, which prevents me guaranteeing that I shall make peace succeed the most vigorous war.

This I shall undertake next year to do, with as much prudence and firmness as I dare flatter myself with.

I do not lose sight, my Lord, of what you have prescribed to the late M. de la Jonquière, in your letter of the 27th of August, which reached him only in the beginning of winter. I owe it to the memory of that General, who had no other object than to reëstablish good order in the countries which cause us so much trouble [to bear witness] that everything that has been written against him is the work of calumny, which is the sole talent of certain evil spirits of this country, whom I beg you, my Lord, to visit with the punishment due to their audacity.

It is notorious that Mr de la Salle took possession of the Beautiful river in the King's name, at the time of the discovery of the Mississippy; that his Majesty's property of it cannot be validly questioned; that we are clearly authorized not to suffer any European strangers to undertake resorting thither, and that hereupon depends the free communication by that river between this Colony and Louisiana.

I likewise know that 'tis not the Indians who carry on the contraband trade; that 'tis not they who desire to establish posts on our lands, and that 'tis not against them that there would be any question of acting, since we do not seek to embarrass them in their trade, and leave them free to settle wherever they please.

In fine, experience teaches us but to well, that the English look with eyes of concupiscence both on the lands of the Beautiful river, and generally on all that vast country; that they are the fomenters of the rebellion of the nations who, from all time, have been loyal to us, and who, at their instigation only, have been led to the extreme of killing our Frenchmen.

No remedy for our evils would have been more effectual than to drive the English from our lands, and no other course would remain to be taken to insure its success than to send a sufficient force to Detroit and the Beautiful river, to adopt all possible precautions to protect the French from the fury of the Indians and to guarantee their effects against pillage. My first object is in every point of view interesting, and if not accomplished, 'twill not be for want of foresight on my part.

I shall dispatch this summer 400 Canadians, under the command of Chevalier de Longueuil, to Detroit, to proceed thence to winter at the other posts nearest our enemies. Next spring I shall send off five or six hundred Canadians to form a junction with the former at the rendezvous to be designed by Mr de Longueuil. I shall transmit to him, then, my orders which I regulate according to his experience, and the accounts he will send me during the winter. I

could not be beforehand with my orders, because our affairs will possibly change from one moment to another.

I shall not employ any Indians on this expedition, unless they offer to follow the French, to aid them in looking up the bones of their brethren.

Should Chevalier de Longueuil's mission be as successful as he and I dare hope, the Upper country will be free, and the French able to trade there in all surety. The Indian nations will return to their attachment to us, and then I shall have it in my power to adopt measures to oblige the English to disburse. But I must have the honor to observe to you, my Lord, that however fortunate this expedition may be, and whatever foresight I may have in closing the road on the English, their avidity will lead them to surmount all risks, and the Indians are capable, besides, of making by-roads to escape my vigilance.

My Lord, it would therefore be of infinite importance to limit the possessions of the English, and that the boundaries of the two extremities of this Colony should be so firmly regulated that the English could not find any pretext to trouble us in our territory. I am persuaded that the capture of the four English traders by M^r^ de Celoron, and the letter M^r^ de la Jonquière had the honor to write you on the 16^th^ of 7^ber^ will not have contributed a little to accelerate the labors of the Commissioners. The tranquillity of this Colony depends on their decision.

I am with most profound respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and most
obedient servant
LONGUEUIL.

SIR JOHNSON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, OF N. Y.

20 April 1753.

May it please your Excellency: Last night I was alarm'd about 12 of the Clock by two Conajoharie Indians accompanied by a great many Mohawks, who came whooping & hallowing in a frightfull manner with the enclosed string of Wampum to acquaint me by order of the Five Nations, from whence it came by fresh Posts in less than forty eight hours that some of their young men who were hunting near a place called Swegaachey below Cadaraghqui having seen a great number of French and Indians march well equipped for War to said place, which it seems is their Rendezvous dispatched two brisk young men with the news to Onondaga, the rest remain to watch the French's motion, and to see

if they pass the Roads leading to their Castles. if so, then they are certain their design must be against the Ohio Indians, Twighteeys &c[a] and in order to prevent said Nations being surprized by them they beg your Excellency would as soon as possible send them word of the French's being on the way thither, and that by the way of Philadelphia, as it is by much the nearest. But on the other hand should said army turn towards the five Nations, as they from their fears seem to think they may, there will be an express with a large Belt of Wampum sent to acquaint us of it and desire our assistance both of Men & Ammunition which they earnestly desired I would instantly inform your Excellency of. Nay so intent were they on it that they would not be satisfied until I wrote this, and dispatched it to Albany by one of my own people on Horseback in their presence, so that I hope your Excellency will excuse any blunders I may have made. and believe me with the greatest esteem imaginable

Your Excellencys
most obedient Servant
WM. JOHNSON.

P S.

They judge their number about twelve Hundred, besides the Battoe Men and say that there are a great many officers & young gentlemen by their appearance New York. A true copy Ex[d] P[r]
GW BANYAR *D Secry*

CAPTAIN STODDART TO SIR WM. JOHNSON.

Oswego *May 15th 1753*

Yesterday passed by here thirty odd French Canoes, part of an army going to Belle Riviere, to make good their claim there, and by a Frenchman who passed this also yesterday in his way to Cajocka gives me the following account which he said he learned from common Report in Canada Viz: that the army consisted of six thousand French commanded by Mons[r] Marin, who is ordered to Ohio to settle the Limitts between us and they, that they lay claim on all the Lands on any of the Rivers or creeks descending or terminating in the great Lake; that if he met with any opposition he is to make good his claim by force of Arms and to build Forts in such places he shall think most convenient to secure their right; that one Fort is to be built at Ka-sa-no-tia-yo-go (a carrying place) and another at Diontarogo; they are also to oblige all the English they meet with, whether Traders or others to evacuate the place, as they look upon all we possess now as their undoubted Right, which they mean to support by force of Arms; That this expedition is

agreeable to orders received from the Grand Monarque late in the winter, that he particularly orders them that they molest not this Post at any Rate in consideration of Cape Breton but at any other post the English shall presume to approach or settle near where they claim they are to reduce if not quitted immediately after warning given. That the expected a declaration of War by the first Vessells from France, which were not yet arrived, & was surprized when I told him we had as yet no intelligence or probability of a War; He also told me there was about 500 Indians of the Coghnawagees, Scenondidies, Onogonguas, Oroondoks & Chenundies who would not engage to go to war with the English & on Ohio but are employed at so much P^r^ Month to Hunt for y^e^ army: our five Nations are very uneasy, & many who were the first and principal settlers at Swegatsey are returning to their respective villages and seem to have much the spirit of Resentment in them, that the French should offer, to take possession or settle and build Forts at Ohio, without their consents, as they look upon it as their property, and many of them are now eager to take up the Hatchett and if they were a little spirited and assisted by us would soon with the assistance of their Allies, frustrate the Scheme of the French Politicians, intended settlements which if we tamely suffer, we may bid adieu to all the Indians on the continent as they will be y^r^ masters of them all, and the consequence will be a continual annoyance and encroachment on our Frontiers as there is no doubt but they will extend their Dominions in America as far as possible, and now seems the very Crisis of time to gain the Indians or for ever lose them; If I hear anything further concerning this army shall not fail to communicate it to you at all opportunitys:

B. S.

The preceding is a true coppy of a paper sent to his Excellency Gov^r^ Clinton by Coll W^m^ Johnson as a copy of a letter to him from Capt^n^ Benjamin Stoddart—Examined by

GW BANYAR *D Secry*

LIEUTENANT HOLLAND TO GOVERNOR CLINTON OF N. Y.

OSWEGO *May y^e^ 15^th^ 1753.*

SIR: I begg leave to inform your Excellency that yesterday passed this place thirty odd French Canoes, part of an army consisting of six thousand French, besides 500 Indians, commanded by Monsieur Marrin designed for the River Ohio or Belle Riviere, which from what we can learn from a French man who stopped here as well as

sundry accounts from the Indians, are to settle the limitts between us and they at Ohio and that they lay claim to all the Lands descending or terminating in the great Lake and that in case of opposition they are to support their Claim by Force of Arms & are to cause all the english whether Traders or others to quit them parts: that the Commandant is invested with power to build Forts, and garrison them in such places, and in such manner he judges most proper to secure their claim.

Our five nations seem very uneasy and much exasperated at this unexpected expedition of the French and say they never will consent the French shall settle or build Forts at Ohio as its their right, and which they will never give over.

Everything in this garrison is well and as nothing further occurs—beg leave to subscribe myself with all due deference

Sir

Your Excellency's

mo dutiful humble Servt

HITCHEN HOLLAND

New York

A True Copy examd Pr

GW BANYAR *D Secry*

CONFERENCE WITH THE INDIANS AT FORT GEORGE, 1753.

12 June 1753.

Minutes of Meeting between His Excellency the Honble George Clinton Captn General & Commander in Chief of the Colony of New York &c &c and Seventeen Mohawk Indians.

PRESENT— Of His Majestys Council

James Alexander — Mayor of ye City

Archibald Kennedy — &

Edward Holland — William Johnson

Several Members of the Assembly

& other Gentlemen Attending

William Printeys Interpreter Peter Wraxall Sêcry

Hendrick an Indian Chief rose up & made the following speech addressed to his Excellency

Brother

We are come hither to renew & make bright the Covenant Chain of our Forefathers and to wipe away all Tears from your eyes

(here he gave the Gov^{r} a String of Wampum) We come here with peaceable intentions

Brother

We are come to remind you of the antient alliance agreed on between our respective Forefathers: We were united together by a Covenant Chain and it seems now likely to be broken not from our Faults but yours

Brother

You know me very well, that I have always been a help and support to you when you have called our Six Nations together at Albany—By my means everything has gone right & whilst the five other nations of Indians have promised and not performed the Mohawks have always proved true

Brother

I said just now you know me very well, and my heartaches, because we Mohawks have always been faithful to you, as our brother Col Johnson can Witness when he had the care of Indian affairs, especially in this last War there was no assistance given you but by our Nations, & had the War lasted some time longer we would have torn the Frenchmens Hearts out

Brother

I say the indifference and neglect shown towards us makes our hearts ake, and if you don't alter your Behaviour to us we fear the Covenant Chain will be broken

Brother

We dont lay the blame upon yourself, but upon your Council & Assembly for brother we know you would be willing to do your part, but the dont regard us nor strive to take any care of us

Brother

It grieves us to the Heart to know and hear that the Council & Assembly dont take care of Albany but leave it naked and defenceless, and don't care what becomes of our Nation, You sit in Peace & quietness here whilst we are exposed to the enemy.

Brother

It is by your means that we stand every hour in danger, for it was at your request that we fought against the French, and they now dayly stand with a knife over our heads to destroy us, and we are forced to be upon our guard because nothing is as yet settled between us

Brother

You have put the Hatchett into our hands & we Mohawks have taken and used it against your enemies, and you have never taken the Hatchett out of our hands so that we still have it

Brother

You have always desired us to keep the Roads amongst our Nations open & clear, but we have heard that this last spring there has been a great deal of Damage done amongst our Brethren at Ohio, both white people and Indians killed Six Englishmen & Fourteen Indians, Showammers & Mehihammers for which reason that Road seems now to be spoiled.

Brother

We beseech you to consider of some method to bring all things into the State they used to be between your Forefathers & ours for brother you must not imagine we alone are grieved, the other Nations are so also, tho' we Mohawks are called the Head of the 5 Nations.

Brother

If you dont endeavor to redress our Greivances the rest of our Brethren the 5 Nations shall know of it and all Paths will be stopped.

Brother

We beg you will not be long considering of it, you may perhaps tell us you will write to our Father the King, but that will be too long, we therefore desire you will do some thing immediately or tell us at once you will do nothing at all for us

Hendrick then presented the Gov^{r} with a Belt of Wampum & sat down

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12th day of June 1753.

PRESENT—His Excell^{cy} the Hônble Geo Clinton Captain General &c &c

M^{r} Alexander	M^{r} Holland
M^{r} Kennedy	Col. Johnson

Hendrick and three other Sachims of the Mohawk Nation lately come to this place were introduced & Hendrick spoke to His Excellency as follows

Brother

When our Brethren the English first came among us we gave and sold them Lands, and have continued to do so ever since, but it seems now as if we had no Lands left for ourselves

Brother

We have sold several small Parcels of Land to our Brethren and they have taken up a much greater quantity which will appear by the Records We know our Brother is not privy to this and do's not approve of it, but that it has been done by stealth and Deceit, and we desire our brother to examine into the Grants of Land to

know if there be any such Frauds. We did design to give several Tracts of land to sundry persons, but whenever we were about to sell a piece of land to a poor man we were informed the land was taken by others & that therefore we could not dispose of it.

Brother

As to what we have sold we are well satisfied therewith and sensible, but it grieves us to have more taken up than we have agreed to sell And there are several people come down with us who have agreed with us for the Land, and if they will do right we will do justice to them for we do not love to cheat our Brethren. And we desire our brother to let us see the Patents that we may shew our brother what lands we have sold & what we have not, for sure brother there is no grant given out but that the names of the Persons who bought the Lands & of the Surveyor & Interpreter are mentioned & by this we shall know who have cheated us.

Brother. I am going to tell you how many persons we design to drive away from our Lands Viz. Barclay, Pichetts wife who lives just by us and who does us a great deal of Damage by selling us liquors and by that means making us destroy one another: Some short time before we left home & an Indian was stabbed thro' her selling Liquor. We let her have a little spot of Land and she takes in more and more every year, and we desire our brother to give us an order to turn her off the Land when we go home.

Brother We have a complaint against Arent Stevens he bought a Tract of Land of us, and when the Surveyor Hendrick Fry, came to survey it we shewed him how far to go, and then Arent Stevens came and told Fry he had employed him and made him go a great deal further and now this last spring there came an other Surveyor M^{r} Colden to survey the same piece of Land and then Arent Stevens made M^{r} Colden still go further than Fry went, so that he stole twice from us; And lately M^{r} Fry surveyed this Land again & had one Indian Chain bearer, and Fry told us he would show us exactly how far we had sold the Land, and then we found out how much was stolen from us.

Brother

We have another complaint against Conradt Gunterman who was a very poor man, and who we took amongst us a gave him a Tract of Land out of Charity with which he is not satisfied being two miles, but takes in more which we have not given or sold him, and since that he has got a surveyor & surveyed a great quantity of Land which we know nothing of, so we intend Brother to take a little Rod and whip him, which may deter others from doing the same Gave a Belt of Wampum

Then Hendrick told His Excellency that he had a piece of News to tell him, which was that just before they came away the French

sent a String of Wampum to the six Nations to call them to Cadaracqui to speak with them and that the said String of Wampum was delivered at Onondaga to the Bunt who desired the Messenger to call on his way at the Oniedes to acquaint them with the Intentions of that String of Wampum, & then to give it to Hendrick & Abraham that they might consider of it, for that the Mohawks for some time past had not gone the Road to the French, and that they imagined the intended to do as they had done formerly, invite them to a Feast and then destroy them.

A true Copy examined.

by GW BANYAR
Deputy, Clerk of the Council

15th day of June 1753 P M

PRESENT—His Excellency the Honble Geo Clinton Capt^n Gen^ll & Governor in Cheif &c &c

M^r Alexander	M^r Holland
M^r Kennedy	Coll Johnson

M^r Holland Chairman of the Committee appointed to examine into the complaints of the Mohawk Indians (now in this City) of encroachments made on their Lands by the White People, and of persons patenting and taking up a greater quantity of Land than they have sold to them, Reported, that the Committee find that all the Lands in the purchase of which the alledge they have been defrauded have been patented many years before His Excellency came into this Government except in the case of Conradt Gunterman, and that the grant to him contains no more than the quantity ment^d in the Deed of Purchase, nor more than the said Indians acknowledge they had given to him—That the Committee ordered the Interpreter to attend with Hendrik & another Indian and that Hendrik assigned the following cases in which they had been defrauded of their Lands to wit

"In Livingstons Patent of the Flatts at Conojohary, more Land was taken up than was sold by the Indians

"Capt^n Collins's Land at Conojahary, that the Indians sold the Low Land but not the wood Land

"Cornelius Cuylers Land at the little Carrying place northside of the River, that the Indians sold the Wood Land but not the Low Land

"Peter Wagenaers Land over against Conojahary Castle North side of the River, the Indians say he was asked if he would have more Land, to which he said no. but yet has taken up as much again as he [they] sold him

"That said Wagenaer bought of the Indians some Land lying on

the South side of the River below the Castle & has taken up as much more as they sold him

"Johannis Lawyers Patent at Stonerabie that the Indians sold to him no further than the Creek called the Cunstaghrathankre, in English the Creek thet is never dry, and that he has taken up six miles further than the Creek

"That Honnes Clock possesses & claims an Island opposite to Hans Hesse's Land below the Indian Castle at Conojohary which they never sold to any Person and desire they may have it again

And then Hendrik added that these were the cases in which they have been considerably cheated which were of too great importance to be neglected, and that there are other Instances but being of little consequence they took no notice of them.

A True Copy
Examined by me

GW BANYAR
D. Cl. of the Council

The 16th June 1753

Minutes of a conference held this day between His Excellency the Honble Geo Clinton Capt General & Commander in Cheif of the Colony of New York &c &c and seventeen Mohawk Indians

PRESENT— Of His Majestys Council
James Alexander — Edward Holland
Archibald Kennedy — Mayor of the City
William Johnson
Paul Richards Esq^re^ Representative
for the City & other Gentlemen attending
William Printeys Interpreter — Peter Wraxall Sêcry

His Excellency opened the Conference by the following Speech in answer to Hendriks Speech made to His Excellcy the 12th Inst^t^

Brethren

I am glad to see you here and the more so as you are come with an Intention to renew & brighten the Covenant Chain that hath so long united us together, and I give you this String of Wampum to wipe away your Tears (Gave a String of Wampum)

Brethren

The Management of your affairs is now put on the same footing as formerly for Commissioners have been appointed some time ago and Provision is now made for them

Brethren

I have reason to expect that Provision will also be made to take the Hatchett out of the Hands of the Six Nations and there will be an interview with you at Albany this summer for that purpose and

for strengthening & brightening the Covenant Chain that the same may remain inviolable as long as the sun and Moon endure

Brethren

I have always desired you to keep the Roads between the Nations open and clear and I do still recommend it to you, as I look upon it to be essential for keeping up an intercourse between us—The Loss of our Brethren at Ohio gives me a great deal of concern and I shall consult with the Governor of Pensilvania on this Occasion and do every thing in my Power to prevent any further mischeif being done to them by the French or their Indians and as often as I receive any intelligence of any attacks intended to be made on you or your Allies by the French or the Indians in their Alliance you may depend on my giving you the earliest notice of it that you may be on your guard and as much as possible prevent the execution of their Designs (Gave a Belt of Wampum)

His Excellency then gave the following answer to the complaints of the Mohawk Indians concerning their Lands made to His Excellency in Council the 12th Inst. by Indian Hendrik as p^{r} Copy above

The same persons remaining present as at the foregoing speech

Brethren

You complained to me that some encroachments have been made upon your Lands by the white People and that some persons have taken up and Patented a much greater quantity than you have sold them, which complaint I have laid before His Majestys Council who have reported to me, that the find all the Lands in the purchase of which you say you have been defrauded have been patented many years before I came into this Government except in the case of Conradt Gunterman

It would be impossible by examining the Grants of Land registered here to find out whether the persons who have purchased them have imposed on you, since there is no doubt the Deeds of purchase upon which those Grants as well in regard to the quantity as the situation of the Lands. I must therefore refer the particular Instances in which you say you have been defrauded, as well as such others as you may hereafter be able to point out to the commissioners of Indian affairs who I shall direct to send for the persons interested to appear before them and to examine the matter thoroughly as possible and to make a Report thereupon to me, in order that strict justice may be done you where you have been injured

As to the complaint against Coenradt Gunterman, you acknowledge you gave him a piece of Land of two miles and upon examining the Deed he obtained from some of your people and the Kings Grant to him in consequence of that purchase, it does not appear from thence that he is entituled to a greater quantity ; I must therefore insist that you suffer him to continue in the Quiet possession of so

much Land as he may justly claim under that Grant, and if as you alledge he claims more and persists in that claim, I can still by no means consent that you turn him off the Land, but that you make the same known to the Commissioners of Indian affairs at Albany, that the necessary orders may be given to redress you neither can I consent that you turn away any of the other persons you complain of from the Lands they claim or possess, but must recommend to you to wait till the several matters can be examined into by the commissioners and in every instance wherein it may appear you have been imposed on I shall use my utmost endeavours that justice may be done you

The instance you assign of Arent Stevens's taking up more Land than you had sold appears now in a very different Light from the Draught & Survey of that Land which has been shewn to you, and and as you seem to be convinced no more Land is included in that Draught than you formerly sold, I expect you are well satisfied and that I shall hear no more complaints on that account (Gave a Belt of Wampum)

Brethren

I cannot help expressing my satisfaction at your behaviour on the Receipt of the Message accompanied with a String of Wampum from the Governor of Canada inviting you to Cadaracqui to speak with you. The French you know have ever been treacherous to you and you can not be too much on your Guard against them

His Excellency having thus concluded his Reply. Indian Hendrik rose up and spoke as follows

Brother

Those persons who came down before us, we have sold & given Lands to and are desirous you will give them Deeds for the same and Brother we desire for the future that you will never Grant any Licences to purchase Lands unless we are present with you

Brother

If any person or Persons whatsoever shall come to measure Lands in our Parts without first having our consent, should any accident happen we hope you Brother will not expect any satisfaction from us

Brother

We dont lay the blame so much on M^{r} Colden as on those persons who employed him

Brother

We desire Jerry Klock here present may have a Licence to purchase the Lands we have agreed with him for

Brother

We desire you will comply with our Requests

Hereupon the Governor and Council withdrew & being return[d] His Excellency spoke to the Indians as follows

Brethren

I will grant a Licence to Peter Schuyler in the usual Form to purchase the Lands which you say you have given him, as you Desire it & as this Land seems to be given him instead of the Land he had obtained a Licence to purchase from you, and as the Land you desire to be granted to Jerry Klock and the other matters you have just now mentioned, they seem of so extraordinary a nature, I can come to no immediate Resolution upon them especially as there are so few of the Gentlemen of the Council in Town, and therefore those Matters shall be taken into consideration and an answer given you thereupon at the conference to be held at Albany this summer.

To this Hendrik replyed

Brother

All what we have desired to be done for our Good in not granted which makes our hearts ache very much

Brother

When we came here to relate our Greivances about our Lands, we expected to have some thing done for us, and we have told you that the Covenant Chain of our Forefathers was like to be broken, and brother you tell us that we shall be redressed at Albany, but we know them so well, we will not trust to them, for they are no people but Devils, so we rather desire that you'l say, Nothing shall be done for us

Brother

By & By you'l expect to see the Nations down which you shall not see, for as soon as we come home we will send up a Belt of Wampum to our Brothers the 5 Nations to acquaint them the Convenant Chain is broken between you and us. So brother you are not to expect to hear of me any more, and Brother we desire to hear no more of you. And we shall no longer acquaint you with any News or affairs as we use to do; and as to Jerry Klock there are people who want to do him some harm but we will not agree to it

Brother

We did not expect when we come from Home that all our desires would have no effect

The Indians there went away

The foregoing Proceedings between His Excellency Governor Clinton and a Deputation of the Mohawk Indians contained in Eighteen pages are faithfully taken from the Record of Indian Affairs

By me

PETER WRAXALL

Secy and Agent for Indian Affairs

CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE MOHAWKS AND SIR WM JOHNSON.

At a meeting of both Castles of the Mohawks at Mount Johnson July the 26th 1753.

Hendrick their Chief being appointed Speaker, spoke as follows—Brother Warraghüyagey.

Though it is not usual for us to speak first when sent for, yet as our hearts are full we crave leave to throw of the burthen.

Brother on the receipt of your message two days ago we were highly rejoyced to think that you were again raised up, and impowered to receive and impart reciprocally the news between us and our brethren the English. Thereupon we agreed without delay to come down to your house our late fire place, kindled at a troublesome time, even in war;—Where should we resort to when any thing lays heavy on our hearts, but where we have always found satisfaction whatever might trouble us. We have reason to be uneasy and had the Governor sent for us by the Commiss^{rs} whom we hear are appointed, we would not at this time harken or move a foot.

Gave a String of Wampum.

Here follows my Speech to both Castles of the Mohawks.

Brethren and Friends

I congratulate you on your arrival from New York, and am glad to see you all well, and bid you welcome here, where your brother the Governor has impower'd me to light up a small fire again, so as to enable me to boyl a little victuals for you while the Conference lasts.

Bretheren. I am ordered by your brother the Governor to let you know that your behaviour & demands were very unreasonable and unusual while at New York, and that he and his Chief Men were much affected to find that you, whom they looked upon as most sincere friends, should use such loud and foul words, that almost shook and Soyled that firm and bright Chain made by our wise forefathers and continued by their posterity till now unsullied. I cannot help reproaching you for your unfriendly and rash behaviour, which put your brother the Governor and his great men in a very unsuitable disposition to redress grievances which were they in ever so good temper, they then had not time to effect. Wherefore I am commissioned to tell you that what ever may make you uneasy you would defer till the arrivall of the New Governor who is shortly expected, and will have more time to hear all your complaints than the present, who is prepareing to return to England: that, and his want of health, has prevented him from meeting the Five Nations this Summer, as he intended, to renew the antient

league between them and us, and quiet your minds. From thence it is that I am appointed by the government here to convene the Five Nations at Onnondaga to treat with them there, in the Governor's Name. Now as you and I have continued to consult each other in all affairs of consequence, I must desire you would join me in considering what are the most proper steps to be taken with regard to my going to the General Convention at Onnondaga. In the mean time I insist upon your living in harmony with us as usual, who have and ever will be your best friends, and conjure you by this Belt of Wampum that all differences that may have happened, to be stiffled, and that the link of that bright Chain which seemed to be loose may be as strongly connected as heretofore.

Here the Belt was given.

Bretheren. I further expect that you will be ready with a proper number of Sachims and Chief Men to attend me thither, and also at the General Meeting.

Here a string of Wampum.

The answer of both Castles of the Mohawks to the foregoing Speech; spoke by Hendrick at Mount Johnson July 27, 1753.

Brother Warraghüyagey.

We have with willing ears heard what you said yesterday; it has made the deepest impression on our minds, and will never be forgot even by our youngest people whom we brought along to hear you once more. Tho' we are sensibly affected by our Bretherens neglecting us for some time past, and the private differences we have had with the inhabitants, yet for this time we agree to every thing you request, and shall bury all animosity and dispute in a deep pool, so as not to be thought of more, and hope there may never be reason for the like again: small provocations shall never weaken the Chain of friendship so long subsisting between us and our Bretheren, and you may be assured we shall take all opportunitys of signifying our attachments as we and our forefathers have done formerly.

Here a Belt was given.

Brother Warraghüyagey

You may depend upon our readiness at the first call to wait on you at Onondaga and assist you as much as in our power, at the General Meeting, having pitched upon some of our most intelligent and respectable men to attend you there.

Here a String of Wampum; & Ended.

September the 8th 1753. Entered the Onondaga Castle, being mett by the Sachims a mile on this side, who said they were all ready to receive me. Soon after I was seated, the Red Head, one of the Chief Sachims of that Castle rose up and Spoke as follows:—

Brother Warraghüyagey.

As you enter our meeting place with wett eyes and sorrowfull hearts in conjunction with our Bretheren the Mohawks, we do with this String of Wampum wipe away your tears and asswage Your grief, that you may may speak freely in this Assembly.

Here they gave the String of Wampum.

Here follows what I said to the General Convention of the Six Nations at Onondaga spoke by Hendrick the Chief of the Mohawks.

Bretheren of the Six Nations.

The great concern I am under for the loss of our three great and beloved Brothers Caghniagarota, Onughsadego and Gashusquerowanna, who in their time made your Assembly compleat, makes it incumbent on me to condole their death, and as it is a great loss to us in general, I do by these three Belts of Wampum dry up your tears that we may see each other, clear your throats that we may Speak together, and wash away their blood out of our sight, and cover their bones with these Strow'd Blankets

Here gave the three Belts of Wampum and three Blankets of Strowd.

Bretheren of the Six Nations

I am now to acquaint you that the indisposition of the present Governor and the expectation of the sudden arrival of a new one, has occasioned the interview, proprosed at Albany between you and him this summer, to be deferred, upon which I am commissioned to treat with you and at the same time to assure you that the succeeding Governor will meet you as soon as he conveniently can, with presents as usual. You will then have an opportunity of laying before him whatever is amiss, which will be redressed you may depend on, without any unnecessary delay; till then I expect all of you will live in perfect harmony with y^{r} Bretheren y^{e} English.

A Belt.

Bretheren of the Six Nations.

It grieves me sorely to find the road hither so grown up with weeds for want of being used, & your fire are almost expiring at Onondaga, where it was agreed by the wisdom of our Ancestors that it should never be extinguished: You know it was a saying among us that when the Fire was out here, you would be no longer a people; I am now sent by Your Brother the Governor to clear the Road & make the fire with such wood as will never burn out, and I earnestly desire you would take care to keep it up, so as to be found always the same when he shall send among you.

A Belt.

Bretheren of the Six Nations.

I have now renewed the Fire, swept clean all your rooms with a

new White Wing, and leave it hanging near the Fire place, that you may use it for cleaning all dust dirt &c which may have been brought in by Strangers, no friends to you or us.

A string of Wampum.

Bretheren of the Six Nations.

I am sorry to find on my arrival among you that the fine shady Tree which was planted by your forefathers for your ease and shelter, should be now leaning, being almost blown down by Northerly winds. I shall now endeavor to set it upright that it may flourish as formerly, while the roots spread abroad; so that when we sitt or stand on them you will feel them shake should any storms blow, then should you be ready to secure it.

A Belt.

Bretheren of the Six Nations.

Your fire now burns clearly at the old place, the Tree of Shelter and Protection is set up & flourishes; I must now insist upon your quenching that fire made with brambles at Swegachey, and recall those to their proper home who have deserted thither. I can not leave disswading you from going to Canada. the French are a delusive people, always endeavoring to divide you as much as they can, nor will they let slip any opportunity of making advantage of it. 'Tis formidable news we hear that the French & some Indians are making a descent upon Ohio: is it with your consent or leave that they proceeed in this extraordinary manner, endeavouring by force of arms to disposses your own native allies as well as your bretheren the English, and establishing themselves.

A large Belt.

Bretheren of Onondaga.

I must remind you of a new Custom lately introduced, very inconvenient for our mutual interests, that is, when you receive news from the Westward Southward or any other quarter, you send it from one Castle to another, till it arrives quite altered from what it was at first. I therefore require you by this Belt of Wampum to follow the old custom & send it as far as you intend it should go directly by some of your own nation. A Belt.

Bretheren of the Senecas.

As you have always been looked upon as the door of the Six Nations where all news, especially from the Westward and Southward must enter and go out, we dont hear this door open as we used to do formerly, and believe it to be worn out, & think it necessary to hang on a new one of such wood as will never decay; the noise of which when it opens should alarm all the Confederacy. I must now desire you that whatever you hear of consequence you would send it very distinctly to the Sachems of Onondaga who will send it directly to your Bretheren. I require also as you are nearest

to the Western Tribes of Indians that you will endeavor all in your power to draw as many of them into our interest as possibly you can, by which means the Six Nations may continue their strength & credit. A Belt.

Brethren of Oneida.

I am now to set up your stone strait and to rub off all moss and dirt it may have contracted this time past. My best advice is to have your Castles as near together as you conveniently can with the Tuscaroras who belong to You as Children and the Scanihaderadighroones lately come into your alliance or families, which makes it necessary for me to fix a new string to the Cradle which was hung up by your forefathers when they received the Tuscaroras, as you do now the Scanihaderadighroones, to feed and protect A Belt.

Bretheren of Cajuga.

I could heartily wish that you would not live so scattering, and that you would not listen to the French who are a people you never had any alliance with or obligation to. It is agreeable news that you are about to strengthen your Castle by taking in the Tedarighroones, and shall according to your request, give a pass to those of that Nation here among you that they and the rest of them may come and join your Castle unmolested A Belt and a Pass.

Brethren of the Six Nations.

You must imagine I was much troubled when immediately after my appointment to meet you at Onondaga, to renew and put in order every thing relating to your affairs, to hear that some of your people were returned with scalp and prisoners from the Catawbaws, with whom you made so solemn a peace last year in my presence, which pleased all your bretheren the English upon this Continent, the King your Father also approved of it. Now what an everlasting shame it must be to the Six Nations if this bloody affair be not immediately made up, if it be possible. I expect at least that you return the prisoners if any you have, and commit no further hostilities on that Nation. A Belt.

Bretheren of the Six Nations.

As I proceed to reform every thing relative to the Old Covenant between you and us, I must remind you on your part to hold fast by that strong Chain of friendship made by your forefathers, the memory of whose actions you have always regarded. You may depend upon the part in your hands that it shall never slip. I congratulate you in the name of your Brother the Governor on the two additional links to the Old Chain, the Scanihaderadighroones and Tedarrighroones, who without doubt must increase the strength of it. A Belt

Bretheren of the Six Nations.

I take this opportunity to return you the three Belts of Wampum sent by you to the Governor with a request to hinder the Rum from coming among You. He was very glad to gratifie you in it, and that you had seen the ill consequences of that bewitching liquor, and hopes you will continue in that resolution always. The proclamation forbidding Rum to be sent or sold any where among you (except at Oswego) is already published.

Here returned them their Three Belts.

Bretheren of the Six Nations.

I have now only to recommend what I have said in your Brother the Governor's name to your serious consideration, and when you are prepared to return an answer, I should be glad to hear it by the Lake where I am encamped and have a small present for you, and some provision for your children.

The Red Head in behalf the whole, stood up and replied thus:—

Brother Warraghüyagee.

You may be assured we shall take to heart all you words and deliberate upon every article, and as it requires some time, you must not think it long if we do not come down to the Lake where you lay; as you expect to morrow it may be the next day, tho' we consider it cannot be agreeable to you to live in the woods; we shall make what dispatch we can

Parted for that day.

At a general Meeting of the Six Nations held at Onondaga September the 10th 1753.

The Answer of the Six Nations to the foregoing speech, by the Red Head, their Speaker.

Brother Warraghüyagee

We are obliged to you for your speech and act of Condolence for the loss of our three great Brothers Caghniagarota Onughsadego and Gahuscaroana; and we are the more affected as it was done conformable to our manner. We are too sensible of what consequence they were of in this Assembly; to say more would be exaggerate our concern which we wish was entirely suppressed.

A Belt.

Brother Warraghuyagee

We are sorry to hear our Brother the Governor is sick, and we thank you for giving us notice of the sudden arrival of a new one. We shall suspend some matters of consequence till then; some of which we shall mention in order as we proceed to answer that part of your speech relative thereto. All of us will chearfully attend when he pleases to call, and are unalterable in our antient friendship with our brethren the English

A Belt.

Brother Warraghüyagee.

We acknowledge with equal conscern with you that the Road between us has been obstructed and almost grown up with weeds, that our Fire is scattered and almost extinct. We return you our most hearty thanks for recruiting the Fire with such wood as will burn clear, and not go out, and we promise that we shall with the utmost care dress and keep it up, as we are sensible from what has been said by our forefathers that the neglect of it would be our ruin.

A Belt.

Brother Warraghüyagee

We know very well the use of the White Wring you recommended and are determined to use it to sweep out whatever may hinder the Fire from burning with a pure flame.

A String.

Brother Warraghüyagee

You may depend upon our care in defending the Tree which you have replanted from the inclemency of the high winds from Canada; we are full of acknowledgments for your care and admonition, and be assured we shall watch every threatning cloud from thence that we may be ready to prop it up.

A Belt.

Brother Warraghüyagee

We rejoice that we see the Fire burn pure where it should do, the Tree of Shelter look strong & flourishing, and you may depend upon our quenching that false fire at Swegachey and doing all we can to recall our brothers, too often seduced that way; tho' we do not conceive we had done so much amiss in going thither, when we observe that you white people pray, and we have no nearer place to learn to pray and have our children baptized, than that. However as you insist upon it we will not go that way nor be any more divided. I I must now say it is not with our consent that the French have committed any hostilities at Ohio; we dont know what you Christians, English and French together, intend; we are so hemm'd in by both, that we have hardly a hunting place left. In a little while if we find a bear in a tree there will immediately appear an owner of the land to challenge the property, and hinder us from killing it, which is our livelyhood. We are so perplexed between both that we hardly know what to say or think

A Belt.

Brother Warraghüyagee

In behalf of our Bretheren of this Castle of Onondaga I am to say that we shall hereafter transmit to our Brethereñ the English, what ever we hear of consequence, invariable and directly, according to the old custom.

A String.

Brother Warraghijyagee.

The Senekas do know themselves to be the Door of the Six Nations, and thank you for renewing it as we are sensible it was much wanted, and with such durable wood as will not rott. We shall be quick to hear when it opens, and shall communicate distinctly what news is passing, to our Brothers at Onondaga, in order to be dispatched to our bretheren the English ; and shall be very sollicitous to invite all Nations to enter at that door, and shall endeavour to keep the Roads to it clear and open.

A Belt.

Brother Warraghüyagee.

We thank you heartily for cleaning the Oneida Stone and setting it up right, and shall, agreeable to your advice collect our people together ; also the Tuscaroras, be they scattered where they may, and the Scanihaderadighroons we do unite with us, a small party of whom are here present to hear you, and to take their share of our Brother the Governor's bounty. We also return thanks for the New String fixed to the Cradle, contrived by our forefathers to receive those new Bretheren we intend to norish and provide for.

A String.

Brother Warraghüyagee

The Cajugas say they have not been more conversant with the French than the rest of the Six Nations; they will endeavour to keep themselves as compact as they can, and thank you for this intuition, being sensible it is for their own good. They also return you thanks for the pass you were pleased to give to the Tedarrighroones to come and unite with them to strengthen their Nation, three of whom are now here to partake in the name of their Nation of the intended present.

A Belt.

Brother Warraghüyagee.

We are heartily conscerned with you that some of our people went out against the Catawbas, & hope you will not take it amiss if we do not give you a definitive answer upon that head at present. We can only desire your patience till the fighters are all home, there being very few here, when we shall in each Castle consult them and return an answer at the first meeting with the New Governor. This is in part what I proposed to suspend till his coming as I mentioned before I returned the Second Belt.

Brother Warraghüyagee.

You may depend upon whatever can be expected on our part to bring the Covenant Chain to its former brightness. It was high time, being almost eat thorough with rust for want of proper care and inspection. We are very glad you are pleased that we have

connected thereto the Scanihaderadighroones and Tetarighroones, all of whom we daily expect among us.

A Belt.

Brother Warraghuyagee

We return you a great many thanks for stopping the Rum coming to the Six Nations, and would be very glad the same prohibition would have effect at Oswego.

To the last I replied [he intended to continue his Speech] that could not be at present; likewise told them it would do great pleasure to the French while we were forbid to sell Rum at Oswego, they sold what they thought fitt at Niagara, a place which was forceably taken from them; I expected they would first hinder the French selling liquor there, before they proposed having it stopped at Oswego, especially as it is a place agreed on by all the Six Nations, to be in the hands of the English as a general mart for all their necessities, as well as for the sundry wants of all the Indians to the Southward.

They replyed immediately by the same Speaker, they would go to Niagara and forbid the French selling any more Rum or spirituous liquors, and also said that they had not given that place to the French, but that they settled there without the consent of the Six Nations.

A Belt.

Brother Warraghuyagee.

We are pleased with every thing you have said, and return you a great many thanks for speaking in our own way, which is more intelligible to us, because more comformable to the Customs and Manners of our forefathers. We earnestly beg that if we call or send for you, or the Mohawks or the Senecas, that you will not neglect coming. We have often stretched out our necks, expecting to see you, but have been disappointed: We hope for the future you and they will always appear and attend the Meeting; as we expect a mutual correspondence, we shall not omitt sending all the news that arrives with us, and hope the same from you directly.

A Belt.

New York 2d November, 1753 The preceeding Copies of two Conferences between Col. Johnson and the Six Nations of Indians, wrote on four Sheets of paper, besides this, are true Copies of their originals. Examd by me

(signed) GW BANYAR *D. Cl. Con.*

Indorsed:

"Recd with Mr Delancy's lrê of 2d Novr 1753."

GOVERNOR DELANCEY OF NEW YORK TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

NEW YORK *29th Nov 1753*

MY LORDS: I wrote to your Ldps before that I had appointed a Committee of the Council to inquire into the means of His late Excellency Sir Danvers Osborn's death, two days ago I received Copies of the depositions taken on that head w^ch^ are here inclosed

The tenth Instant I received a letter directed to Sir Danvers Osborn Capt^n^ Gen^l^ &c of New York or in his absence to the Commander in Cheif from the Earl of Holderness dated at Whitehall the 28^th^ of August last giving an account that His Majesty had received information of the March of a considerable number of Indians supported by some regular Troops intending to commit some hostilities on parts of his Majestys Dominions or erect Forts on His Majestys Lands in America and that it was His Majestys pleasure, in case the subjects of any foreign Prince or State should make any encroachm^t^ on the Limitts of His Majestys Dominions I should use my endeavors (after due requisition to them to desist) to repell Force by Force and in case I should be informed by any of His Majestys Governors of any hostile attempts made on their Goverments I should call the Assembly and lay before them the necessity of mutual Assistance. This letter I immediately communicated to the Council and with their advice laid before the Assembly then sitting upon which they came to the resolution of which I here inclosed a copy

On the twenty fourth instant I received a letter from L^t^ Holland commanding officer at Oswego by which it appears if the information he has received to be true that the designs of the French on the River Ohio have proved abortive, but that they intended to renew their attempts next year, which the probably will unless the difficulties which they may apprehend in the execution of their project should deter them—The French building Forts and making settlements on the River Ohio (which they called belle Riviere) will be of infinite bad consequence to His Majestys Dominions in America as that River is much nearer to the back Settlements than the Course they used to take through the Lakes they will more easily make incursions into the British Settlements being nearer at hand and having a place of retreat and security; They will intercept the Indian Trade and of course draw the Indians into a greater dependance on them than is consistent with the safety of His Majestys in North America. If the French have Forts at proper places on the River Ohio, Pensilvania and Virginia will find in an other War that they will prove as sharp Thorns in their sides as Fort St Fred-

erick at Crown Point is to Massachusetts Bay & New York I would therefore humbly propose it as my opinion that a Fort & Trading House to which the Indians might resort for traffick be built and garrisoned on some convenient part of the Ohio within the Province of Pensylvania, and another in Virginia if not already done, this will prevent the French being masters of that River M^{r} Penn can not I think even in regard to his own Interest, be at too great an expence to secure some good Post on that River, where the advantages which the Indians will find in their Trade will allure them and secure their Friendship; for I must observe that the greater benefits which the Indians reap from their trade with His Majestys Subjects than with the French, seems to me the strongest Tye by which we hold them. The same may be said with respect to one or more Forts and trading Houses on the Ohio in Virginia. I enclose the extract of the letter from Lieutenant Holland commanding officer at Oswego

I transmit to your Ldps at the desire of the Committee & Commissioners their Representation & copies of the necessary papers referred to therein that your Ldps may be informed of the Objections which they think may with good reason be made to the Line Governor Wentworth points out to be fixed as the boundaries between this Province of New Hampshire. As the Soil in controversy between this Province & New Hampshire except what has been already granted, is in His Majesty, who may fix the Line between the two Provinces where he pleases, the controversy being not of a right but of a conveniency I shall when I shall have been able to make a full inquiry into all circumstances relating to the Line, humbly offer my opiuion with the reasons, how and in what manner the Line ought to be settled with regard to His Matys Service and the Strength and Defence of the Provinces against the French

I am

My Lords

Your Lordships

most obedient & most

humble Servant

JAMES DE LANCEY

To the Right Hônble The Lords Commissioners of Trades & Plantations

M. DUQUESNE TO M. DE ROUILLE.

MONTREAL, *20th August 1753*

MY LORD: I have the honor to inform you that I have been obliged to alter the arrangements I had made, whereof I rendered you an account last fall.

You will see, my Lord, by the extract of the Journal, hereunto annexed, the reasons which compelled me to reduce, to almost one-half the van-guard that I had informed you consisted of 400 men, and those that determined me to prefer landing the troops at the harbor of Presqu'isle, on Lake Erie, which I, very fortunately, discovered, instead of at Chatacouit, where, I informed you, I would begin my posts.

This discovery is so much the more propitious as 'tis a harbor which the largest barks can enter, loaded, and be in perfect safety. I am informed that the beach, the soil and the resources, of all sorts, were the same as represented to me.

The plan I send you of this place is only a rough sketch until it be corrected. I have given orders that this be proceeded with.

The letter I received on the 12th of January last from Mr de Joncaire, has obliged me to proceed to force to obtain provisions from the farmers to enable me to oppose the projects of the English, who, he advised me, had sent smiths to Chinengué and the River au Bœuf, where they were even settled, and that there was a terrible excitement among the Indians, who looked upon it as certain that the English would be firmly settled there in the course of this year, not imagining that my forces were capable of opposing them. This fear which made me attempt the impossible, has had, hitherto, the most complete success; all the provisions have arrived from without, after a delay of fifteen days, and I had them transported, with all imaginable diligence, into a country so full of difficulties, in consequence of the great number of voyageurs which I required to ascend the rapids, the race of which is getting scarce.

I was not long without perceiving that this movement made a considerable impression on the Indians, and what has thrown more consternation among them is, that I had not recourse to them, for I contented myself with telling our domiciliated tribes that if there were eight or ten from each village who had the curiosity to witness my operations, I would permit them to follow Sieur Marin, the commander of the detachment, whom they were well acquainted with, and in whom they have confidence; of two hundred whom I proposed to send forward, only 70 are sufficient for scouts and hunters.

All the nations that came down to see me from the Upper country, and who met the multitude of bateaux and canoes which were

conveying the men and effects belonging to the detachment, presented themselves all trembling before me, and told me that they were aware of my power by the swarm of men they had passed, and [begged me] to have pity on them, their wives and their children. I took advantage of their terror to speak to them in a tone firm and menacing the first that would falter, and instead of a month or five weeks that they were accustomed to remain here consuming the King's provisions, I got rid of them on the fourth day.

It appears, up to this time, that the execution of the plan of my enterprise makes so strong an impression on the Nations that all the vagabonds who had taken refuge on the Beautiful river have returned to their villages.

I keep the Five Nations much embarrassed, because they have not come down to Montreal, and the only step they have taken has been to send the Ladies *(Dames)* of their Council to Sieur Marin, to inquire of him, by a Belt, whether he was marching with the hatchet uplifted, or to establish tranquillity. This Commander answered them, that when he marched with the hatchet, he bore it aloft, in order that no person should be ignorant of the fact, but as for the present, his orders were to use it only in case he encountered opposition to my will; that my intention was to support and assist them in their necessities, and to drive away the evil spirits that encompassed them and disturbed the earth.

I was aware that the English of Philadelphia had invited them to a General Council, and that they had refused to attend it; further, I knew from a man worthy of credit, who happened to be among these Indians when the English arrived, that they have rejected the Belts which had been offered them to oppose the entrance of the King's troops into the River Oyo, since they had sold it to the English. They answered that they would not meddle with my affairs, and that they would look quietly on, from their mats, persuaded, as they were, that my proceedings had no other object than to give a clear sky to a country which served as a refuge for assisins who had reddened the ground with blood.

This Nation, which possesses a superior government to all others, allowed itself to be dazzled by continual presents, and did not perceive that the English are hemming it in, so that if it do not shake off this yoke, 'twill soon be enslaved. I shall lead them to make this reflection, in order to induce them to pull down Choueguen, which is destroying them, and will be the ruin of the Colony.

Should we have had to use reprisals, I would soon have taken that post. I have already forwarded to Fort Frontenac, the artillery and everything necessary for this *coup de main.*

Sieur Marin writes me on the 3rd instant, that the fort at Presqu'isle is entirely finished; that the portage road, which is six leagues in length, is also ready for carriages; that the store which

was necessary to be built half way across this Portage is in a condition to receive the supplies, and that the second fort, which is located at the mouth *(entree)* of the River au Bœuf, will be soon completed.

This Commandant informs me, moreover, that he is having some pirogues constructed, whilst men are actively employed in transporting his stores, and he tells me that all the Delawares *(Loups)*, Chaouanons and Senecas on the Beautiful river had come to meet him, and that he had so well [received] them, that they are very zealously assisting, with their horses that they had brought along with them, in making the Portage.

There has not been, up to the present time, the least impediment to the considerable movements I have caused to be made; everything arrived at its destination with greater celerity than I anticipated, and among the prodigious number of bateaux or canoes that have passed the rapids, only one has upset, drowning seven men.

As it is impossible, in a moment as vast as it was precipitous for this country, that some of the provisions should not be spoiled in open craft, despite all the precautions that could be taken, I have sent on as much as was necessary to repair the loss.

Everything announces, my Lord, the successful execution of my project, unless some unforseen accident have occurred, and the only anxiety I feel is, that the River au Bœuf Portage will delay the entrance of our troops into the Beautiful river, as it is long, and there is considerable to carry, and the horses I have sent thither have arrived there exhausted by fatigue. But I hope this will be obviated by those the Indians have brought thither, and that the mildness of the climate will admit of the completion of the posts.

The extreme boldness with which I have executed a project of so much importance, has caused me the liveliest inquietude; the famine which met me on my arrival at Quebec, having reduced me to forwarding only 900 barrels of flour, as the whole supply.

From the knowledge I have acquired this winter, I would have composed my van-guard of 700 men, had I had an entrepôt of provisions at Niagara, because that body of men would have assuredly advanced to the Portage which I was desirous of occupying, having to fear some opposition on the part of the Indians of the Beautiful river, at the instigation of the English, my plan having been discovered and bruited abroad since M^r^ de la Jonquière's death, in consequence of the explorations that I caused to be made by some bark canoes, notwithstanding the color I wished to give to these movements.

I leave you to judge my Lord, the trouble of mind I felt at the reduction of this van-guard to 250 men, which I was obliged to send like, what is called in the army, a forlorn hope, when dispatched to explore a work; on the other hand, I should proceed at a snail's

pace *(me mettre a la tortue)* could I continue my operations only with the assistance derived from the sea, the inconveniences of which I understood.

In fine, my Lord, if there be any merit in doing everything contrary to the prudence of a person of my age, who has not the reputation of being devoid of that virtue, the enterprise in question would be entitled to very great [credit], but necessity having constrained me to it, I do not adopt it, and attribute its success only to singular good fortune which I would not, for all the world, tempt again.

The discovery I have made of the harbor of Presqu'isle, which is regarded as the finest spot in nature, has determined me to send a Royal assistant pilot to search around the Niagara rapids for some place where a bark could remain to take in its load. Nothing would be of greater advantage in the saving of transport and the security of the property of the new posts and of Detroit, but it is necessary to find a good bottom, so that the anchors may hold, for it could safely winter at Presqu'isle, where it would be as it were in a box. I impatiently await the return of this pilot, and I would be much flattered could I be able to announce to you in my latest despatches, that I have ordered the construction of this vessel.

I must not leave you ignorant, my Lord, how much I am pleased with Sieur Marin, the commander of the detachment, and with Major Péan. The former, who has an experienced capacity, manages the Indians as he pleases, and he has, at his age, the same zeal and activity as any young officer that may enter the service. The second is endowed with all the talent imaginable for detail and resources, and knows no other occupation than that of accomplishing the object he is entrusted with. He alone had charge of dispatching all the canoes and bateaux, and acquitted himself of that duty with great order. Chevalier Le Mercier, to whom I assigned the duties of engineer, and who is also entrusted with the distribution of the provisions, is an officer possessing the rarest talent. Sieur Marin expresses himself to me in the highest terms of all those who are under his orders, and who vie with each other in diligence.

I am with the most profound respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

DUQUESNE.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO M. DE ST. PIERRE.

October 31, 1753.

Sir: The lands upon the River Ohio, in the western parts of the Colony of Virginia, are so notoriously known to be the property of

the Crown of Great Britain that it is a matter of equal concern and surprise to me, to hear that a body of French forces are erecting fortresses and making settlements upon that river, within his Majesty's dominions. The many and repeated complaints I have received of these acts of hostility lay me under the necessity of sending, in the name of the King, my master, the bearer hereof, George Washington, Esq., one of the Adjutants-General of the forces of this dominion, to complain to you of the encroachments thus made, and of the injuries done to the subjects of Great Britain in violation of the law of nations, and the treaties now subsisting between the two Crowns. If these facts be true, and you think fit to justify your proceedings, I must desire you to acquaint me by whose authority and instructions you have lately marched from Canada with an armed force, and invaded the King of Great Britain's territories, in the manner complained of; that according to the purport and resolution of your answer, I may act agreeably to the commission I am honored with, from the King, my master. However, sir, in obedience to my instructions, it becomes my duty to require your peaceable departure; and that you would forbear prosecuting a purpose so interruptive of the harmony and good understanding, which his Majesty is desirous to continue and cultivate with the most Christian King, &c.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

M. DE ST. PIERRE TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

From the FORT ON THE RIVER AU BŒUF[1],
December 15, 1752.

SIR: As I have the honor of commanding here in chief, Mr. Washington delivered to me the letter, which you wrote to the commander of the French troops. I should have been glad that you had given him orders, or that he had been inclined, to proceed to Canada to see our General, to whom it better belongs, than to me, to set forth the evidence and the reality of the rights of the King, my master, to the lands situate along the River Ohio, and to con-

[1]Fort Le Bœuf was situated on the South or West fork of the French creek, Pennsylvania, near the water, almost surrounded by the creek, and a small branch of it which forms a kind of Island. Four houses composed the sides; the bastions were of poles driven into the ground, standing more than 12 feet above it, and sharp at the top, with port-holes cut for cannon and loop-holes for small arms. Eight six pounders were mounted in each bastion, and one four pounder before the gate. In the bastions were a guard-house, chapel, surgeon's lodgings and commandant's private store. It stood on the present site of Waterford, Erie county, Pa.—*Pennsylvania Archives*, XII., 387, 388. The Indian name of the place was Cusewago.

test the pretensions of the King of Great Britain thereto. I shall transmit your letter to the Marquis du Quesne. His answer will be a law to me. And if he shall order me to communicate it to you, Sir, you may be assured I shall not fail to dispatch it forthwith to you. As to the summons you send me to retire, I do not think myself obliged to obey it. Whatever may be your instructions I am here by virtue of the orders of my General; and I entreat you, Sir, not to doubt one moment but that I am determined to conform myself to them with all the exactness and resolution which can be expected from the best officer. I do not know that in the progress of this campaign anything has passed which can be reputed an act of hostility, or that is contrary to the treaties which subsist between the two Crowns; the continuation whereof interests and pleases us as much as it does the English. Had you been pleased, Sir, to have descended to particularize the facts, which occasioned your complaint, I should have had the honor of answering you in the fullest, and, I am persuaded, the most satisfactory manner, &c.

LEGARDEUR DE ST. PIERRE.

CABINET MEMOIR ON THE DESIGNS OF ENGLAND AND AUSTRIA AGAINST FRANCE.

15th December, 1753.

Count Christiani's writings, though not clothed with authenticity, do not the less merit the most serious attention. There is no doubt but that Minister is informed of the designs of their I. M., and the papers he has just given, shed such strong light on the views of the Courts of Vienna and London to renew the war, that by connecting them with all that has hitherto transpired on the subject, it is not difficult to penetrate them entirely.

From this connection, it results that the two Courts, having discovered, in the last war, that France was one of the greatest obstacles to the superiority they wished to arrogate, the one on land and the other at sea, and that alone they could not destroy her, have adopted the system of ruining her through her allies, either by detaching them from her, or by oppressing, if they could not detach, them. With this design, in order to save themselves from the reproach of having infringed the peace reëstablished by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and to gain time to make their arrangements quietly, they have concluded on having Russia commence the execution of their project in the North and in Germany, and the Emperor in Italy, because these powers not having been parties to the

treaty of Aix la Chapelle, no engagements can be pleaded against them. Both the Courts of Vienna and London fully expect that they will be called on, as contracting parties to this treaty, to endeavor to arrest the interprises of the other two; but they will answer, in regard to Russia, that they are not masters of their allies, and in regard to the Emperor, that his I. M. only exercises the rights of the Empire which were confided to him agreeably to the capitulation he has sworn to, especially as relates to the Italian fiefs, and that as the Emperor and the Empire have made no engagements contrary thereto, they cannot be prevented exercising their rights in all their extent; but that, notwithstanding, they will, willingly, employ their influence with these two powers to reconcile them if possible. The Two courts, under the specious mask of these peaceable dispositions, will endeavor to blind Europe and to lull the vigilance of France; the Russians will, during that time, continue their intrigues against the King of Prussia, and the Emperor, his against the Republic of Genoa; the Infanta Don Philip will be placed in check, and the said Courts will take their measures to openly join his friends, and accomplish the object of their project, as soon as they will believe themselves in a position to do so with impunity, a period which does not seem very remote, and which everything indicates to be shortly after the election of the King of the Romans, and the election of the new British Parliament.

The fullest evidence exists that such is the project of the Courts of Vienna and England, and it seems, by the disposition of the Russians and of the Imperial Court, that it already begins to be put in execution both in Germany and in Italy, where, assuredly, the place of Imperial Commissioner has not been given to the Marquis Botta with a view to keep up a good understanding with Genoa.

From the whole of this exposé it follows that there is not a moment to be lost in order to oppose the progress of the enemies of the public tranquillity. The first step to be taken appears to be, to denounce to Spain the views of the Courts of Vienna and of London, confirmed by Count Christiani's memoirs, to enlighten them as to the dangers the Infanta, Italy and herself run. It is a settled principle that if France is to behold her ruin in that of her allies, Spain must see hers in that of France, for it is only by putting it out of the power of the latter to succor the former, that England can hope to achieve its plans of aggrandizement in America. It is to be hoped that these reasons will lead the Court of Madrid to adopt measures in concert with France to avert the danger. There remain no defenders for Europe except the King and the King of Spain, and on their combined foresight rests the safety of their Empire and that of the entire of Europe.

M. VARIN TO M. BIGOT.

MONTREAL, *the 24th July, 1754.*

M. L'INTENDANT: I have the honor to inform you that Mr du Sablé has just arrived from the Beautiful river, where the English, to the number of 500, surrendered by capitulation on the 3rd or 4th of this month, to M. de Villiers, seconded by Mr Le Mercier, after an engagement of 10 hours, although they were in a fort covered by an intrenchment, with 9 pieces of cannon. The capitulation, whereof a copy is hereunto annexed, will show you the glory our Canadians have acquired on that day, and the humanity with which the English have been treated. We lost on that day 2 Canadians [one] of whom [was] Sieur Desprez' oldest son, and have had 70 wounded, the majority of them slightly; of these, two are Indians. Mr Péan's Panis has been also killed. The English, on their side, have had 80 or 90 men killed or mortally wounded. Mr le Mercier has had their 9 pieces of cannon broken, and the English, who took to their heels after the capitulation, have abandoned even their flag. Mr de Villiers had 700 men with him, 600 of whom are French, and 100 Indians, who attacked Fort Necessity[1] in broad day; he discovered, despite the fire of the enemy, who had at first come out of theire fort, [that] they had formed themselves in the order of battle to meet Mr de Villiers, whose first fire, however, they did not wait before they wheeled back under their intrenchment. Fire has been set to all the buildings in that fort, as well as to some houses at this side of it, and to a large storehouse constructed to serve as a depôt, within 10 leagues or thereabouts of Fort du Quesne. There is reason to believe that this action will disgust the English with the Beautiful river, and that the defeat that they have just experienced for the second time, will entirely disgust the Indians with taking any manner of part with them. You judge correctly, Sir, that this brilliant news has greatly pleased the General, and I am pursuaded it will no less gratify you.

Mr Péan is gradually improving, and I believe is to make his circuit by way of Detroit and Missilimakinac, now that all is peace and quietness on the Beautiful river. Mr le Mercier states that he was about starting with the detachment to join Mr Péan at Presq'-Isle and make the circuit. The General originally intended to send orders to them to form a junction, but on reflecting that his messenger would not arrive in time, he has detained him for some days, being pleased, in other respects, that the Detroit and Missilimaki-

[1] The site of this fort is in Fayette county, Pa., four miles east of Laurel Hill, and above 300 yards south of the National road, on a creek emptying into the Yohiogany river.—*Pennsylvania Archives*, XII, 422, 423.

nak Nations should see the conquerors of the English, and he forthwith set about dispatching Trudel to take these good news to you.

I have the honor to be with inviolable attachment and infinite respect, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

VARIN.

Extract from M^r de Villiers' Journal annexed to M^r Varin's letter.

On the 3^d of July, at break of day, I prepared to depart from the camp abandoned by the English. I invited the Indians to provide some scouts. The weather was inclining to rain, but I foresaw the necessity of anticipating the enemy in the works he might construct. I even flattered myself that he would be less on his guard in such bad weather.

The Nepissings and Algonquins did not wish to proceed; I told them they could remain; I set out with the other Nations, which made the former so much ashamed that they all joined me except two. Before marching, two of my first scouts came to me and told me that they had taken three prisoners, who were coming from the Chouanons, and that they had left them at the storehouse. This fact was confirmed by the letter of the sergeant whom I had left there with twenty men. We marched the entire day in the rain, and I sent scouts after scouts. I halted at the place where my brother had been assassinated, and saw some dead bodies there yet.

When I came to about ¾ of a league from the English fort, I ordered each officer to march in column, that I might be better able to dispose of them as necessity would require.

I sent scouts out as far as the camp, 20 men to sustain them, and I advanced in order, when I was informed that we were discovered; that the English were approaching in the line of battle to attack us, and hard by; I ordered my men to form themselves in a suitable manner for a bush fight. It was not long before I discovered that my scouts had misled me, and I ordered the troops to advance on that side where we might be attacked. As we had no knowledge of the locality, we presented our flank to the fort, whence they began to fire cannon on us; almost at the same time I perceived the English on the right coming in order of battle against us. The Indians, as well as we, set up a great shout and advanced towards them, but they did not give us time to fire before they wheeled into an intrenchment adjoining their fort, which we, then, prepared to invest; it was situated advantageously enough in a meadow, within a musket shot of the wood. We drew as near them as possible, that we might not expose his Majesty's subjects to no purpose.

The fire was very brisk on both sides, and I selected that place which appeared to me the best to resist a sortie. We succeeded in

silencing (so to say) the fire of their cannon with our musketry. 'Tis true, the ardor and zeal of our Canadians and soldiers made me uneasy, because I saw that in a short time we should perhaps be out of ammunition. Mr le Mercier proposed to me to have fascines constructed to secure our posts, and hem in the English, during the night, in their fort, and wholly prevent them leaving it. I ordered Mr de Bayeul to go and collect as many men as possible to succor the quarter that would be attacked in case of a general sortie. We took during that time some *caches* of provisions, ammunition and goods which circumstance encouraged the Indians and the Militia.

The enemy's fire increased towards six o'clock in the evening with more vigor than ever, and lasted until eight. As we were all the day under the rain, and as the detachment was tired and the Indians sent me word that they would depart next day, etc., a cessation of hostilities was proposed to the English, and a captain came to speak to us. The conditions of the capitulation were accepted. (They are annexed.)

The English have had 70 @. 80 men killed or mortally wounded, and many others slightly.

The Canadians have had 2 men killed, Desprez, Junior, and the Panis, belonging to Mr Péan, and 70 wounded, two whereof are Indians.

M. DUQUESNE TO M. DE MACHAULT.

QUEBEC, *the 13th 8bor, 1754.*

MY LORD: I have the honor to report to you what has occurred at the posts during the year.

The Indians of the North are very quiet because Sieur Marin, who commands at The Bay and leads the Indians at will, has procured repose for them by the peace he has caused to be concluded with the Christinaux.

The Sauteux of Camanestigwia and Michipicoton have had a difficulty among themselves. Seventeen of them have been killed, but this animosity, which is at present abated, has been prejudicial only to the hunting, and they are now quiet.

Chevalier de Repentigny, who commands at the Sault St. Mary, is busily engaged with the settlement of his post, which is essential for stopping all the Indians who come down from Lake Superior to go to Choueguen, but I do not hear it said that this post yields a great revenue.

The Poutwatamis, Kickapoux, Maskoutins and Scioux of the

prairies, have assembled together to go and destroy the Peorias, who, for a long time, regard with insolence the other Indians; they are, moreover, people of no faith, who steal, with impunity, even in their neighbor's cabins.

This war, in which I am not at all interested, can be productive only of a good effect in putting down such banditti; I have, nevertheless, ordered the Commandants to adjust all matters after these rascals will have received a sharp lesson.

As I had fixed for the Peanguichias to be at the Miamis where Sieur Péan would pass, and as those Indians have waited for that officer with all possible patience, nearly a month, evincing great repentance for their fault, I have ordered the Commandant of the Wyatanons, whither that nation had retired, to grant them pardon on condition that they would bring me, next year, the murderers; by this means it may calculated that these Indians have at present submitted.

The Cherakis, who, for a year, had a French prisoner in their village, whom they treated very civilly, have sent him back to M^r^ de Kerlerec, saying to him, if you are grateful for the good treatment we have shown you, go tell our Father that we are desirous of having a firm peace with him, and you will come and bring us back his answer.

M^r^ de Kerlerec, who feared that reasons of policy did not permit the acceptance of this peace, demanded my authority to conclude it, if I thought it proper; I consented because none of our Indians go to fight the Cherakis, but really the Flatheads and Techichas, whom it is necessary to reserve in order to have a bone to gnaw. This Governor advises me that it is a consequence of my movements and that all his Indians are enchantingly docile.

M. Macarty sent me word that it would be necessary, after this peace, to built a fort at the mouth of the Cherakis river, which falls into the lower part of the Oyo, but I have answered him, that though I should judge it very necessary, the state of the King's finances could not meet that increased expense.

Abbé Piquet's mission, reputed by our domiciliated Indians to be made up of spies of the Five Nations, has just given the strongest proofs of attachment and fidelity, by sending me the medals the English had presented to some of that village who had furtively assisted at the Council at Orange, and they have expelled one of their brethren who was suspected of having an English heart. This mission is improving, and the Abbé Piquet's presence can only increase their good dispositions.

Acadia is a gulf of indispensable expense, and the Abbé Leloutre has taken the axe in hand for the aboiteaux, which must render it very fertile, but the Fort at Point Beausejour is hardly in a state of defence, inasmuch as the settlers who work at it are incredibly

lazy. Sieur de Verger, the Commandant there, does his best to encourage them at this work, which is important under actual circumstances; this officer informs me that a fleet of four ships has arrived at Halifax, and that another of a like number is expected; this appears to me to be an indication that Old England proposes something on that side, for the English are bringing considerable people there.

It seems to me that by the census of the Island of St. John, which has been sent me by Sieur de Bonaventure, formerly Commandant there, that place is going to be considerable, if the harvest has been good; it would in that case be the granary of Louisbourg and of Acadia.

I never thought of establishing a post at Peskadamokauti before having received your orders, especially since Father Germain has assured me that not a farmer could be placed there, inasmuch as it is all rock. I have, meanwhile, informed Sieur de Boishebert, who commands at the River St. John, to repair thither whenever he can, in order to have a correct draught of it, and I expect that officer will render me an exact account thereof.

Agreeably to your orders, I have sent Sieur Pellegrin to the Seven Islands; from the plan he has drawn of the place I have remarked that it would take at least two batteries to prevent any of the enemy's ships anchoring there, which would cost an immense sum, not only for their construction but also for the maintenance of the garrisons, because the soil there is good for nothing. 'Tis true that the anchorage is excellent.

I am with most profound respect,
Sir,
Your most humble and
most obedient servant,
DUQUESNE.

M. DUQUESNE TO M. DE MACHAULT.

QUEBEC, *28th October, 1754.*

MY LORD: I have received the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 19th of August last, which reached me on the 22nd instant, wherein you are pleased to inform me of the views the King of England has manifested up to the present time, for the maintenance of peace, and that you presume he has not authorized the movements on the River Oyo.

Without referring you, my Lord, to all that I have had the honor to submit to you in my last dispatches, I have to observe to you, in

addition, that it is not possible that the King of Great Britain has not consented to and even ordered all the movements which the English are making on this Continent, and the consequences thereof appear to me very just.

1st The Governors of New England, besides being independent one of the other, cannot levy troops without an order of the King of Great Britain, and you will have observed by Mr Washington's Journal that all the Provinces have furnished a quota to his detachment. I know, moreover, that the Quakers, who never make war, have also furnished their contingent.

2nd Sieur Drouillon, an officer who was with Sieur de Jumonville's detachment, has been taken by this same Mr Washington as a prisoner of war, as you will also see by his Journal.

3d The irruption made by Mr Shirley, Governor of Boston, who has marched with a body of troops of 700 men to seize the upper part of the River Narantchouac where he has had a fort built, without waiting for the determination of the boundaries, as I have had the honor to inform you.

4th The Governor of Halifax has proclaimed throughout Acadia that every Acadian who will be taken with arms in his hands against them, shall be hanged.

5th The solemn congress held at Orange in the month of July by seven Governors, to persuade the Nations they had invited thither to attack us.

After the assassination of M. de Jumonville and the above consequent proofs, do you believe, my Lord, that I am authorized to anticipate a rupture on the part of the English? but it is easy to perceive, that before arriving at that point, they wish to gain over our domiciliated Indians, since they employ all sorts of artifices to corrupt them, and do not disdain even the most unworthy means to effect their object.

On the other hand, I remark that the English, who have observed my cautious conduct, take advantage of it to encroach on our lands; and I will confess to you, my Lord, that my position, as critical as it is disagreeable, in consequence of the prudence I have to observe, so as not to occasion a rupture, induces them to make attempts to push on to the neighborhood of Quebec.

You will see, my Lord, by the reports I have already submitted, how cautious I have been in my conduct, and I defy the English to complain that I have given the least interruption to the good understanding which is so strongly recommended to me, but it is evident that the Governors of New England have not the same orders, or do not execute them, inasmuch as they have violated the most sacred laws, and think only of usurpations.

As for the expense, which concerns me, I am unceasingly occu-

pied in diminishing it, but troops cannot be moved here without great cost.

I am with the most profound respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble and
Most obedient servant,
DUQUESNE.

GOVERNOR SHIRLEY TO THE EARL OF HOLDERNESSE.

BOSTON 7. *January 1754.*

MY LORD: I have the honour of Your Lordship's letter dated 28th August last, signifying to me "that His Majty had received "information of the march of a considerable Number of Indians. "not in his alliance, supported by some Regular European Troops, "intending as was apprehended, to commit some hostilities on parts "of His Majty's dominions in America, and directing me to use my "utmost diligence to learn how far the same may be well grounded, "and to put me upon my guard, that I may at all events be in a "condition to resist any hostile attempts, that may be made upon "any part of His Majesty's dominions within my Government" signifying likewise "that it is the King's Royal will and pleasure that "I should keep up an exact correspondence with all His Majty's "Governors on the Continent; and in case I should be informed by "any of them of any hostile attempts; that I should immediately "assemble the General Assembly within my Governt, and lay before "them the necessity of a mutual assistance, and engage them to "grant such supplies as the exigency of affairs may require"—

In obedience to His Majty's pleasure I have usedmy utmost diligence to learn how far the information of the March of the Indians and Troops mentioned in your Lordp's letter may be well grounded, together with their designs and destination: and the result of my inquiry is contained in the enclosed paper No 1. to which I beg leave to referr Your Lordp.

I have taken the necessary measures for putting the Militia of the province into a readiness for His Majty's service, in case of any sudden exigency; and have recommended to the Assembly to make provision for putting several Forts and Garrisons into a proper posture of defence, and communicated to them His Majty's Royal pleasure concerning his Colonies upon this Continent, giving mutual assistance to each other, in case of any hostile attempts against any of them.

In answer to this they have sent me a Message; a copy of which marked N° 2. I have taken the liberty of inclosing to Your Lordship in order to be layd before His Majᵗʸ according to the Assembly's request, provided your Lordᵖ shall judge that proper to be done.

I likewise take upon this occasion, the liberty to observe to your Lordᵖ that tho' I am fully persuaded, that this Province (as the Assembly undertakes for it in their Messague) will at all times with great cheerfulness furnish their just and reasonable quota of Men or money towards the assistance of any other of His Majᵗʸ's Colonies upon this continent, in case of an invasion or hostile attempt; and can't but hope, from the necessity of an union among all the Colonies for their mutual defence against the common Enemy, that the others may be likewise disposed to do the same; yet, unless it shall be determined by His Majᵗʸ, what is each Colony's just quota of Men or Money which it shall raise or contribute in the common cause, when any one or more of them shall be invaded, or harras'd by the French or Indians, whether in a time of open declared War or not, and they shall be obliged in some effectual manner (as his Majᵗʸ shall think most proper) to conform to that determination upon every emergency; yet, I say, My Lord, there seems just reason to apprehend from past experience, that the want of such a settlement, and a method to enforce its taking effect, will be an obstacle to the carrying into execution any general plan for cementing an Union among His Majᵗʸ's subjects upon this continent, for the defence of His Majᵗʸˢ territories committed to their trust.

What greatly incourages me to take the liberty of submitting this observation to your Lordᵖ's consideration, is, that it was thought necessary by the Government in King William's Reign to settle the Quota of Men and Money, which every one of the Colonies should be alloted to raise for the defence of New York; and that I find the like settlement continued in Sir Danvers Osborne's, late Govʳ of New York's 95ᵗʰ and 96ᵗʰ instructions; a copy of which N° 3. to save your Lordᵖ trouble, I likewise inclose.

The carrying of this settlement into execution, Your Lordᵖ will be pleased to observe, stands solely upon the King's recommendation of it, and I can't learn upon the best inquiry, I have been able to make hitherto, that it ever took effect, yet, I must likewise remark this fact to Your Lordᵖ; that since the time of making that settlement, the abilities and circumstances of several Colonies are much altered, so that, that would be a very unequal rule for settling the just proportion of their Quota's in Men or money at this day. For instance: Your Lordᵖ will find the Quota of Men allotted to this Province to raise for the assistance of New York is 350, and that allotted to Pennsylvania is 80. Now, such a proportion be-

tween the two Governts at this time would be extreamly unequal; the Number of Inhabitants in Pensylvania having since King William the 3rd's Reign been so much increased by the great number of Foreigners, who have annually transplanted themselves and their families thither, from the Palatinate, Swiss Cantons and Northern Parts of Germany, and by the natural increase of the people, that some have computed them at 500,000 persons; whereas the increase of the numbers of Inhabitants in the Massachusetts Bay within that time (not to mention their having had but a very inconsiderable number of Foreigners transplanted among them) hath been greatly hindered by having many of their valuable Townships lately lopped off by the new Settlement of the boundaries between them and the Province of New Hampshire in 1737 as also by the settlement of the boundaries between them and Colony of Rhode Island in 1741; and the province hath been further reduced by the great loss, it sustained of its inhabitants by sea and Land in the expedition against Cape Breton, and the preservation of Nova Scotia, both, before and during the whole course of the late Warr; so that there is no reason to doubt but that at this day the Inhabitants of Pensylvania tho' they should be computed only 400000, are about double the number of those of this Provce.

The like remark may be made upon the proportion of the Quota of men and Money settled between the Colony of Connecticut and this Provce, which is about 1 to 3., that Colony being alloted to raise 120 Men, and the Province 350, whereas the Colony, by means of the beforementioned reduction of the ancient, reputed limits of this Province, and its being exhausted of its Inhabitants in the late expeditions, and Warr, hath since making the aforesaid settlement so far got the start of the Province in the increase of its Inhabitants, that the just proportion at this day between them is (according to the computation of good Judges) no more than as 2 to 3. There are other circumstances besides to be considered in adjusting the proportion of the Quota between the Colony and the Provce; viz: the Colony is entirely covered by this Province, so that it hath no frontier of its own, to defend in time of war, and consequently is at no expence in the maintenance of marching Companies, Forts and garrisons for that purpose; whereas the Province hath a very extensive frontier, which is constantly harras'd by the Indians and French, upon every rupture, and at a very considerable charge in maintaining marching Companies, Forts and Garrisons; and in time of peace the Colony's Taxes for the support of His Majty's Governt among them, is very trifling in comparison of that of the Province's.

I submit these observations to Your Lordp's consideration as specimens of the alteration of the circumstances of the Colonies with regard to the proportion, which they bore to each other in respect of their number of Inhabitants and ability in King William's Reign,

and their present state, and to shew, how unequal a rule the settlement made at that time for adjusting their respective Quota's of Men and Money, would be for adjusting them at this day.

I must further add upon this head, that nothing would contribute more effectually to secure His Majᵗʸ's subjects and territories upon this continent, against the rapid progress, which the French seem to be making in perfecting a strong line of Forts upon our backs from Bay Verté Easterly, to the utmost extent of His Majᵗʸ's Dominions Westward, and to bring the Indians to a dependance upon the English, that a well concerted scheme, for uniting all His Majᵗʸ's Colonies upon it, in a mutual defence of each ôther, duely carried into execution.

I have the utmost reason, My Lord, to think that the People of this Province are most readily disposed to do their part in promoting so necessary an Union, and to exert the same spirit, which they have hitherto in His Majᵗʸ's service, to the utmost of their abilities, in concurrence with his other Colonies for their mutual defence; but I think it my duty to mention to your Lordᵖ that the thoughts of bearing the burthen of defending the wide frontier, upon which Fort Dummer stands, and was in the year 1737 adjudged to belong to the Province of New Hampshire, as they did the last War, seem so grievous to them, that I much question whether in case of another rupture with France, they could be induced to do it; and whether, unless some especial provision is made for the protection of it by his Majᵗʸ, it would not then be greatly exposed to be ravaged by the Enemy.

The daily intelligence that is received here from the Indians which frequent our Truck houses, our Traders to the Bay of Fundy, and even the Officers of Fort Lawrence in Schiegnecto, of the great Diligence of the French in strengthening their Forts and Block Houses in that District, and that on the Isthmus near Bay Vert, together with their having possessed themselves of Sᵗ John's River, and the commerce they carry on in the Bay of Fundy, hath greatly alarmed the Assembly; and they extreamly dread bad consequences to the Province from such a neighbourhood; in case it shall continue until another rupture: as they do also from the French encroachments at Crown Point, unless something is done to curb them; towards the expence of doing which, and maintaining a Fort and garrison, if it should be His Majᵗʸ's pleasure to have one erected for that service; I have reason to hope that the Province would contribute their just Quota of Men and money, in proportion to the protection which their western frontier would receive from it, in common with the Provinces of New York, Pensylvania, New Jersey's, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire, as His Majesty shall be pleased to allot each Colony to do the same.

I shall carefully observe, His Majᵗʸ's commands not to make use

of the armed force, under my direction, excepting within the undoubted limits of His Majty's Dominions.

As I have the honour to be acquainted with the sentiments of the Right Honble the Lords Commissrs for Trade and Plantations concerning the Isthmus of the Peninsula of Nova Scotia, where the French have erected their Forts, and the River of St John's in the Bay of Funda, founded upon the vouchers and evidences produced by the Commissary's of both Crowns in the negociation at Paris; viz^{t}: that they are clearly within the limits of His Majty's Province of Nova Scotia, I suppose we may deem them to be so, notwithstanding the claim of the French in their memorials, which extend as far as the River Kennebeck to the Westward, and to the City of Annapolis Royal, as also part of the lands lying between that and the Sea coast of Nova Scotia, from Cape Sable to Cape Canseau to the Eastward.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect
My Lord
Your Lordships most humble
and most obedient servant
W. SHIRLEY.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR DE LANCEY, OF N. Y.

WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGa *Jany 29th 1754*

SIR: The Advances made by the French to deprive his Majesty of the Interiour part of America, makes it necessary for me to give your Honour part of the Intelligence I have just received of their Proceedings, by the Return of a Gentlemen whom I sent to the French Commandant for that Purpose.

On his Arrival he found that the French had taken post on a Branch of the River Ohio, and built a Fort, wherein they had mounted Eight pieces of Cannon, Six pounders, and that they had in Readiness Materials for other Forts, which they declared their Intentions to erect on the River, and particularly at Logs Town. the place destined for their cheif Residence, as soon as the Season would permit them to embark, and for which purpose he saw Two hundred and twenty Canoes ready finished, besides a great Number more blocked out. Having delivered his Credentials and my Letter, he complained to the Commander of the Violence that had been offered to his Majesty's Subjects, in seizing their Effects, and making Prisoners of their persons: To which he was answered, "That the "Country belonged to them; that no Englishman had a Right to

"trade upon those Waters, and that he (the Commandant) had Or-
"ders to make every person prisoner that attempted it on the Ohio,
"or the Waters of it."

Your Honour will perceive these to be their Sentiments by the inclosed, and that they are determined to carry their Designs into Execution; and it were superfluous to advance many Arguments with so discerning and sagacious a Servant of our Master, to prove the Urgency that presses every one of his Majesty's Colonies to exert themselves on this Occasion, to vindicate the Honour and Dignity of his Crown, and justify his undoubted Rights, against the Invaders of the British property.

The Power of our Enemies is far from being contemptible, and it is as certain they will exert it's utmost Efforts, to procure all possible Advantages against us. They have already engaged three Indian Nations, the Chippoways, Ottoways, and Orundacks, to take up Arms against the English, and from the best Information Maj: Washington learned, that the French had four Forts on the Missisippi, besides their strong Settlement at New Orleans, where they have about Fourteen Hundred Men in Garrison; That by Means of the River Ovabaseck, they have a communication between Canada and the Missisippi and some Forts on the Oubask, to cover and protect this Communication.

Before they sent their Troops into Winter Quarters last Fall, they called the several Tribes of Indians near their Fort together, and told them, that altho' the approaching Season, and the State, at that Time, of the Waters, made it necessary to send the cheif of their Forces into Winter Quarters, yet they might be assured to see them early in the Spring with a much more considerable Armanent, and that then they would take Possession of the Ohio, and threatened them if they were not entire passive.

These Circumstances induced me to order out for the present a Detachment of the Militia, and call together the Assembly, which I have ordered to meet the 14th of next month, and hope they will enable me to take more vigorous Measures in the Common Cause, the Success of which, as I apprehend, greatly Depends on the Dispatch with which our Forces are drawn together, and the promptitude of every Colony to exert itself on this Pressing Occasion.

I have chosen Will's Creek on the Head of patowmack as the most convenient place of Rendezvous, early in March, and thither I should be extremely pleased, if your Honour would be so good as to order the Men that you think proper to send, agreeably to his Majesty's Cômands, for mutual Assistance, which I sent you by the last Express, and as early in March as possible. As it may be very hurtful to the service to divide the Command, I wish to find your Honour in my Sentiments, and that you are willing to entrust my General Officer the Command of the Men from your Government.

If I am so happy as to have your Concurrence in this, I shall hope the Consequence will be to show our Enemies how far they were mistaken in the Sarcasm they threw out, that tho' they owned, We could bring two men to their one, yet, that we were too slow, and disconcerted, to hinder the progress of their Undertakings.

May God, Sir, felicitate your Government with every happy Event, and enable us to ascert our Sovereign's just Right with Success.

Sir: Since writing the above, I received your Letter of the 11th of December, covering that from the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. I observe your Intention of an Interviéw with the Indians at Albany in June next, which I am very sorry interferes with the Meeting I have proposed with the Six Nations and the Southern Indians on the 20th of May next; add thereto the broils we are like to have with the French, which will enhance all my Time; and I am convinced the Assembly of this Province will be very backward in sending Commissioners to Albany, as the Charge of the intended Meeting at Winchester, and the raising of Men to defeat the Designs of the French will be very considerable, and I flatter myself with the Hope of your Assistance. The Favour of an Answer by the Return of this Express will oblige

Hond Sir

Your obedt humble Servt.

ROBt DINWIDDIE

New York

Indorsed:

Govr Dinwiddie 29 Janry 1754 R 17 Febry Read in Council the 18 Febry & answered the same day.

DR. ALEX. COLHOUN TO GOVERNOR DE LANCEY.

Albany *Aprile 12. 1754.*

Sir: Last night the following Deserters from Niagara came here, by way of Oswego say they were one night, and till noon next day at Coll Johnson's.

I thought it may be agreeable to you, therefore gave you the trouble of this, & have desired Isaac Swits immediately upon his arrival at N York, that he bring them before you. say they all natives of France. Antoine Francois L'Ouaqué a Parisian, & Jean Baptiste de Cortois were with Marrain, at the building of the two wooden-Forts, S. West from Niagara. L'Ouaqué seems to be the most intelligent

of them. I show'd him some Maps of that Country, he has marked with a Pencill the form of the largest fort built on the neck of a Peninsula on the South side of Lac Erie 40 Leagues from Niagara. Cap^{t} Repantinié who was at N. York anno 1749. Cômandant: also the form of the smalest Fort upon the Riviére de Bœuf 7 leagues South from the former, where Marrain died. say they have there 9 Guns, 3 of Six & 6 of two & four pounders. No guns in the other Fort. three leagues of the Road next to the Lake very good, the other part very Swampy. L'Gardeur de S^{t} Piére was ordered to Canada, & Cap^{t} Contrecœur from Niagara is their present Cômandant. Contrecœur's Son an Ensigne at Niagara with only 15 men when they deserted. They were at first about 2000 Men Savages included, when L'Ouaqué and de Cortois were detached to Niagara in November last, about five or 600 Dead, and unfitt for Duty.

They talk of 3000 or 4000 men to come this spring from Canada to reinforce their settlement, and to build a Stone Fort upon the Ohio or Belle Riviére to the Westward, say that part of the Stones are already dug and squared.

It's said here that the French have lately finished a Fort at Coas, near the head of Conecticut River, about 80 or 90 miles above Fort Dummer. I am with the greatest respect,

Sir

Your most obedient humble Servt.

ALEX^{r} COLHOUN.

Deserters Names.

Charles le Chevalier de L'Axaque dit S^{t} Marie au Coté d Espagne.
Jean Baptiste Giraud, Provencal
Jean Baptiste de Cortois, Franch-Comte
Antoine François L'Ouaqué. Parisien.
Louis Sabion, il a resté a Corlac, chez Morison Perruquiér

GOVERNOR DE LANCEY OF NEW YORK TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

NEW YORK. *22^{d} April. 1754.*

MY LORDS: I had the honour of your Lord^{pps} letter of the 26th of Feb^{y} last, on the 13th inst: I shall endeavour to give due attention to the matters your Lord^{pps} recommend, and shall stricktly follow the directions contained in your letter to Sir Danvers Osborn.

The arguments I have used to the Neighbouring Govern^{ts}, to induce them to send Commissioners to the Albany Treaty, are, that

as his Majesty had been graciously pleased to order the Indians a present and had directed the several Govern^{rs} to send Commiss^{rs} to this Interview, the Indians seeing them there, and being told they are all met by order of the great King their Father on the other side of the Big Lake, and that they are to act in concert for the mutual advantage of them and us; may be emboldened to act with vigour in the British Interest against the French. That your Lord^{pps} intention was that a Treaty be made in His Majesty's name, between the Indians and all the Provinces; and that I proposed at this interview to unite, as far as possible, all the Indians in alliance with us into a firm and lasting peace with each other; and to this purpose to lay before them the folly in waging war with those who are children of the same Father the King, and are all Brethren to the English; to represent to them the artifice of the French who perswade them into so absurd a practice, to alarm them at the French building Forts on the lands conquered by and belonging to them on the Lake Erie and the River Ohio, thereby excluding them from a free and open communication with the Far Indians and those in alliance with us; and lastly, principally to concert measures among the Commiss^{rs} at this Interview, for building Forts in such part of the Indian Country for their protection, as may encourage them (by seeing their wives and children will be secured and retreat afforded themselves) to declare openly and cordially for us.

If something of this kind be done, some reasonable and equal plan concerted of expence and operations; I am perswaded the Indians might be brought wholly back into our interest, and to join us readily in dislodging the French from our side of the Lakes; till some such measures be taken I cannot have great dependence on their acting with vigour; we must show them the way, and show them too that there will be safety in adhering wholly to the British interest.

The intelligence I sent your Lord^{pps} from the Officer at Oswego, was given by Stephen Coffen, the same Man whom Coll: Johnson found working in the Mohawks Country, whose deposition he took; a copy of which I now inclose. Whether his fears of the French while at Oswego, made him conceal the truth, or whether the Officer at Oswego was negligent in his Examination, I know not; but the truth of his deposition is fully confirmed by intelligence we have received several ways; it was brought and delivered to me by Coll: Johnson the 18th of Feb^{ry} last; I took care to have copies immediately sent to the Gov^{rs} of Pennsylvania, Maryland & Virginia. The inclosed intelligence from the Officer at Oswego I yesterday dispatched by express to the same Governors.

I have received the copy of the Invoice of the presents directed by His Maj^{ty} to be given to the Indians, and I have an account from

the Secretary to the Board of Ordnance that the remaining Guns are sent which are arrived.

On the 17th instant I sent an extract of that part of Your Lordpps letter, which relates to the Resolution of the Assembly of the 13th of November last, on the Earl of Holderness's letter to them. I had before at the opening of the sessions, communicated my Lord Holderness's letter of the 18th of January last, wherein his Lordp signifies, that his Majtys had been Graciously pleased to approve of that Resolution, which I in my speech had urged as a motive to induce them to exert their greatest efforts, to vindicate the honour of the Crown, and justify his Majtys undoubted rights against the Invaders of his property. I accompanied the Extract of your Lordpps letter with the intelligence from the Officer at Oswego, and a Message to the house, signifying that they would perceive by the letter from the Earl of Holdernesse, which was already before them, and the extract from your Lordpps letter, that their Resolution had raised a just expectation in his Majesty and his Ministers, that they would Act in a manner suitable to that Resolution; and therefore earnestly recommending to them, now the French were in Motion, and with an apparent intention to invade one of His Majtys Colonies, that they would exert themselves on this occasion, and enable me to give such assistance to the Colony of Virginia as the present exigency demanded.

They have voted only 1000 pounds for provisions for the two Independent companies, which his Majtv has ordered into Virginia from hence; the reasons they urge for not going higher (in their address to me) are, a great debt from the expence of the late War; the necessity of repairing the Fortifications and out Garrisons; the expence of a double garrison at Oswego, and the building Forts in the Indian Country and on our Northern frontiers; and as they have come to a resolution to bear an equal proportion of the charge of building those Forts, I have sent copies of it to the Governours of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, that they may use their endeavours to bring their Assemblies to join in this Expence; all which will require a large sum of money, and renders them unable to afford that assistance they would otherwise willingly give.

They have also voted for the additional Men to strengthen the Garrison at Oswego 456 pounds—this is an annual expence. For presents to the Indians. 800 pounds, my expenses to Albany 150 pounds, annual Commissrs for Indian Affairs 170 pounds, Indian Interpreter 50 pounds, Officer at Oswego 25 pounds—this last, is for trifles to be given the Indians when they visit the Officer at Oswego, which have often a better effect than larger at other times.

They have resolved to provide for the repair of the Fortress at

Oswego and desired me to give directions for doing it, which I have accordingly done.

I should have sent Your Lord[pps] some papers relating to the Jersey line, but must defer it till the next opportunity, as the Maps to clear that Matter are not yet completed.—I am—etc.

JAMES DE LANCEY.

DEPOSITION OF STEPHEN COFFEN.

Stephen Coffen of full age being duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that he was taken prisoner by the French and Indians of Canada at Menis, in the year 1747, under the command of Major Noble, from whence he was brought to an Indian Village called Octagouche, about 15 leagues to the westward of Chebucta, where he was kept three weeks prisoner, from thence was carried to a French settlement called Beaubasin, where the French had a wooden Fort then Garrisoned with twenty five Men, remained there two Months, from thence they took him to Gaspey, a considerable fishing place in the Gulf of S[t] Lawrence near to the entrance of the River; there are about 300 families settled there, they kept him there working near four years, then he was brought to a place called Ramouski inhabited by about 25. French Families, from which place he sailed two years to and from Quebec, in a sloop carrying Beaver and Furs, Salmon ettc. to Quebec, and in return brought back, Brandy dry goods ettc. During the time of the Deponents residing at Quebec, he says, it was commonly talked or reported, that they, the French intended to settle as many families as they could to the Westward, to make up for the loss of two of their Towns sunk in the West Indies by an Earth-quake. The Deponent further saith, that the Navigation up the River S[t] Lawrence is very dangerous, particularly so at the Isle aux Coudres, and the Isle Orleans, the North side of the former is the best Navigation, the south side being very rapid and Rocky, and the channel not above 200 yards wide, about 6 fathoms Water; whereas in the North Channel there is 15 fathom, at the North East end of the latter begins two Sand banks, which extends a league down said River; the channel is between both banks, and pretty near the middle of the River, from thence to the Town of Quebec good Navigation, being 15 fathom all the way. The Deponent says, there is no possibility of going up said River without the Tide serves, or a strong North East Wind, especially at the two afore mention Islands. In September 1752 the Depon[t] was in Quebec, and endeavouring to agree with some Indians, to convey him to his own Country New England, which the Indians acquainted

the Gov^{r} of, who immediately ordered him to Goal, where he lay three Months; at the time of his Releasement the French were preparing for a March to Belle Riviere or Ohio, when he offered his service, but was rejected by the Gov^{r} General Le Cain; he the said General setting out for Montreal about the 3rd of January 1753. to view and forward the Forces, the Deponent applyed to Major Ramsay, for liberty to go with the army to Ohio, who told him he would ask the Lieutenant De Ruoy, who agreed to it, upon which he was Equipped as a Soldier, and sent with a Detachment of three hundred Men to Montreal, under the Command of Mons^{r} Babeer, who sett off immediately with said Command, by Land and Ice, for Lake Erie; they in their way stopt a couple of days to refresh themselves at Cadaraghqui Fort; also at Taranto on the North side of Lake Ontario; then at Niagra Fort 15 days; from thence set off by Water being April, and arrived at Chadakoin on Lake Erie, where they were ordered to fell Timber, and prepare it for building a Fort there, according to Gov^{rs} instructions; but Mons^{r} Morang coming up with 500 Men and 20 Indians, put a stop to the erecting of a Fort at that place, by reason of his not liking the situation, and the River of Chadakoins being too shallow to carry any craft with provisions ettc. to Belle Rivier. The Deponent says, there arose a warm Debate between Mess^{rs} Babeer and Morang thereon, the First insisting on building a Fort there, agreable to his Instructions, otherwise on Morang's giving him an Instrument in writing to satisfy the Gov^{r} in that point, which Morang did, and then ordered Mons^{r} Mercie, who was both, Commissary and Engeneer to go along said Lake, and look for a good situation; which he found, and returned in three days, it being 15 Leagues to the S. W. of Chadakoin; they were then all ordered to repair thither; when they arrived, there were about 20 Indians fishing in the Lake, who immediately quit it on seeing the French; they fell to work and built a square Fort, of Chestnut Loggs squared, and lapt over each other to the height of 15 foot; it is about 120 feet square, a Loghouse in each square, a Gate to the Southward and another to the N. ward, not one port hole cut in any part of it; when finished they called it Fort la Briske Isle. The Indians who came from Canada with them, returned very much out of Temper, owing as it was said among the Army to Morang's dogged behaviour and ill usage of them, but they the Indians said at Oswego, it was owing to the Frenche's misleading of them, by telling them falsehoods, which they said they had now found out, and left them. As soon as the Fort was finished, they marched Southward cutting a Waggon Road through a fine level Country, twenty one Miles to the River of Bœff. (leaving Capt^{n} Deponteney with a hundred Men to garrison the Fort la Briske Isle) they fell to work cutting timber boards ettc for another Fort, while Mons^{r} Morang ordered Mons^{r} Bite with 50

Men to go to a place called by the Indians Ganagarah'hare, on the Banks of Belle Riviere, where the River O Bœff empties into it; in the m an time Morang had got large Boats or Battoes made to carry down the Baggage and provisions ettc to said place; Mons[r] Bite on coming to said Indian place, was asked what he wanted or intended: he upon answering, it was their Father the Gov[r] of Canada's intention to Build a Trading house for their, and all their Brethren's conveniency, was told by the Indians that the Lands were theirs, and they would not have them build upon it; the said M[r] Bite returning, met two Englishmen Traders, with their Horses and goods, whom they bound & brought prisoners to Morang, who ordered them to Canada in Irons; the said Bite reported to Morang, the situation was good, but the wate[r] in the River O Bœff too low at that time to carry down any Craft with provisions ettc. a few days after, the Deponent says, that about [one] hundred Indians called by the French Loo's, came to the Fort La Rivere O Bœff, to see what the French were a doing, that Mon[s] Morang treated them very kindly, and then asked them to carry down some stores ettc. to the Belle Riviere on horseback for payment, which he immediately advanced them on their undertaking to do it; they set off with full loads, but never delivered them to the French, which incensed them very much, being not only a loss, but a great disappointment. Morang a Man of very peevish Cholorick disposition, meeting with those and other crosses, and finding the season of the year too far advanced, to build the Third fort, called all his officers together, and told them, that as he had engaged, and firmly promised the Gov[r] to finish the three Forts that season, and not being able to fulfill the same, was both, affraid and ashamed to return to Canada, besensible, he had now forfeited the Governour's favour for ever: wherefore, rather than live in disgrace, he begged they would take him (as he then sat in a carriage made for him, being very sick some time) and seat him in the middle of the Fort, and then set fire to it, and let him perish in the flames; which was rejected by the Officers, who, the Deponent says, had not the least regard for him, as he had behaved very ill to them all in general. The Deponent further saith, that about eight days before he left the Fort La Briske Isle, Chev: Le Crake arrived express from Canada, in a Birch Canoe, worked by 10 men with orders (as the dependent afterwards heard) from the Governour Le Cain to Morang to make all the preparation possible again the spring of the year, to build then two Forts at Chadakoin, one of them by Lake Erie, the other at the end of the carrying place at Lake Chadakoin; which carrying place is 15 miles from one Lake to the other; the said Chevalier brought for Mon[s] Morang, a cross of S[t] Louis, which the rest of the Officers would not allow him to take until the Gov[r] was acquainted of his conduct and behaviour; the Chev: returned immediately to

Canada, after which the Deponent saith, when the Fort la Riviere O Bœff was finished (which is built of wood stokadoed Triangular-wise, and has two Logg Houses in the inside) Mon^{s} Morang ordered all the party to return to Canada, for the winter season, except three hundred men, which he kept to Garrison Both Forts, and prepare materials agst the spring for the building other Forts; he also sent Jean Coeur an Officer and Interpreter, to stay the Winter among the Indians at Ohio, in order to prevail with them, not only to allow the building Forts on their Lands, but also persuade them if possible, to join the French interest against the English. The Deponent further saith, that on the 28th of October last, he sett off for Canada under the command of Capt^{n} Deman, who had the command of 22 Battoes, with 20 Men in each Battoe; the remainder being 760 Men, followed in a few days, the 30th arrived at Chadakoin, where they staid four days, during which time Mons^{r} Peon with 200 Men, cut a Waggon Road over the carrying place from Lake Erie to Lake Chadakoin, being 15 Miles, viewed the situation which proved to their liking, so sett off Nov^{r} 3^{d} for Niagare, where we arrived the 6th: it is a very poor rotten old wooden Fort, with 25 Men in it, they talked of rebuilding it next summer. We left 50 Men here to build Battoes for the army again the spring, also a Store House for provisions Stores ettc and staid here two days, then sett off for Canada; all hands being fatigued with Rowing all night, ordered to put ashore to breakfast within a mile of Oswego Garrison, at which time the Deponent saith, that he with a Frenchman slip't off, and got to the Fort, where they both were concealed, until the Army passed; from thence he came here. The Depon^{t} further saith, that besides the 300 Men with which he went up first, under ther Command of Mons^{r} Babeer, & the 500 Men Morang brought up afterwards, there came at different times with stores ettc 700 more, which made in all 1500 men; three hundred of which remained to garrison the two Forts, 50 at Niagara, the rest all returned to Canada, and talked of gaing up again this winter, so, as to be there the beginning of April; they had two 6-pounders, and 7. four-pounders, which they intended to have planted in the Fort of Ganagarah'hare, which was to have been calied the Gov^{rs} Fort, but as that was not built, they left the Guns in the Fort La Riviere O Boeff, where Morang Commands. Further the Deponent saith not

STEPHEN his + mark COFFEN

Sworn before me this 10th day of January 1764.

W^{m} JOHNSON.

GOVERNOR DE LANCEY OF NEW YORK TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

NEW YORK, *21 May 1754.*

MY LORDS: In my letter of the 22. of April, I acquainted your Lord^{pps} with the sums of money the Assembly had voted, to which I beg leave to refer, inclosing a copy of it.

In the Bill they sent up to the Council for issuing the money, several of the allowances were made payable on Receipts, and not by Warrant; among the rest that of 1000 pounds for subsisting the two Companies, ordered to Virginia, with provisions for six Months, and the Council being of opinion, that this method of issuing the publick money, was repugnant to His Maj$^{ty's}$ Commission and Instructions, rejected the Bill, and advised me to prorogue the General Assembly, til the next day, and to recommend the providing for the services in a manner not liable to objections, which I accordingly did. I shall not trouble your Lord^{pps} with a particular detail of the proceedings, as I accompany this with the votes, but shall only say, that after all my endeavours, I could not prevail on them to give one farthing for this service or to enable me to raise Men for the Assistance of Virginia.

The extreme obstinacy of the Assembly in this instance, will point out to your Lord^{pps} the danger there is of the disappointment of any service, however urgent it may be, as the Assembly on one hand will not recede, and the Council on the other, think themselves not at liberty to give in to the Assembly's method, unless they depart from the Royal Instructions. For my own part, as I look upon this service, to be distinct from the annual and constant charges of Govern^{t}, I should have made no difficulty in passing the Bill rather, than suffer a service of this nature to drop; relying on this; that the necessity I was thus laid under, would appear to your Lord^{pps} a sufficient excuse, and I beg your Lord^{pps} sentiments for my guide upon such occasions.

I lately received an express from Gov^{r} Hamilton of Pennsylvania, with intelligence that the French had drove our people from a small Fort on the Ohio, and obliged them to retreat to the Inhabitants; and being uncertain whether your Lord^{pps} will receive this advice earlier from Virginia, or otherways, I inclose copies of the Papers. They came to my hands the 9th inst:, a few days after I had prorogued the Assembly, and early in the next Month, I must embark to go to the interview appointed with the Six Nations at Albany, so that the time would not allow of my calling them again to lay these papers before them. I can not meet them till their harvest is over, which will be the latter end of July, or the beginning of Au-

gust, when I hope they will show such a regard to their solemn Resolution approved of by His Majᵗʸ, as may redound to their honour.

I now send your Lordᵖᵖˢ some papers relating to the division line, between New Jersey and this Province, with a copy of an ancient Map, said to be signed by Andrew Hamilton, who was then Govʳ of East Jersey. I have drawn two lines on the Map, to distinguish in a triangle, the Lands that are as I conceive still in the Crown. I shall make no observations on King Charles Second's Grant to the Duke of York, but will suppose the Duke had a right to grant the lands, which he did grant to Lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret, and then it is to be considered how far the Duke's Grant to them, did extend up Delaware River. The bounds from Cape May at the mouth of Delaware River are "extending to the Northward as far as the Northrenmost Branch of the said Bay, or the River of Delaware, which is in forty one degrees and forty minutes of Latitude." Here I would only observe, that the Northernmost Branch of the said Bay or River, is the terminus ad quem, the place at which they must stop: the words, as far as, being the same in sence as, usque ad, which is always exclusive of the place to which you go; so that from Cape May, to the Northermost Branch of Delaware River is the whole extent of the Western boundary of Jersey. As for these words, which is: *in forty one degrees and forty Minutes of Latitude*, I do not take them to be part of the description of the Boundary, they are only affirmative words of computation, or rather conjecture of the latitude wherein the Northernmost branch or the Forks of Delaware lye. For instance, if a grant was made of all the lands from London Bridge to Greenwich, *which is ten miles;* here the mistaken computation made of the distance, will not carry the grant beyond Greenwich. London Bridge being the terminus a quo, the place whence, and Greenwich the terminus at quem, the place to which; and these two make the extent of the Grant, and are always understood to be exclusive. So of the western boundary of Jersey, the main Ocean at Cape May at the mouth of Delaware Bay, is the terminus a quo, and the Northermost branch of the said Bay or the River of Delaware, is the terminus ad quem, which make the extent of the Jersey grant on the West. For Delaware River is formed by the two branches joining into one Body at the forks of Delaware, may properly enough to be said to be the ne plus ultra, of Jersey on that side. For the mistaken computation of distance of latitude, cannot enlarge the extent of a Grant, words of that sort being not descriptive but conjectural.

It is said, as the Patents of Wawayanda and Minisink are bounded on the Jersey line, his Majᵗʸˢ interest cannot be concerned, let the line run where it will, but this is a mistake; for the Jersey line on which these Patents were bounded, was the supposed line marked in the Map, which was at that time understood to be the

line, and they cannot be extended Southward, even if the real line of Jersey is to run from the Forks of Delaware, *or the head of Delaware Bay*, to the Station on Hudson's River opposite to the lower Yonkers: the King's intention being to grant lands no further than the then supposed line.

I wrote to Gov^r^ Belcher to propose a line of peace between the two provinces, to put a stop to the disputes and disorders that are committed on the Borders; in which letter I thought it my duty, as his Majesty's servant, to tell him my opinion that the forks of Delaware, where the ne plus ultra of Jersey on that side. This paragraph has drawn upon me a pretty extraordinary proposal from the Jersey proprietors, which was delivered to me by M^r^ Alexander. I shall make no reflections on it, but submit the propriety of it to your Lord^pps^ consideration. I must inform your Lord^pps^ that M^r^ Alexander is a Member of his Maj^ty's^ Council for this Province and for the Province of Jersey, and a considerable proprietor, and a chief Mangaer in behalf of the Jersey proprietors. I leave it to your Lord^pps^ to consider how con sistent this is, while there this is controversy subsisting between the two Provinces, and between the Proprietors and his Majesty. I inclose the Report of a Committee of his Majesty's Council on the disturbances between the people living on the borders of the two Govern^ts^ and the opinion of the Committee for establishing a line of peace, until the partition line be fixed between both provinces, and M^r^ Alexander's reasons for his dissent to the said Report. Your Lord^pps^ will perceive the opinion of His Maj^ty's^ Council to be, that the line of peace, should run according to the supposed line, and reasons upon which they ground their opinion, and if they appear satisfactory, I hope directions will be given to the Gov^rs^ of the two provinces, that the line be so fixed & ascertained as a line of peace, until His Maj^ty's^ right be finaly settled in such a legal course, as his Majesty shall think proper.

I am very backward to take any steps to protect the Freeholders and Inhabitants in the quiet enjoyment of their possessions up to the supposed line, as the Council advise. The Reasons, My Lords, is, that I am concerned in the Minisink Patent, and so are my Brothers and sisters, as Devisees of my Fathers, who held two shares in that Patent. Nor shall I take any steps without the advice of the Council. I beg your Lord^pps^ will be pleased to direct me on this head.

As one of the points in view at the meeting of Commiss^rs^ at Albany, is to concert measures for building Forts in advanced places on the frontiers, to cover these Colonies, and in case of a War to annoy the French; I would propose to your Lord^pps^, that I might have his Mrj^ty's^ leave to pass a Bill for emitting twenty thousand pounds in in Bills of Credit, to be put out at interest for the space of ten years at six per cent, and then to be paid into the Treasury and sunk; the whole of the interest to be applyed in building and supporting the

Fortification on the Frontiers, and to no other use. This fund would produce 1200 pounds per annum; and as the Assembly are averse to Taxes at this time, those of the last war not being yet at an end, it seems to me this measure is most likely to go down with them, and I can not think it will have a bad effect on the credit of our paper currency, for, from the best information I could obtain, we have about 115,000 pounds paper currency, and we now sink annually by the funds appropriated to that purpose 9500 pounds.

I have just received advice from the Officer at Oswego that on the third instant, thirty French Battoes loaded with provisions under the conduct of two Officers, past that Post, in their way to Niagara, supposed to be destined for the Ohio.—I am—My Lords,

Your Lord^{pps} most obedient and most
humble servant
JAMES DE LANCEY

SECRETARY ROBINSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

WHITEHALL, *14th June 1754.*

MY LORDS: The King having taken into consideration the present State of affairs in North America, and it having appeared to His Majesty to be highly expedient that a Plan of General Concert should be entered into by his Majesty's several Colonies for their mutual and common Defence, and to prevent or remove any Incroachments upon His Majesty's Dominions: I am to signify to Your Lordships the King's pleasure that You should forthwith prepare such a Plan of concert as may be proper for the purpose above mentioned, in order that the same may be sent to the several Governors of His Majesty's Colonies in North America.

I am, My Lords,
Your Lordships' most obedient
humble Servant
T. ROBINSON.

Lords of Trade and Plantations.

SECRETARY ROBINSON TO LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR DE LANCEY.

WHITEHALL *5 July 1754.*

SIR: I have received your letter of the 22nd of April, directed to the Earl of Holdernesse, in answer to His Lordship's letter of the 18th of January, and having laid it before the King, I am to acquaint you with his Majty's surprise, that the Independent companies of Your Governt were found in so bad a condition, as they appear to have been by your own account. Captn Rutherford and Lieut Morris are actually set out for their respective posts; and His Majty does not doubt but that the two Companies are thoroughly compleat, which you have sent to Virginia, and that you have taken the like care to compleat those which remain upon Duty in your province.

It is with great concern that His Majty sees the unwillingness of his subjects under your Governt to exert themselves in what is now become so esse[n]tially the common cause of all the Colonies, more especially since the last accounts from Major Washington of the violent proceedings and actual hostilities of the French upon the Ohio; which verify in fact what was apprehended, when the Earl of Holdernesse wrote so fully to you in August last, and which might have been, in a great meusure, if not totally, prevented, had every one of His Majty's Governments exerted themselves according to those directions; I am now to enforce to you, by the King's express command, the said directions, to which I shall only add, that at the same time that your assembly seems to be so sensible of the vigour and resolution said to have been shewn by the Governt of Virginia upon this occasion, they should not be unacquainted with the behaviour of the Governt of Massachuset's Bay, in obedience to like instructions to those which were sent to you, which I do not doubt but you have been enabled to lay before them in consequence of your correspondence with Govr Shirley, and much less should they be ignorant of the approbation which his Majty has been graciously pleased to shew to his good subjects, your neighbors, and of the encouragement wch has been given to them to proceed with the utmost vigour as you will see more fully by the inclosed copy of a letter, which I have written to Mr Shirley, by His Majty's commands of which you will make a proper use, in order to excite His Majty's subjects under your care, to follow so brave an example.

I am ettc.

T. ROBINSON.

LORDS OF TRADE TO GOVERNOR DE LANCEY, OF N. Y.

WHITEHALL *July 5 1754.*

To James Delancey Esq: Lieut^t Gover^r of New York.

SIR: One of his Majesty's ships of War being preparing to sail in a few days for Virginia affords us an opportunity of answering such points in the several letters we have received from you as have not yet answered.

You are already so fully acquainted with our sentiments upon Indian affairs that it is almost unnecessary for us to say anything further upon this subject. We cannot however but express our surprize and concern that after the proper arguments which you made use of to induce the neighboring Colonys to concur in the treaty with the Six Nations any of these Colonys should at this conjuncture have declined joining in a measure so apparently for the general interest and security of the whole and such a conduct appears to us the more extraordinary as we are informed that upon former occasions and in times of less Peril and Exigency they have joined in such treaty's

The preserving and securing the friendship of these Indians is in the present situation of affairs an object of the greatest Importance it is from the steady adherence of these Indians to the British Interest that not only New York but all the other Northern Colonys have hitherto been secured from the fatal effects of the encroachments of a foreign power, and without their friendship and assistance all our efforts to check and disappoint the present view of this power may prove ineffectual it would be endless to enumerate the advantages which are derived from an alliance with these Indians and the mischiefs and evils which will certainly result from a neglect of them in the present conjuncture they are so apparent that we are at a loss to guess at the motives for the conduct of those Colony's who have declined joining in the treaty with them.

It seem's to be the opinion and is the language of almost every Colony that a general Union of strength and interest is become absolutely necessary nothing could have facilitated such a measure more than a general Congress of Commissioners from each Colony at Albany upon this occasion some plan might possibly have then been struck out by these Commissioners for effecting such an Union which can never be brought about in the seperate and divided state of the Colony's without some general Congress.

The reasons you give us in your letter of the 24 of Dec^r for having appointed the meeting with the Indians at Albany rather than Ondiondago are founded upon a variety of circumstances which we have not the opportunity of examining into with that

precision which is necessary to enable us to form a proper judgment upon them. Your reasons appear to us however in a general view to be formed upon right principles and we hope they will be justified by the good effects of this treaty. In all treatys with the Indians of a publick nature regard only ought to be had to the General Interest advantage and security which is to arise from such treatys nor should the partial or commercial views & Interest of private persons be ever admitted to take effect at any publick meeting with the Indians as we have reason to fear has too often been the case very much to the prejudice of His Majesty's Interest and Service.

The papers you have sent us relative to the points in dispute between New York and the Neighbouring Provinces with respect to Boundarys, more especially with respect to the line of division between New York and New Jersey and the observations which you make in your letters upon these disputes will be of great service to us when that point comes under our consideration it appears to us in the general light in which We see this affair at the present that it will be for his Majesty's service and for the peace and interest of both Provinces that a temporary line of Jurisdiction should be establish'd by his Majesty's authority until the true line of property can be ascertained and therefore we shall shortly take this matter into Our consideration and lay our thoughts fully upon it before his Majesty. In the mean time we do earnestly recommend to you as we have also done to the Governor of New Jersey to every legal and proper measure that can be thought of to preserve the publick peace in those parts and prevent that mischief we have reason to fear might be occasioned by this unhappy dispute.

The general impressions we have had of your conduct in the office of Chief Justice have been favourable ones and we hope your Conduct in the execution of the command devolved upon you will recommend you to that office again when this command ceases.

We are glad to find that you have satisfyed the Principal Members of the Assembly of the unreasonableness of meddling for the future in the executive part of Government and of the propriety of allowing all publick money to be drawn out of the Treasury by warrant of the Governor and Council only agreeable to his Majesty's Instructions But it is stil a point insisted on that the Revenue even for the services of a permanent nature should notwithstanding be granted only from year to year we are afraid that either these pretensions which are so explicitly disavowed in words are meant to be retained in effect or that at least this reserve of granting the Revenue only annually may from time to time revive these very pretensions since such annual grants may be employed annually to the purpose of wresting from the Crown the Nomination of all offices whose Salarys depend upon the annual appointment of the Assembly and of disappointing all such services of Government as

may be necessary even to the very existence of the Colony, which are not entrusted even in their execution to such persons as the Assembly appoints under the pretence of receiving and applying these annual grants And this even tho' the Crown has no Controul over such persons in the execution of the trusts so reposed in them nor in making them accountable for the expenditure of the money put into their [hands] according to the strict rules by which all money raised upon the people ought to be accounted for to the Crown in its Courts.

We are indeed at a loss to conceive what other purposes this point so strenuously insisted upon of granting the Revenue from year to year can serve for if it is imagined that this method of establishing a revenue by annual grant is the only one by which the province can be secured against misapplication on the part of the Governor or other officers of the Crown It will be found to be a mistake and that it is strict appropriation which produces such security and not the mere mode of granting the Revenue annually which of itself is of no effect at all and if directed to the above purposes is disavowed by themselves such appropriation accompanied with proper checks and proper penalties will be found more effectual to prevent misapplication and to punish it if attempted than either the method of annual grants which in the case of Services of a permament nature and necessary to the very being of the Colony is an absurdity or the appointing of Commissioners on the part of the Assembly for the receipt and application of Publick money whereby not only the executive power of the Crown is invaded but the publick is disappointed of the only security it is made to expect such Commissioners being in their very constitution Intended to be beyond the controle of the executive power and not subject to any proper method of account in its Courts If the Assembly therefore truly and sincerely mean only to secure the Revenue which they grant against misapplication which is an object not only laudable in its self but which in duty to their constituents they are bound to endeavour to obtain by every method which their constitution admits, and which is not in itself absurd let them apply themselves to appropriate their grants both of permanent and occasional Revenue in the strictest manner to the purposes for which they intend it let [them] contrive and promote such Checks as they Judge most proper to prevent misapplication and such penaltys as they think necessary for punishing it if attempted There is nothing in such measures either contradictory of the Kings Instruction or invasive of His prerogative and it seems to be equally the interest of the Crown as of the Province that all publick money should be truly applied to its service. But if they persist by the means of annual grant either to attempt wresting from the Crown the nomination of officers and any other executive parts of Government disappointing the most effectual

services of the province unless such pretensions are comply'd with tho' they may have succeeded in such attempts either by the weakness and Corruption of Governors or by taking advantage of the necessity of the times yet these attempts are so unconstitutional so inconsistent with the interest of the mother Country as well as of the Crown and so little tending to the real benefit of the Colony itself that it will be found they flatter themselves in vain if they imagine they can ever give them a stability and permanency; We are therefore of opinion that the Council did right in refusing their assent to the Act mentioned in your letter of the 24 of May.

It was a great surprize to us to find by your letter of the 22 of April that the Assembly of New York after so proper a regard shown to His Majesty's orders by their resolution of the 28 of August 1753 which His Majesty had so graciously approved of and which had raised a just expectation that they would have Acted with vigour at this crisis should have absolutely refused to grant any other supply than the trifling Article mentioned in your letter and it was still a greater surprize to us to find that they refused ever to grant them but in a manner inconsistent with his Majesty's order and instruction. We are at a loss to account for such a conduct in so perilous a situation when the proceedings of a foreign power call upon the Colony's to exert the most vigorous endeavors for their Security and Defence, and when the least delay or neglect may be attended with very fatal consequences, but what in Our opinion still further aggravates the Assemblys disobedience to His Majesty's orders is that extraordinary declaration in the Address to you of the 23 of April that it did not appear to them the building a Fort upon French Creek was any invasion of His Majesty's Colonys; It is beyond dispute that their land are comprehended within the territory of the Six Nations who are by the Treaty of Utrecht acknowledged by France to be subject to the Dominion of Great Britian His Majesty looks upon this to be an invasion of His Dominions and therefore such a declaration is highly presumptuous in the Assembly and injurious to His Majesty's rights and is the more extraordinary as the security of all the Colonys and the preservation of Our trade and commerce with the Indians depends upon the possession of these lands we cannot therefore but approve the answer you gave to this address and the proper regard you shewed for His Majesty's Rights and the publick interest in clearing His Majesty[s] title from such ill founded and pernicious doubts.

As soon as we received your letter and papers relative to these points we laid them before His Majesty as also all such others as contain an account of your proceedings in consequence of His Majesty's Orders and we doubt but you will receive directions from His Majesty upon them.

The proposition you mention in your letter of the 21 of May of being permiited to pass an Act for issuing £20,000 in Bills of credit requires a very serious consideration we are inclined to believe from the Nature of paper currency in General, that a moderate quantity issued upon proper security and having a proper fund for its redemption within a reasonable time may operate to the advantage of a Colony and may also be the least burthensome method of levying money for the supply and support of Government but then we are clearly of opinion that the making such money a legal tender in all payments is unneccessary, improper and inconsistent with the sence of Parliment here, and therefore if you shou'd meet with such difficuity in rising money for the supply and support of Government in the present emergency in the usual way as might induce you to fall upon this method we think that the bills ought by no means to be declared to be a legal tender and that the interest arrising from the loan of the bills should during their continuance be appropriated and applied to the services of Government in the manner prescribed by His Majesty's Instruction and provided also that you do not give your assent to any Act of this sort without a clause being inserted therein suspending its execution untill His Majesty's pleasure be known. So we bid you heartily farewell and are

Your very loving friends
and humble Servants

DUNK HALIFAX
JAMES OSWALD
ANDREW STONE

MR. POWNALL'S CONSIDERATIONS TOWARDS A GENERAL PLAN OF MEASURES FOR THE COLONIES.

Considerations towards a general Plan, read at the Congress held at Albany 11. July 1754.

The Plan of the French measures in building a line of Forts round the English settlements is:

1st To cut the English off from all communication of alliance or Trade with the Indians.

The reason of building Fort Cadaraghqui:

"They found it necessary to build this Fort for a Bulwark against "the incursion of the Iroquois and to interrupt the Trade of skins "that these Savages maintain with the Inhabitants of New York

"and the Hollanders who have formed a new Colony there, for they "furnish the Savages with commodities at cheaper rates than the "French of Canada"—Father Henepin Chap^{tr} 4.

The Scheme or design of building the Fort at Niagara.

"Such a Fort as this might easily interrupt the commerce be- "twixt these people and the English and Dutch in New York. "Their custom is to carry to New York the skinns of Elks, Beavers "and several sorts of Beasts which they hunt and seek after for "two or three hundred leagues from their own home. Now, they "being obliged to pass and repass near to this mouth of the River "Niagara, we might easily stop them by fair means in time of peace, "or by open force in time of war, and thus oblige them to turn "their commerce upon Canada" Id^{m} Chap: 7.

The design of building the Fort Cananistigoyan on the Lake superior:

"Tis some years since M^{r} Dulhut build a Fort upon this Lake, "where he had large Magazines of all sorts of Goods. That Fort "was called Cananistigoyan, and did considerable diservice to the "English settlements in Hudson Bay" La Honton's memoirs of North America *p.* 214.

2^{ly} To make it a line of Circumvallation to confine the English settlements within such bounds as the French are please to, thus set to the English provinces. Many proofs might be alleged on this head but the following is more than sufficient:

The Summons of surrender sent by the French Officer to the English Officer at the Forks of Monongahela.

3^{dly} To join Louisiana and Canada to become Masters of the Lakes and make the whole continent one French Kingdom.

"I plainly perceiv'd by what relations I had of several particu- "lars in different Nations, that it were not a matter of great diffi- "culty to make considerable Establishments to the South East of "the Great Lakes, and that by the conveniency of a great River "called Ohio, which passes thro' the Country of the Iroquois a pas- "sage might be made into the great sea at Cape Florida." Father Henepin Chap: 4.

"There is not in all Louisiana a spot better adapted for an Estab- "lishment than that (viz: the River Ohio) nor where it is of more "importance to have one . . . . . besides, the communication "thence with Canada is as easy as by the River of the Illinois and "the road is much shorter. Charlevoix's Journal Historie No^{v} 8. 1871. v. 6. *p* 157.

"The Lake Ontario or Frontenac is easily navigable and that "with great vessels." Father Henepin Chap: 6.

" It were easy to build on the sides of these Lakes an infinite "number of considerable Towns which might have communication

"one with another by navigation for five hundred Leagues together "and by an inconceaveable commerce which would establish itself "amongst them" id^m Chap: 11^th.

In 1678. The French had a Brigantine of Ten Tons on the Lake Ontario: Chap: 14.

In 1679. a Ship of 60 tons on Lake Erie. Chap: 19.

The whole back Country which they divided into Canada and Louisania they call New France.

The English measures therefore should be.

1^st to open themselves a passage to and a communication with the Indians.

2^ly to disjoin and keep separate Louisania and Canada.

3^dly To throw off this yoke of Forts which the French are laying on their necks.

The only way for the English to do this is to become Masters of the Indian Countries so as to secure themselves and to protect the Indians. Then and then only would the English have a real and actual interest and alliance with the Indians.

There appear two ways of affecting this:

Either to dispute with force of Arms every pass and hold in the Country with the French and to secure such with Forts and Garrisons.

Or, to become Masters of the Lakes and to acquire the Dominion of that Navigation.

The first considered:

The French Govern^t in Canada is a Military United power. Is calculated for Military adventures: is founded and actually setled in such adventures. Does not consist of Farms and settlements of Farmers, but of Forts & settlements of soldiers It actually possessed of such passes and Holds and has secured them by Forts. The undertaking such Military adventures and building and Garrisoning such Forts is but actually carrying on the ordinary method and regular plan of settling their Colonies. For which both, the people and Govern^t of Canada is formed. Whereas the English Provinces consist of Farms and Farmers and settlements of labouring not fighting Men, who must live and maintain their Families, by the culture of their respective settlements, cannot therefore be draughted out and employed in Military adventures without ruining them their families and their settlements. They cannot settle and fight too. They could fight as well as the French, but then must give over settling. They make the best settlements in the world, but then, this fixes the necessity of their labouring on a particular spot. Whereas Military adventures requires them to be unsettled, ready to March and be employed at any place, at any time. As thus the English Provinces are not in their Constituents so neither they are in their Govern^t formed for Military service.

They have no Military Establishment; no part of them selected trained and kept a constant standing Force (as the French have) for this service alone. The French therefore will always be as they have hitherto been masters in the Field. They will beat us at the dispute of every pass, were they even to sett out with us at this moment. What they have, they can keep; what we had they have taken part from us and can take the rest when they will. But as they are now situated have Forts and Garrisons in almost every pass of the Country. They can at a moments warning draw together an army well served with artillery in any part of the Back Continent. While the English if they could raise one in a year or two's time, could not March it (as they are now circumstanced) to any place where it was wanted while the necessity of the service continued.

The measure therefore most reasonable and most likely to succeed is to sett the first step, where we have already a footing. We have in the heart of the Indian Country a Fort, a Garrison, a Port. Under the defence of this the English may build a Fleet that shall:

1° Open itself a passage and communication to the Indians. 2° They may establish a Trade of the most easy management and the greatest profit. 3° That would divide and cut off Louisiana from Canada.

1st This is a pass the French are not possessed of. a Pass that all the Forts they have built are of no use to the defence of. A Pass that the English in their own way, in which they have always been superior to the French, could dispute with the French and beat them out of. A Pass where our proper Force would be united and where no artifice of the French could divide and dissipate it ettc. ettc. ettc.

2nd The navigation of the Lakes would establish a Mart, where the Indians of every Nation would resort.

"In summer time several Northern Nations come to hunt and fish in these Parts (he here speaks of the Lake superior) and bring with them the Beaver skins they have gott in the Winter in order to truck with the Coureures de Bois who do not fail to meet them every year." Lahontan's Memoires of N. Am: *p.* 214.

If the Trade of the Hudson's Bay Company which is as it were, only on the skirts of this great continent is found so beneficial, what might not this be, that is in the very heart of it.

The Back settlements will in time want a vent for their produce; this Trade would open to them such a vent.

1° & 2° Being Masters of this pass and this Trade would give the English the Command of the Indian Country and consequently of the Indians; which is the only way to preserve their Fidelity and alliance. 'Tis the only way to enable them to continue our Friends.

The example of the Navigation and Trade of the Caspian Lake may not only be a Rule of experience, but is also a most encouraging example.

Many other reasons for and consequences of this measure might be offered, but this paper does not mean to give reasons but to propose considerations.

3d If the English were Masters of the Lakes and had consequently the friendship of the Indians, the French could have little or no communication between Louisania and Canada, and no communication, no effectual one, with most of the Forts they have built up and down the Country. ettc ettc.

Upon the whole, this Measure is adapted to the Nature of the strength of the Provinces who are maratime, and numbers of whose people are Mariners; *take into this demonstration Boatmen and perhaps one third or a quarter at least may be such.*

The navigation of the sea and River on one side and of the Lakes on the other, would form these Provinces into a Kingdom equal if not superior to the Kingdom of New France.

All that can be done *at present* is under the defence of Fort Oswego, to secure the dominion of the Lake Ontario; and in the mean while to secure by Forts the passes upon the Frontiers of our own settlements (distinguish here the Frontiers of the Settlements from the Frontiers of the Provinces) and those are our allies; to protect ourselves, and then, this being done we should attempt and acquire, for it is in our power, the dominion of all the Lakes. (perhaps the Lake superior excepted). New Hampshire Massachusets and Rhode Island might be alloted to the Lake Champlain—Connecticut, New York and New Jersey to Lake Ontario—Pennsylvania, Maryland Virginia and perhaps the Carolinas too to lakes Erie, Illinois ettc.

"If the English would pursue their measures to the best advan-
"tage, they ought to engage The Insonontouanes (the Senekas) or
"the Goyogouans (Cayugus) to go and settle upon the Banks of the
"Lake Erie, near the Mouth of the River Conde, and at the same
"time they ought to build a Fort there with some long Barques and
"Brigantines; for this is the most convenient and advantageous
"post of all the Country and that for an infinity of reasons which I
"am obliged to conceal. Besides this Fort, they should Build an-
"other at the Mouth of the Riviere de Francois, and then it would
"be absolutely impossible for the Coureurs de Bois to reach the
"Lake." Lahontan *p* 273.

(signed). J. POWNALL.

APPENDIX

This measure respecting the management of Indian affairs is offered as consequencial of the plan of a general Union of the provinces, or may be applyed as an expedient in the mean time till such union can take place.

The original natural form under which the Indian Country lay, being that of a Forest stocked not with sheep or Oxen or Horses, not with Beasts of labour and Domestic Animals but only with wild Beasts and game; all that this Country afforded for food or rayment must be Hunted for. The Indians Therefore would consequently be as they were, in fact not Landworkers but Hunters, not Settlers but wanderers; they would therefore consequently never have, as in fact they never had any idea of property in Land. They would consequently never have, as in fact, they never had any common fixed interest, any one communion of Rights and actions, one Civil union, and consequently not any Govern^{t}. They know no such thing as an administrative or executive power properly so called. They allow the authority of advice a kind of legislative authority, but there is no Civil coertion. They never had any one collective actuating power of the whole or any Magistrate or Magistrates to execute them.

But the Country appearing now under a very different form, and they, the Indians, being under a very different circumstances arising from Trade, Treaties and War, begin to feel rather than see, to find by experience rather than reason the necessity of a Civil union of Power and action, and that these circumstances have in fact for many years been forming and have at length formed to them such a Collective power. These people are precisely in that point of circumstances where a community that was before only one of Society is becoming that of Govern^{t}.

In all their actions therefore of late years whether of Treaty or War they have recurred to some agent to actuate this Power; they are not only become capable of such a general leading, but there circumstances require it. The circumstances with which they are connected have formed them into a state, but from the circumstances of the Society under which they live they can never have amongst themselves a Stateholder. Their circumstances require and look out for some su ch, some such they must have, and if we do not find such for them, the French will, and are actually attempting it. Further as they know not, nor acknowledge any leading power but that of authority, there can be no nominal visible appointment of such Leader; they will never appoint such within themselves, nor will they ever submitt to any one appointed from without. This was the mistake of the Gov^{r} of Canada which had like to have lost him all the Cachnuagas two years ago.

Therefore such person or persons as can acquire or actually are in possession of this leading power, this authority with them, can be this Agent, this Leader, this Stateholder ettc.

Facts, and the actual State of the circumstances of the Indian Affairs and of the French measures show the necessity of such an

Office, and it were needless to point out the use and beneficial consequences of such.

(signed) J. POWNALL.

SIR MR. JOHNSON'S SUGGESTIONS FOR DEFEATING THE DESIGNS OF THE FRENCH.

Measures necessary to be taken with the Six Nations, and other Matters requisite to be preferred, towards defeating the designs of the French on the British Contin^{t}. July 1754.

As the Six Nations and their Allies, are doubtless much altered from what they were some years ago, especially since the French have from time to time, without being interrupted, been treating with them, and as all the States are liable to vicissitudes from some cause or other, which it may be loss of time now to look into, tho' I am sorry to say a partial defection of those States is too manifest; therefore it may be best to direct our management according to the present exigency.

Imprimis, it is not reasonable to suppose that one or two British Govern^{ts} should, or ever can continue to retain in the British Interest, such a number of people as the Six Nations amount to, while we are sure to be so far out bid by so powerfull and opposite as the French, in the purchase of the friendship of a people, who from their situation are of the highest consequence to the preservation of all our & their Colonies, according as they are affected. The French being under the necessity of taking their Route through their Country in their march to the Southward, in order to perfect that fatal line of communication between their most distant settlements, by means of which to lessen our Borders and to make continual discents upon our defenceless Frontiers, aud crowding us into the sea; it is our business as industriously to obstruct their designs at all events. The Eyes of all the Western Tribes of Indians are upon the behaviour of the Six Nations, whose fame of power, may in some measures exceed the reality, while they only act a timid and neutral part. This I apprehend to be their modern State. Now to hinder the incursions of the French, and to revive the spirits of the Six Nations and their allies, nothing can conduce more to those desireable ends, than first, establishing Garrisons in the most commodious places among them; for till such time as their familys and corn lands ettc are covered and protected by us, it will be difficult, if at all practicable, to obtain their assistance against the French on any emergency.

I am now to mention sentiments of the Six Nations in regard to the settlements intended to be made at Ohio; they dont like that either the French or English should establish themselves there, it being their best hunting ground; they rather expected we should assist in keeping and driving the French off, then that we should build Forts only to restrain the French from coming down further upon ourselves. I believe, were the French hindered from settling, we could have treated with them for those lands, as they never refused us the pre-emption which is more pleasing to them being without hostility, than for the French to take them as it were by force, and treat them as tho' they were conquered.

To enumerate other requisites, necessary to counteract our common Enemy, it is to be observed, that there are stores provided for all Indians at Niagara and all the other French Trading Houses and Forts to the Westward, which are not only sold, but given occasionally, as the Indians stand in need of them; such kind of encouragement should be provided for by an allowance to the King's Officer at Oswego (or at any other Forts or Trading houses that may be built in the Indian Country) who should always be Commissary to regulate the Trade. This allowance should be expended in some cloathing for presents, also Arms Ammunition and particularly provisions to be given when he Treats with the Foreign Indians; they being from their long journey thither, always in need of them there, and on their return to their own Country.

A strict look out at Oswego should be kept to hinder the French from passing by there, up the Onondaga River, among the Six Nations either to Trade with or corrupt them. There should be some English continually residing in every Nation, whether Military Officers, or others, to keep up a continued correspondence. The different Govern^{ts} on the Continent should do the same both by sea and land, quite from Georgia through the Country of the Indians inhabiting both Carolinas from South to North, that the Several Colonies may be alarmed of the actions or designs of the French; this in a great measure might be done by Indians, from the Senekas Country, as they keep up a strict correspondence with the different Nations inhabiting beyond them; and that being our frontier as well as theirs, it would be necessary to have a Fort there (Senecas) garrisoned by Soldiers as soon as may be. Here I cant help observing that for want of a strict correspondence between the several Govern^{rs} as above, in regard to Indian affairs, that the Indians must think there can be no union in our Councils, when it has been known more than once, that the Six Nations have been invited to a conference by different Colonies at the same time. This looks among the Indians, and tho' our Measures were not mutual, and occasions them to be divided in their Councils also, being doubtful of our acting with vigor and unanimity etc. against the French. The Post

from Virginia if more certain, would, be more usefull, being but very precarious at present.

A Fort also at Onondaga where the Six Nations and their Allies hold their Ceneral Council, would be very requisite, with a proper Officer and a brisk party of Men, also a Missionary; Smiths to be sent at proper seasons to all the Tribes to mend and keep in order their arms and working utensils.

A Smith also at Oswego to repair the arms, kettles ettc. of the Far Indians, who come there annually to Trade.

A further encouragement to a more general trade and intercourse with all the Indians far and near at that place, as it is a general Mart or fair, and known to them all, might be promoted by taking off the duties, that the Traders could afforde to undersell the French. A place of such universal importance should be largely supported by the Colonies in general; it being of more concern towards the retaining all the Indians upon the continent in the British Interest, than any thing yet proposed, that is, a proper Officer at that place with the allowances afore mentioned; a sufficient number of Men to resist the French if attacked, and to hinder their passing the Onondaga River, or the South side of the Lake Ontario. the Fort should be much larger and stronger than at present; it is by its situation capable of being made so strong as to render it impregnable to any attempts the French might have against it. This would be to good purpose, and under the protection of this Fort might vessels be built for Service on the Lake.

Young Men of learning, at least Grammar, to reside among the Tribes of the Onondagas, Senecas, and Mohawks, in order to become good interpreters in every dialect, which we are much wanted. Those might serve also for Schoolmasters or Catechists.

It might be expedient to remind the Indians of their ancestors having given and rendered up all that land or Country, at least the pre-emption of it, where their Beaver hunting was, to his Majesty King William, which they won by the sword eighty years before, besides their own Native land, which they gave also and earnestly desired an instrument to be drawn to that purpose, and that it might be carried over to the King by Robert Livingston then their Secretary, which afterwards was done in the year 1727.—The Question then should be whether the Indians will join us in defending their own property in those Lands, while we have only a promise of pre emption: if they answer in the affirmative, it will be necessary that all the Colonies give them the strongest assurances that they will support them against the French or any Enemy, as far as the nature of our constitution will admitt of.

They the five Nations, should be reminded, that they have frequently desire that the convenant Chain might reach from New York to Chenondoanah in the Senecas Country, and that all the

people who live within it, may be secure from the attempts of an Enemy; that they further said, they would remove the end of it to Teughsaghrontey (Detroit) or Wawiaghtenhook, were it in their power, but that the French would mock at it, as they have taken it into their possession already against their will, sending people thither to build a Fort; but that they hoped the French would speedily be removed. This may serve to shew the early and continued incroachments of the French.

Wm JOHNSON

REPRESENTATION TO THE KING ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONGRESS AT ALBANY.

WHITEHALL *Octr 29. 1754.*

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY: We have lately received a letter from James Delancey Esqr Lieutenant Governor of Your Majesty's Provinces of New York, transmitting to us the proceedings of the Commissioners of the Colonies of New York, New Hampshire, Massachusets Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maryland, & Pennsylvania, assembled at Albany in June last, pursuant to Your Majesty's orders, to renew and confirm the ancient Covenant Chain or Treaties of Friendship & Alliance between Your Majesty's subjects and the Six Nations or Tribes of Indians; and the said Commissioners having taken into their consideration several other matters of the greatest consequence to the Security and welfare of all Your Majesty's Colonies in North America, we think it our duty humbly to lay the whole of their transaction before Your Majesty.

The chief points (besides that of the Treaty with the Indians) which the Commissioners had under their consideration at this meeting, were,—

1.—The management and direction of Indian Affairs.

2.—The strengthening the Frontiers: and

3.—The providing for these services by a general plan of Union of the Colonies for their mutual defence and security.

With respect to the last of these points, the Commissioners having agreed upon a plan of Union, which, as far as their sense and opinion of it goes, is complete in itself, we shall not presume to make any observations upon it, but transmit it simply for Your Majesty's consideration; but as they have delayed making any provisions for, or pointing out any measures of carrying the two first of these points into execution, till the Plan of Union agreed upon by

them shall have been considered by their respective Assemblies and afterwards offerèd to the consideration of Parliament, and as such delay may prove not only prejudicial but fatal to Your Majesty's interest and the security of the Colonies, if Indian Affairs should continue in the mean time to be mismanaged, as the Commissioners declare they now are, and if it should be neglected to build some forts upon the frontiers within the territory of the Six Nations, which the Commissioners are of opinion is, in the present situation of affairs, of indispensable necessity: we cannot but esteem it our duty to lay our thoughts upon these two points more fully before Your Majesty, and to submit whether some provisional measure for their execution should not be directed as to Your Majesty shall seem most expedient for preventing the fatal effects of such delay, in the present critical situation of affairs.

The management of Indian Affairs and strengthening the Frontiers are, in general points, of the utmost consequence to the very being and preservation of Your Majesties Colonies. In this light they are considered by the Commissioners met at Albany, and are the chief objects of the Union they propose. It is their unanimous opinion that the administration of these services should not for the future be intrusted to the Commissioners, nor even to the Assemblies of any one Province, whereby they may be directed to their own particular local purposes, but that they should be under one general Administration directed to the general interest and supported at the general expence of the whole; and this being their sense of the utility and importance of these two points, the danger of any neglest or delay in their execution is obvious and apparent. For it is hardly to be supposed that any one Province will, after such a Declaration, effectually undertake at its own particular charge the execution of these measures, however fatal a neglect of them may prove to the general interest of the whole or even it's own particular security.

The management of Indian Affairs, at least those of the Six Nations, who are the best allies and form the strongest barrier to the British Settlements, has been hitherto chiefly intrusted to the Province of New York, the Assemblies of which have taken upon themselves, by Acts of their own, the sole direction of this service, and have established such regulations with respect to the trade as they have thought proper; the execution of which and the distribution and application of the Presents voted by them, have been intrusted to Commissioners appointed by such Acts. How well soever these regulations may have been intended, we cannot take upon us to say that they have been either properly adapted to the general interest and convenience of the Indians, or to the preservation of our friendship with them: and we have reason to fear that the intrusting the sole execution of them to Commissioners without re-

straining them from being traders, or establishing a proper mode of enquiry into their conduct, had been attended with great prejudice to Your Majesty's service. We find frequent complaints of the Indians that they have been dispossessed of their lands by fraudulent conveyances, and without a valuable consideration; that they have been cheated of their presents by the knavery of the traders before they could leave Albany, which had usually been the place for all Indian Conferences; that their people have been debauched and destroyed by the infamous practice of supplying them with rum, of their fondness for which the traders do usually avail themselves to carry their fraudulent views into execution.

That all conferences with them have been held at Albany, more for the sake of the private interest and convenience of the traders than theirs.

That occasional or particular conferences or interviews are seldom or ever held with them, however the exigency of affairs may require it; that little or no provision is made for the residence of Smiths or other artificers amongst them at their own Castles, or for smaller occasional presents as their circumstances may require at the trading-house at Oswego—reproaching the Managers with the opposite conduct of the French in these particulars, and complaining of the dangerous influence they have thereby gained over their young and unexperienced people. All which we believe to be true, being informed that such occasional presents interviews and residence of artificers, produced much greater effects than presents of almost any extent made at general conferences.

The constant repetition of these complaints at almost every conference, and particularly at the last, at which those relative to their lands and the neglect of particular interviews, were urged with uncommon warmth, as well as the explicit declaration of the Commissioners in their representation of their sense of the mismanagement which has subsisted in most of the above particulars, seem to us equally to prove the necessity of an alteration in this management, as the dangerous consequences which may ensue, if such alteration is not more speedily made than the proposed delay, till a plan of Union is settled, admits of.

With respect to strengthening the Frontiers, it appears from the proceedings of the Commissioners that a proposition was made on the part of New York for two Forts to be built, one at Onondage, the other at Tierondequat on the Lake Ontario, and three Forts upon the other frontiers towards Lake Champlain & Lake S^{t} Sacrament; that this general measure was approved of by the Commissioners with the addition of a Naval establishment upon the Lake to secure the navigation. That the expediency of this measure was further confirmed by the complaints made by the Six Nations of

the nakedness of our frontiers, together with the reverse picture which they drew of the French strength and the effects of that strength upon them.

The utility and necessity of this measure being thus established by the concurrent sense of all parties concerned, the danger which may attend a delay in the execution of it, until a plan of Union can be settled and approved of, seems equally obvious upon this general view, with that which we have already stated as likely to attend a delay in the execution of proper measures for the management of Indian Affairs; and we humbly beg leave to submit to Your Majesty some considerations, which may serve to set the expediency of this measure in a clear light.

While the Six Nations were possessed of all that territory which surrounds the two great Lakes of Erie and Ontario, which they used as their hunting grounds, and before the French had erected Forts which intercept their passage to part of those lands and cut off their communication with the far ⁊ estern Indians, their alliance alone & submission to the British Government formed a sufficient barrier to Your Majesty's Colonies in the northern part of America; and for that reason forts were not then judged necessary, or at least only for the purposes of carrying on trade; but since the French have erected their forts at Niagara, by which they have not only cut off the passage of the Six Nations to their hunting grounds, but have acquired the greatest influence over the Senecas, one of the most powerful of those nations within whose territory those forts are built, unless measures of the same nature are pursued on the part of Great Britain, those Nations must in a very short time become dependent upon the French, and instead of a barrier, be made subservient to their encroachments upon the British Colonies.

The Colony of New York has long forseen these consequences, and has from time to time projected the building forts, both at Niagara and Tierondequat; which last place, extremely well situated for a port and proper for commanding the navigation of the Lake, was purchased long since by that Province with this view.

They have always however been averse to taking upon themselves the expence which would have attended an effectual execution of these measures, & there is the less reason to believe they will do it now, as it has been the declared sense of the Commissioners that this is a measure of general utility, & that the expence of it ought to be borne at the general charge.

Upon the whole therefore, if Your Majesty should be of opinion that effectual measures should be immediately entered into for putting Indian Affairs under a provisional direction and securing the Frontiers by erecting Forts and building vessels upon the Lakes without waiting until a plan of Union can be settled, by which a proper provision may be made for these services at the general ex-

pence of the Colonies; we would humbly submit whether it might not be adviseable that an Instruction should be immediately sent to the Lieutenant Governor of New York to inquire into and give effectual satisfaction to the Indians in respect to the Complaint they have made concerning their lands, and that Colonel Johnson should be appointed Colonel over the Six Nations, in the same manner and with the same allowance as when the expedition against Canada was in agitation in the last war; that he should be intrusted with the disposition and application of all occasional presents Your Majesty may think proper to make to these Indians, with the nomination and appointment of all such smiths and other artificers as may be thought proper to be settled amongst them, and in general the direction of all other services not already provided for by the laws of New York.

The reasons of our taking the liberty to recommend this Gentleman to Your Majesty are the representations which have been made to us of the great service he did during the late war, in preserving the friendship of the Indians and engaging them to take up the hatchet against the French; the connexions he has formed by living amongst them, and habituating himself to their manners and customs; the publick testimony they have given at the last meeting of their friendship for, and confidence in, him; and above all the request they make that the sole management of their affairs may be intrusted to him.

With regard to securing the Frontiers, we cannot take upon us to say, whether all or what part of the Forts proposed by New York may be immediately necessary; but we think, for the reasons we have already given, that one at least should be erected at Tirondequat; that the harbour there should be fortified and that armed vessels, superior in strength and number to those the French may have upon the Lake be forthwith built, to command the navigation and secure to us a free and open communication and correspondence with the Indians.

All which is most humbly sebmitted.

DUNK HALIFAX
J. GRENVILLE
T. PELHAM
ANDREW STONE.
JAMES OSWALD.

SECRET INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL BRADDOCK.

Secret Instructions for Our Trusty and Welbelovèd Edward Braddock Esq^re Major General of Our forces, and whom we have appointed General and Commander, of all and singular Troops and Forces, that are now in North America, and that shall be sent, or raised there, to vindicate Our just rights, and possessions, in those parts. Given at Our Court at S^t James's the 25^th day of Nov^r 1754. in the 28^th year of Our Reign.

GEORGE R.

1^st WHEREAS the French will, in all probability, endeavour to reinforce the several Posts, they now have on the River Ohio, and on the Lakes to the Westward of it, by sending Troops up the River Mississippi; it is our Royal will and pleasure, that, as the season will allow Our Troops to take the field much sooner, in the Southern parts, than in any other parts of our Colonies, you shall begin your operations there as soon as the weather will permit; You will therefore, order the Troops to be carried up the Potomac River, as high as Wills's Creek, where we have ordered Sir John S^t Clair Our Deputy Quarter Master General, to erect a proper covering, and to provide Magazines, and, also, to prepare a Park for the Amunition and artillery, which may be necessary upon this first part of your expedition; and we have likewise given directions to Our said Deputy Quarter Master General, to provide the proper conveniences for a General Hospital at Hampton, and for a flying Hospital at the Creek beforementioned.

2^nd—As soon as you shall have been able to drive the French from their Posts upon the Ohio, you will take the proper measures for erecting a good and sufficient Fort, on the most convenient pass, upon the said River, and you will leave a strong garrison consisting of the three Independent Companies now in Virginia, sustained by such a part, or the whole of the Provincial Troops, as you shall find necessary, to defend the same, & to protect the Indians, in those parts, as well as our settlements, which have lately been broke up.

3^rd The next service, which is of the greatest importance, and therefore demands the utmost care, and attention, is, the dislodging the French from the Forts, they now have at the Falls and passes of the Niagara; and the erecting such a Fort there, as shall, for the future, make His Maj^ty^s subjects masters of the Lake Ontario; by that means, cutting off the communication between the French Forces on the Mississippi. It is Our pleasure, that if, for this purpose, you should think it necessary to have ships upon the said Lake Ontario, you shall concert with the Commander in Chief of Our Ships, and the Governors of New England and New York, the

manner and means of Building and manning such vessels, as shall be most proper for that service.

4th It is our further will and pleasure, that, in order to accelerate the execution of so salutary an undertaking, you shall, in case the Regiments intended to be raised by Govr Shirley, and Sir William Pepperell, shall be ready to act, before the French can be drove from their posts upon the Ohio, employ the said two Regiments, in the immediate Reduction of Niagara, and Crown Point; and nominate a proper person, or persons, to take the command thereof, in case you shall find your presence elsewhere more conducive to the general service.

5th In case the said two Regiments of Shirley and Pepperell, shall not be raised, and ready to act, till the time that the service, on the Ohio, shall be finished; it is Our will and pleasure, that, if, then, you should find it necessary to march your whole force to make yourself master of the Posts before-mentioned, at Niagara, you shall take the most prudent means of joining your said Force, with the British Battalions, to effect this most necessary and essential service; and when you shall have performed it, you are hereby authorized, and empowered, to leave the remaining Independent Companies, and such other reinforcements, as you shall judge necessary, to be a sufficient garrison for the Fort and Forts, you shall erect there.

6th If you should find that the two British Regiments will be sufficient for performing the service at Niagara, you may, then, employ the two American Regiments, at the same time, in dispossessing the French from their Post at *Crown Point*, on the Lake *Chamblois*, which is the next point you will endeavour to gain; But no positive instructions can be given you, upon this head, as you can only judge, hereafter, whether such a separate operation can be undertaken at the same time, that you are making yourself Master of that most material one, at Niagara. However after you shall have possessed yourself of the Niagara Forts, and shall have opened a safe communication betwixt that, and Oswego (which will not only secure the Back settlements, but likewise, bring back those Indians, who have fallen off from Our interest, and joined the French; It is our will and pleasure, that the next service upon which you shall proceed, shall be:

7th The reducing the Fort at Crown Point, and erecting another upon the Lake *Chamblois*, in such a place as you shall find most effectual for bridling the French Indians in those parts and for securing and protecting, our neighboring Colonies.

8th The last and most material service, that you shall perform, shall be the destroying the French Fort at *Beausejour*, and, by that means, recovering our province of Nova Scotia; but on this point, we do not give you any positive Instructions, only, that you shall

correspond constantly with Lieut. Col[l] Lawrence, who has the command of Our forces in that province; and if, whilst the service of Niagara, or Crown Point is going on (which must necessarily divide the French Forces), Lieut. Col[l] Lawrence can, with a moral certainly, undertake the reducing of that Fort, with our Forces, which are now there, or by an addition of Four or Five Hundred of the Provincial Forces, and that you can spare such numbers; it would be gaining much time in finishing the operations; but if you should not find it advisable for Lieut[t] Col[l] Lawrence to undertake that service, in the manner before-mentioned, but that it should still require a greater force, you will then proceed, after having finished the reduction of Crown Point, and fixing a proper Fort there, with part, or all of our Forces to Nova Scotia, and there make yourself thoroughly master of Beausejour, and by that means, of the whole province.

9[th] The two Companies of Artillery in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, will afford you a sufficient supply of Artillery Officers and Gunners, for any of the services above-mentioned, and the Commander of Our ships of war, have orders to give all the assistance possible in their way.

10[th] You will carefully provide Winter Quarters for all the troops under your command, according to the best of your judgment and discretion.

11[th] With regard to any prisoners, that shall be made by the Forces under your command during this expedition; it is Our will and pleasure, that you should cause all such prisoners to be sent to Old France.

G. R.

GENERAL SHIRLEY TO SECRETARY ROBINSON.

BOSTON NEW ENGLAND *Decem[r] 24[th] 1754.*

SIR: I suppose Gov. Delancey may have sent you a copy of the proceedings of the Comm[rs] of several of His Majesty's Governments upon this Continent lately assembled at Albany in the Province of New York; least that, by any accident should have miscarry'd, I inclose you one here.

That meeting, Sir, gave the Colonies concern'd a fair opportunity of agreeing by their respective Comm[rs] in a conclusive manner upon Articles of Union and Confederation for the general defence of His Majestys subjects and interests in North America as well in time of peace as of war; and it is most evident that their present State requires such an Union to be form'd as soon as is possible, in order

to put an immediate stop to the encroachm^ts with wh^ch the French have, ever since the conclusion of the late treaty at Aix la Chapelle, been and still are surrounding them and to prevent the total defection of all the Indians, not already gain'd over by that nation from the British interest.

The Commissioners of the Massachusetts Province were accordingly furnished with plenary powers for agreeing conclusively on the part of that government with the Commissioners of all or any of the other governments who should be convened at the Congress upon the Articles of such an Union; but the powers produced by all the other Commissioners there, being defective, (as may appear to you Sir by the copies of them wh^ch are made part of the record of their proceedings) nothing binding upon their respective governments either for building forts, for the defence of the country of the Five Nations or cementing a general Union of the Colonies, could be concluded and agreed upon by them.

As to the plan of the proposed Union agreed upon by the Comm^rs in order to be layd before their respective constituents for their consideration, a copy of which is contain'd in their proceedings; they had no expectation that it will have any effect, nor could any proper plan be form'd, as I apprehend, in wh^ch the several Gov^ts would unite; their different constitutions, situations, circumstances and tempers, will ever be found an invincible obstacle to their agreement upon any one plan in every article, or (if they ever should happen to agree upon one) to their duly carrying it into execution.

It appears from that part of the proposed plan fram'd at Albany, wh^ch provides that it shall be established by Act of Parliam^t, that the opinion of the Comm^rs there present was that nothing under the force of that would effect such an Union, and what seems to give weight to their opinion is, that the Crown's recommendation of the Union proposed in King William's reign among several of the Colonies for their mutual defence, and the quotas of men and money allotted to each governm^t to pay, never had the least effect as I can learn.

However tho' the Comm^rs have failed for want of sufficient powers to perfect an Union among the Colonies at their Congress, yet they have made a great progress in concerting the proper measures for effecting one, and discovering the absolute necessity of it's being done without delay; and their several determinations upon this point seem to have pav'd the way clearly for His Majestys ordering a plan of an Union to be form'd at home, and the execution of it inforc'd here by Act of Parliament, if that shall be agreeable to his royal pleasure.

These Gentlemen, Sir, having been chosen Comm^rs by the General Assemblies of the several Colonies wh^ch they represented at the Congress, tho' commission'd by the Gov^rs of them, must be consider'd as

the most intelligent persons of their respective Governm^{ts} in the general state of the Colonies, and as having a just attention to the interest of their own Colonies in particular, in all their consultations, so that their determinations of these points (in all which they were as I am assured by the Massachusett's Comm^{rs} very near unanimous) viz^{t} 1st That a General Union of their Forces and Councils are necessary at this conjuncture for saving them from the incroachm^{ts} of the French. 2. That an effectual scheme for such an Union can't be carry'd into execution but by authority of the Parliament of Great Britain. 3. What may serve as a present rule for fixing the several proportions wh^{ch} each Colony should be allotted to bear of the charges of supporting the Governm^{t} propos'd to be erected in the Plan, there estimated by the number of members allotted for each Governm^{t} to send to the General Council: I say, Sir, that their determination of these points ought to be look'd upon as the declared sense of all the Colonies; and this together with their representation of the state of the Colonies seems to have laid a good foundation for immediately proceeding at home to the forming of a proper plan in all points for a General Union of the Colonies, settling the quotas of men & money for each Colony to find towards the charge of it as stated in the plan of the Comm^{rs} to be establish'd by authority of Parliam^{t} and carry'd into execution in the Colonies without further consulting them upon any points whatever.

As to the plan of Union form'd at Albany, I would beg leave, Sir, to submit the following remarks upon it to your consideration, viz^{t}

1. That the reason of committing to the several houses of Representatives *solely* the choice of the Members which each Colony is allow'd to send to the Grand Council seems to be because it is propos'd that the Council should have power to levy taxes upon the People, wh^{ch} it is thought could not be exercis'd by any Council whatsoever in the Colonies which should not be wholly chosen by the People, or at least by their Representatives, without raising a general dissatisfaction.

2. That on the other hand it is clear that as such Council can be consider'd no otherwise than as the General Representative body of all the people of the Colonies compriz'd in the Union, the giving to them a share in making peace and war with the Indians and concluding treaties with them, in the disposal of military commissions in the power of raising troops and erecting Forts, would be a great strain upon the prerogative of the Crown, and contrary to the English Constitution.

3. That the command over the Militia, power of raising them by warrant of impress, marching them upon any service at least within the limits of the several Colonies, appointing all military Officers,

erecting and demolishing of Forts, declaring war against the Indians and making treaties of peace with them; are vested solely in the respective Governours of all of them, proprietary and charter, as well as those whose Governm^{t} is founded on His Majesty's commission, except in the two Colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island, whose governm^{ts} stand upon their old charters, by which the Crown hath divested itself almost of the whole prerogative, and transferr'd it to the populace, in whom the several above mentioned powers are lodg'd, the Governours not having so much as a negative in any election of officers or Act of Legislature.

4. That the institution of these old Charter Gov^{ts} in the Colonies during the state of their infancy, tho' well accommodated to draw together numbers of settlers in the beginning of the English Plantations, and for the regulation of each settlement whilst it consisted of but an handfull of people, yet seems by no means well calculated for the Governm^{t} of them when the inhabitants considerably increas'd in numbers and wealth. The present state of the Governm^{t} of Rhode Island is an instance of this. The Colony is computed to have upwards of . . . . . inhabitants and a proportionable share of property; the reins of their Governm^{t} prove now so loose that a spirit of mobbism prevails in every part of it; they pay no regard to the Kings instruction, and very little or none to Acts of Parliament, particularly to Acts of Trade, in which they seem to look upon themselves as freebooters, as their governm^{t} was not originally calculated for preserving their dependency upon Great Britain, they have little or no appearance of it among them now, and their example hath by degrees infected His Majesty's neighbouring Governm^{ts} wth irregularities which they might not otherwise have gone into. I would be understood to speak this only of the natural tendency of their governm^{t}. Their Assembly have given proofs of a public spirit for promoting the general welfare of His Majesty's Colonies agst the encroachm^{ts} of the French, and extending his dominions in America; they have a strong attachm^{t} to His Majesty's person and the Protestant Succession in his family, and likewise to the English Governm^{t} so far as it is consistent wth the spirit of riot w^{ch} reigns among them, & may be call'd rather the fault of the form of their Colony Governm^{t} then of the people; the most considerate of which are said to be much tir'd of it.

5. That the unfitness of these old Charter Governm^{ts} for the Colonies when they are grown up and come out of their infancy, was I suppose the reason why in the beginning of King William and Queen Mary's reign the Governm^{t} at home refus'd to the old Massachusett's Colony to renew their Charter w^{ch} had been vacated by a judgment in the Court of Chancery in Westminster Hall in a late reign, tho' their principles and loyalty to the crown at that time greatly recommended them to its favour; but instead of that it

was thought good policy to put an end likewise to the Charter Colony of New Plymouth, and to erect & incorporate the old Colonies of the Massachusetts Bay and New Plymouth, together w^th^ the Provinces of Main and Nova Scotia into one Province, which is now the present Province of the Massachusetts Bay, saving that the Crown hath disannex'd Nova Scotia from it, and to grant them a new Charter, wherein the Crown hath resum'd its prerogative; and this form of Governm^t^ was as readily accepted by the People of the old Charter Colonies, who were in a great measure surfeited of their governm^t^ and former popular privileges, then became disproportion'd to the state of the inhabitants.

The result of these observations, Sir, w^ch^ I would submit to your consideration is, that if the old Charter form of Government, such as that is w^ch^ is proposed in the Albany plan of Union, is unfitt for ruling a particular Colony, it seems much more improper for establishing a General Governm^t^ and *Imperium* over all the Colonies to be comprized in the Union.

The only material difference between an old Charter Governm^t^ and the Albany Plan appears to be, that the latter it is propos'd that the Governour General shall be appointed and supported by His Majesty and have a negative in every Act of the Grand Council (as it is there called) whereas in the former the Governour is annually elected by the People, dependent upon them for his support and hath no negative in the Acts of Assembly.

This is relied upon as a most favourable circumstance on the part of the Crown in the following remarks, drawn up by a gentleman who had a principle hand in forming the Albany Plan, viz^t^ "That the Government or Constitution propos'd to be form'd by the plan "consists of two branc[h]es, a President General appointed by the "Crown and a Council chosen by the People or by the People's Rep- "resentative w^ch^ is the same thing

"That by a subsequent article the Council chosen by the People "can effect nothing without the consent of the President General "appointed by the Crown; the Crown possesses therefore full one "half of the power of this Constitution."

"That in the British Constitution the Crown is suppos'd to pos- "sess but one third, the Lords having their share.

"That the Constitution therefore seem'd rather more favourable "for the Crown"

But it seems an obvious answer to say that the power of the President General w^ch^ in the remarks is called *one half of the Power of the Constitution*, is only a *Negative* one, stripped of every branch of the prerogative, and is at best only a preventative, power in a small degree. It may controll the other half of the constitution from doing mischief by any act of theirs, but it can't prevent mischiefs arising from inactivity, neglect or obstinacy.

As to the remark "that in the British Constitution the Crown is "supposed to possess but one *third* of the power, the Lords having "*their* share;" with the consequences drawn from it in favour of the Albany Plan; it seems a palpable error to suppose that the Peers of the Realm who are created by the Crown, weaken its influence & power in the state by their being one of the three branches of it.

It may be further observ'd that the prerogative is so much relaxed in the Albany Plan, that it doth not appear well calculated to strengthen the dependency of the Colonies upon the Crown; which seems a very important article in the consideration of this affair.

I have I am affraid, Sir, been too diffuse in my remarks upon the Albany Plan, and it may perhaps be expected that I should offer some other plan in lieu of it.

I have turn'd my thoughts upon one, Sir, and form'd a rough sketch of it; but as I understood the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations were forming a plan themselves, I did not think it proper for me to transmit my crude sentiments to you upon so difficult and delicate a work. I am, with the highest respect,

Sir

Your most humble and
most obedient Servant
W. SHIRLEY.

The Right Hon^ble^ Sir THOMAS ROBINSON

SECRETARY ROBINSON TO THE GOVERNORS IN NORTH AMERICA.

WHITEHALL *Jan^y^ 23. 1755.*

SIR: The King, being determined that nothing shall be wanting, towards the support of his Colonies and Subjects in North America, has commended me to signify to you, his Majesty's intention to augment the Regiments in British pay (viz^t^ not only Sir Peter Halkets, and^d^ Col: Dunbar's, but, likewise those which are now employed in Nova Scotia) to the number of 1000 Men each, to which end, you will correspond with Major General Braddock, or the commander of the King's forces for the time being, from whom you will receive directions for the sending such contributions of Men, as shall be wanting, and to such places where the same shall be quartered or employed under his command.

As there is probably, a considerable number of persons, as well among the Natives of America, as among such Foreigners, who may be arrived there from different Parts, particularly from Ger-

many, who will be capable and willing to bear arms upon this occasion; the King does not doubt, but that you will be able by care and diligence to effect this intended augmentation and to defray the charge of levying the same from the common fund, to be established for the benefit of all the Colonies collectively in North America, pursuant to His Majesty's directions, signified to you, by my letter of the 26th of October last, for that purpose; and as an encouragement to all such persons who, shall engage in this service, it is the King's intention (which you will assure them in his Majesty's name) that they shall receive arms and cloathing, at the King's expence, and that they shall not only be sent back, (if desired) to their respective habitations when the service in America shall be compleated and ended, but shall be entitled in every respect, to the same advantages with those Troops which may be already raised in consequence of your former orders.

I am ettc.

T. ROBINSON.

GENERAL SHIRLEY TO SECRETARY ROBINSON.

BOSTON *New England Feb 4. 1755.*

SIR: I beg leave to take notice of a chart which Mr Pownall hath transmitted to the Earl of Halifax one part of the design of which is to give a specimen of the disposition of an Indian Colony in such a manner as to make the Indians inhabiting it, a good barrier against the French, and at the same time dependent upon the English.

The Indians in general are certainly uneasy at any incroachmts upon their lands whether by French or English: could we but perswade them by such plans of settlements in their country as the inclosed chart exhibits a specimen of, that the real design of the English was to protect them in the possession of their country, not to take it away, it would be carrying all points with them. This seems to me an object well worth attention.

I find Sir by the Western prints that the Assembly of Pennsilvania after an absurd obstinate dispute wth Govr Morris, abt instructions, have adjourn'd themselves, whilst the enemy is at their doors, to the beginning of May, without doing any thing for the preservation of their country. The Assembly of Maryland hath likewise risen without doing any thing further than having rais'd a Company of 50 men, wch was done before. I can't find any appearance of South Carolina's being active in the common cause; and whether

the populous rich country of Virginia will pursue proper measures for retrieving the bad consequences of the defeat they have suffer'd from an invading enemy, thro' their former weak measures, I mean whether they will now act with suitable vigour is not yet known. Every ninth fighting man went out of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay upon the expedition against Cape Breton and for the defence of Nova Scotia in 1745, why should not every twelfth fighting man at least in Virginia be rais'd there to repel the enemy out of their country, w^ch^ would make a body of between 4 and 5000 men. You well know Sir what part New Jersey hath acted, and the conduct of New York.

This behaviour seems to shew the necessity not only of a Parliamentary Union, but taxation, for the preservation of His Majesty's dominions upon this Continent, w^ch^ the several Assemblies have in so great a measure abandon'd the defence of, and thereby lay'd His Majesty's Governm^t^ at home under a necessity of taking care of it for the State, by suitable assessm^ts^ upon the Colonies.

I am with the highest respect
Sir
Your most humble and
most obedient Servant
W. SHIRLEY.

P. S. I perceive by a letter from Colonel Lawrence y^t^ he is in expectation of a visit from M^r^ Galissoniere, in the spring; at least preparing for his reception.

R^t^ Hon^ble^ Sir THOMAS ROBINSON one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

GOVERNOR DE LANCEY TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

NEW YORK. *18^th^ March 1755.*

MY LORDS: In consequence of a letter of the 26^th^ of October last from the Right Hon^ble^ Sir Thomas Robinson one of His Maj^tys^ principal Secretaries of State, I called the Assembly together on the 4^th^ of February altho' they had been adjourned to the second Tuesday in March; Your Lord^pps^ will find what passed by the printed votes the result of their short meeting is contained in three acts then passed. The first, for regulating the Militia, is made more effectual than any heretofore, which will make them more serviceable and may contribute to the security of the province. The second is an Act for raising a supply of £45000 of which £20000 is to be employed in fortyfying the City of New York, £6000 in fortyfying the City

of Albany, £3000 in fortifying the Town of Schenechtady a place on the Mohawks River 16 Miles Northwestward from Albany, £1000 for securing the Town of Kinderhook a settlement on the east side of Hudson's River 18 Miles below Albany and is considered as a principal frontier on that side of the River, £600 for building a Fort on Hudson's River, above Albany, £5000 to replace the same sum given to Virginia and £5000 for refreshing such of His Majᵗʸ's troops as may land in this Province and for providing convenient transportation for them towards the place of their destination and for other extraordinary services which may be judged necessary to the use and security of the Colony, the residue of the money to remain in the Treasury to be hereafter disposed of. Upon this act I shall observe to your Lordᵖᵖˢ that the monies appropriated are to be issued by order of the Commander in Chief, with the advice of the Council, so that the Assembly have receded from one of their ill grounded practices. Secondly, that they sent some of their Members to me, tho' not publicly, to know what persons I would have in the Bill as Managers for laying out the money, whose names were put in the Bill, but notwithstanding, I insisted on it, yet I could not prevail on the House after the names, to insert these few words in the Bill (whom His Honor has thought proper to appoint) and I durst not risque the fate of the Bill by insisting peremptorily on this Point. I hope the necessity of securing the Province and of obtaining money for the use of the King's Troops under the command of General Braddock in pursuance of His Majᵗʸ's pleasure signified to me by Sir Thomas Robinson's letter, will plead for my excuse in breaking through my Instructions by giving my assent to a Law for a paper Emission without a suspending Clause; I could not get money in any other way, as your Lordᵖᵖˢ may be convinced of from what passed between me and the Assembly on this subject last fall; I have done the best I could, I had the advice of his Majᵗʸ's Council for this measure, I had no view of advantage to myself, but the General one of providing for His Majᵗʸˢ service and the preservation of a Country which is evidently of more concern to His Majᵗʸ's Empire in America than any on the Continent. These were the only interesting considerations which influenced my conduct; the goodness of the Fund and the short period in which the Bills are to be sunk will, I am convinced keep them up to the credit at which they are admitted. The Third act is to restrain the sending provisions to Cape Breton, and a very necessary measure, as the French cannot well carry on their expeditions in North America without the supplies of Provisions from the British Colonies. This Province and Massachusets Bay came into it about the same time, Jersey immediately after and I hope the other provinces will do the like; this seems to me a step of so great consequence as to deserve the attention of the British Legislature; if an Act of Parliament were passed

for that purpose and to declare all vessells Trading in this way good prise and a few Cruisers stationed at Halifax in Nova Scotia to intercept them, it would be a great disappointment to the French scheme of encroaching on His Majᵗʸˢ territories. I would not omitt this opportunity by a Vessel to Holland to enclose to Your Lordᵖᵖˢ the votes and the three Acts in print, as I shall not soon have one directly to England—I am

My Lords.

Your Lordᵖᵖˢ most obedient and most humble servant.

JAMES DE LANCEY.

GENERAL SHIRLEY TO SECRETARY ROBINSON.

BOSTON *New England March 24th 1755.*

SIR: On the 18th Instant in the evening I had the honour of your letter dated the 26th of November last, transmitted to me by Major Genˡ Braddock, and have, pursuant to your directions appointed to meet him at Annapolis in Maryland, (the place nam'd by himself) about the fourth of April, which I apprehend will be as early as he can come from Williamsburgh to Annapolis, after he shall have receceived my letter to him by the return of his express.

I intend to set out upon my journey for this purpose Thursday the 28th instant, before which time I can't possibly leave Boston without infinite prejudice to His Majesty's service in the enterprize I am engaged in with Lᵗ Governor Lawrence for dislodging the French from their incroachments in Nova Scotia, and the scheme I have set on foot among the Colonies of New England and the neighbouring ones for dislodging them from their incroachments near Crown Point at the same time: the great importance of both which, to His Majesty's service upon the Continent of North Americ at this conjuncture, and the progress I have made in them are fully mentioned to you Sir in my other letters, that it is needless for me to repeat them here.

You will easily conceive Sir from the part I have in both these expeditions, how essential to the timely execution of them, my presence is here, until I can finish all the necessary dispatches and orders for the fitting out and imbarcation of the 2000 men, which I have reason to think are near being completed for that in Nova Scotia, and to the adjusting of the very many points necessary to be settled among the Colonies concern'd in that destin'd for Crown Point, and putting it in motion before I set out for Annapolis;

neither of w^ch^ can be done before I meet my Assembly, which stands prorogu'd to the 25^th^ Instant, when I shall endeavour to put these affairs into the best train I can, for going on during my absence. and I propose if possible to return from the interview w^th^ General Braddock in time to finish every thing requisite for carrying both the expeditions into execution and to put my own Regim^t^, which I hope will be compleated in three weeks, into the best order the short time will allow, for receiving General Braddock's orders.

The General, in a letter I had the honour to receive from him, acquaints me that the plan of operations he proposes is to begin with the attack of the French Forts upon the Ohio, and at the same time to attempt the reduction of those at the Falls of Niagara; that for the first of these purposes he intends as soon as the transports arrive with the two Irish Regiments, to march himself with the forces he shall have with him, amounting as he expects in the whole to about 2300 British and Provincial troops, and to pass Alleghenney Mountains the latter end of April. The other part of the services he proposes to put under my direction and to appoint me to march as early as possible with the crops of the two American regiments to the attack of the Forts at Niagara, in order to cut off their communication with the French to the Northward by intercepting their reinforcements and to prevent their retreat.

Nothing in my opinion Sir, can be better projected than this scheme, or coincide more with the enterprizes set on foot in the the Colonies of New England before the General's arrival in America. If all them are successfully executed it would settle every point with the French this year; the demolition of their Forts upon the Isthmus, S^t^ John's River, at Crown Point, the Falls of Niagara, and upon the Ohio, and erecting defensible ones at those places and near the head of Kennebeck for His Majesty, would most effectually rid his Colonies of all incroachments, establish a barrier for them against all attempts either directly from Europe upon their sea coasts or thro' the River S^t^ Lawrence, the Great Lakes and the River Ohio on the back of them; and by putting His Majesty into possession of the principal passes into Canada, go half way towards the reduction of that whole country.

It would have been very practicable to have executed in this spring and the succeeding summer every part of the before mentioned general scheme if the five most Western Colonies had exerted themselves for their own defence, as much as the Province of the Massachusett's Bay and other Colonies of New England have done for the general service; including the 800 men rais'd last fall for the expedition up Kennebeck River and building a Fort there, and the men that are already and will be rais'd towards compleating the two American regiments and those for the protection of Nova Scotia and His Majesty's lands at Crown Point, upwards of

4500 men will have been raised within the Massachusetts Bay, 2000 of them at the expence of that government, and the three other New England Governments have voted 2100 men besides, for the service at Crown Point at *their* charge. The five most Western Colonies after being harrass'd by a dangerous and increasing enemy at their doors, after suffering two defeats from them, and tho' more populous and much richer than those of New England, have not as far as I can learn, raised above 1100 men for their own defence, nor a man towards augmenting the two British regiments to 700 men a piece, as was proposed by the Crown. The effect of this backwardness in them may be to make it questionable wether the General will be strong enough in conjunction with the Provincial troops in Virginia and the corps of the two American Regim^ts^ supposing the former to amount to 1300, and the latter, w^ch^ are all raw troops almost wholly undisciplin'd, to 1700 (w^ch^ will make up his whole force of 4000 men) to attack the French Forts upon the Ohio, and at the same time attempt the reduction of those near the Falls of Niagara.

However if the General should finally judge it not adviseable to make both attempts with his forces divided, but proceed first with the main body of his forces to attack the French Forts near the Falls of Niagara, sending only such a detachment to the Ohio as might amuse the French Forts there with the expectation of a speedy visit from him, the reduction of the first mentioned forts would penetrate into the heart of their incroachments upon the Great Lakes and the Ohio, and by cutting off all communication between Canada and their forces upon that river, leave them an easy prey to famine, if no other stroke should be given them (w^ch^ yet might be done soon after the reduction of the Forts at Niagara was effected) and make them in a short time be glad to accept of a safe passage back to Montreal, if that should be permitted to them. The dislodging of the French from these Forts Sir, and building a defensible fort some where on the Streight between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario with one or two vessells of force upon each Lake to command the navigation of them, and a few small fortify'd places of Shelter upon the River Ohio, would in all appearance most effectually put an end to the encroachments of the French there from Montreal; and as to those w^ch^ may be expected from the Mississippi, after their support from Canada is cut off, it seems probable that they would scarce attempt any, or if they should, that a most easy conquest might be made of them.

Having observed to you, Sir, of what importance I conceive the reduction of the French Forts at the Falls of Niagara would be to His Majesty's Western Colonies in particular, I shall now proceed to state the advantages which I apprehend would arise to all his Colonies in General upon this Continent from the operations proposed to be carry'd on at the same time in the eastern part of them.

The importance of the Province of Nova Scotia to Great Britain consists in the following particulars viz^{t} whilst the English remain in the *Intire* possession of it, the French will not be able either to assemble or subsist for any long time a large body of regular troops in the Eastern parts of this Continent, without great difficulty; the Island of Cap Breton and country of Canada can't produce provisions sufficient to support their present inhabitants, without foreign supplies. The French have now but one harbour in North America upon the Atlantick Ocean, & their navigation from thence to Canada w^{ch} lies thro' the Gulf and River of S^{t} Lawrence, is difficult at all times, and practicable but a few months in the year, so that they frequently lose a large ship in it.

And in these disadvantages of the French, very much lies the security of the English Northern Colonies against the power of France.

But if the French should make themselves masters of that Province which is the key of all the Eastern Colonies upon the Northern Continent on this side of Newfoundland, abounds with more safe and commodious harbours capable of entertaining large squadrons than the same extent of Sea coast in any other part of the world, and hath a fertile soil for provisions of all kinds; they would then have it in their power to introduce into North America directly from old France, and to support a very considerable number of land forces.

The loss of this Province would most probably be attended with a further *immediate* loss of the most Eastern parts of New England and the whole Province of New Hampshire; within which tract of territory is contained that part of the King's woods from whence the Royal Navy is almost wholly supply'd with masts yards & bowsprits, and a sea coast of fifty leagues upon the Ocean, besides that round the Bay of Funda.

The acquisition of it by the French would give them the Cod fishery of New England, Nova Scotia and the whole of that in the Gulf of S^{t} Lawrence, w^{ch} together with that which they already have upon the coast of Cap Breton and Banks of New Foundland would maintain an immense nursery of seamen to man their Navy, and this advantage with the great extent of Sea Coast it would give them upon the Atlantick Ocean and the numerous harbours there, situated well to intercept all the trade w^{ch} passes thro' the Western seas in their return to Europe from the East and West Indies and South Sea, might go far in time towards putting it into their power to dispute the mastery of this part of the Atlantick Sea with the navy of Great Britain.

Another advantage w^{ch} the French would gain by this acquisition, and would crown the whole, is, that the Province of Nova Scotia lies contiguous to Canada and but 2 or three leagues from the

Island of Cap Breton, and all these held together would give them so strong an hold upon this Continent, as might enable them in the end thro' the many other advantages they have over the English Colonies in time of war from the form of their government, their influence over the Indians and compactness of their territories, to accomplish the reduction of every one of them.

It would at least, as I have taken the liberty to observe to you Sir in another letter, be the business of a long and successfull war, to recover the Province from them.

The negociations preceding the treaty of Utrecht shews with how great reluctance France was brought at the close of a war which had much enfeebled her, to consent to yield up this Province to Great Britain.

The artifices which she hath used to elude the Treaty ever since the making of that cession the hazard she run in losing above half her Naval force in the armament fitted out during the late war, under the Duke d' Anville for the harbour of Chebucto (now Halifax) at a time when His Majesty had a squadron of seven ships of the line in the harbour of Louisbourg and there was the utmost reason to apprehend that a much larger squadron would soon arrive there from England; the immoderate claims the French Ministers have made since the treaty of Aix la Chapelle for extending the limits of Canada from the Southern bank of the River S^{t} Lawrence as far as Annapolis Royal upon the Peninsula on one side of the Bay of Funda and to the River Kennebeck on the other side of it, claiming even the Islands of Canso, and leaving no part of the Province to Great Britain except the spot upon which the City and garrison of Annapolis stand, and a narrow slip upon the Sea Coast from Cap Sable to the Islands of Canso exclusive; as also the manifest incroachments she hath made in contempt of the faith of treaties upon the lands concerning which a negociation was then actually depending: I say, Sir, these circumstances shew how great an object the Province of Nova Scotia is with the Court of France and how much it hath the reduction of it at heart.

The observations I have made Sir in my former letters upon the progress which the French have already made therein, make it needless for me to trouble you with the repetition of them in this, and Governour Lawrence's letters fully shew the great danger there is that the French will very soon extend their incroachments upon the Peninsula, unless they are prevented by our striking the first blow as early as may be this spring.

And this Sir seems clearly to evince the necessity of carrying into execution, without delay, the measures which M^{r} Lawrence and I have concerted in consequence of His Majesty's orders signify'd to us in your letter of the 5th of July, and repeated in a dupli-

cate of it transmitted to me in October last, for taking all advantages to attack the French Forts in that Province.

As to the other enterprizes set on foot in the Colonies of New England, before the arrival of General Braddock, it seems most evident Sir that the attempt against Crown Point, besides the effect it may have for facilitating the execution of the intended one in Nova Scotia & reclaiming the Indians of the Six Nations and their Allies, as is set forth in the inclos'd extract of a letter from Colonel Johnson to me, who is the best judge in America of their dispositions, must greatly facilitate the reduction of the French Forts near the Falls of Niagara and securing that pass, by the very great diversion it must necessarily make of their forces at Montreal, (from whence their Forts at Niagara must expect their whole support) for the protection of that part of the country; especially if another should be made at the same time at Quebec, by a feint on the River Chaudiere, as I propos'd in my speech to the Assembly, and the expediency of securing the two most important passes into Canada, by erecting two Forts, one at or near the head of the river Kennebeck within a few days march of the City of Quebec, and an other at Crown Point within near the same distance from their other capital city of Montreal; from both which sudden descents might be made into the heart of Canada at the same time; is so appearent that I need not observe upon them.

I am, with the highest respect
Sir
Your most humble and
most obedient Servant
W. SHIRLEY.

The R^t Hon^ble Sir THOMAS ROBINSON Kn^t of the Bath, one of His Majesty's Principal Sncretaries of the State.—

M. DE MACHAULT TO M. DUQUESNE.

17^th February, 1755.

SIR: The movements which took place last year in the direction of the Beautiful river, have made considerable noise in Europe, and Sieur de Villiers' expedition has occasioned a particular ferment in England.

Things have been carried there so far, that the British Court has taken the resolution to dispatch to Virginia two regiments of Regulars, with officers, arms and clothing, for the levying of two others

there, and this reinforcement sailed on the thirteenth of last month from some Irish ports.

That Court hath, meanwhile, caused the most positive assurances to be given, that it continues to adhere to the dispositions it has manifested, up to the present time, for the preservation of peace; that, in sending those troops to Virginia, it had no other object than to tranquilize that and its neighboring Colonies in regard to the attacks to which they believed themselves exposed, and that it has given the most precise orders that they stand on the most exact defensive.

The King is, indeed, persuaded that his Britannic Majesty's intention is not to come to any rupture. His Majesty does not despair even, that the propositions which have some time ago been reciprocally interchanged on the subjects occasioning all those movements, will lead us to some conciliation.

But as, whilst disposed to lend himself to all just and reasonable arrangements to accomplish that object, he is equally resolved to defend his possessions and his rights, he has thought proper, notwithstanding the assurances given by the Court of England, to send, likewise, some reinforcement to Canada to protect that Colony from any attacks to which it might be exposed.

This reinforcement consists of six battalions of troops of the line, which will form a crops of three thousand men, commanded by a *Marechal de Camp*, who will be subject to the Governor-General's orders. These troops will be embarked in his Majesty's ships, convoyed by a fleet corresponding to the list I transmit you; I expect it will sail in the beginning of April from the harbor of Brest, where the troops are to be embark, and from the character of the vessels it will be composed of, and the season of navigation, that its voyage will be short. The King has, meanwhile, had the frigates *La Diane* and *La Fidelle* put in commission to advise you of the fact; this letter will reach you by *La Diane*, commanded by Captain Froger de l'éguille, of the Navy, who will sail immediately from Rochefort. *La Fidelle*, commanded by Lieutenant de la Jonquière, and in which M^r^ Bigot, the Intendant, is to return to the Colony, will leave the same port on the fifteenth or twentieth of next month; M^r^ de Vaudreuil will afterwards embark with the Commandant of the squadron, and, in the meanwhile, his Majesty recommends you to give your attention to four principal objects.

First, to watch the conduct of the English. The troops they have sent to Virginia will arrive there in sufficient time to act before those his Majesty dispatches to Canada can reach Quebec, and we must wait their action; for, even on the supposition that they have, in fact, orders to remain on the defensive, the pretensions of the English, however unjust they be, will serve them as a pretext to wish to have whatever they will undertake to do in the

localities in dispute, regarded as purely defensive. There is reason to believe, however, that if they resume hostilities, 'twill be, at least in the present conjuncture, in the direction of the Beautiful river only, without extending them to the other frontiers, and, according to the account you have rendered of the arrangements you have made, and of those you were proposing to make in that quarter, they will not find our posts defenceless, especially if you have been informed, as you will possibly be, of the movements which were making from the beginning of last autumn in the English Colonies.

However that be, his Majesty's principles and dispositions regarding the conduct you have to observe, are always the same. He wishes that, in maintaining his rights and possessions against the attacks of the English, you carefully avoid affording them any just subject of complaint; that you conduct yourself on the occasions wherein there will possibly be recourse to violence, in such a manner as not to appear the aggressor, and that you confine yourself to the adoption of all measures possible to enable you to repel force by force.

If, to assure that defensive on your part, you should judge necessary to make the Indians act offensively against the English, his Majesty will approve of your having recourse to that expedient. But he desires that you determine on that course only so far as the conduct of the English will render it indispensable to the safety and tranquillity of the Colony.

Suppose, in the mean time, that the movements of the English were carried to the extent that they must be regarded as a veritable rupture on their part, his Majesty, in such case, leaves you at liberty to make the arrangements which will seem to you the most suitable for the good of his service and the glory of his arms.

Such are the principles on which you are to continue to regulate your conduct in this regard so long as you are entrusted with the government, and such are still the orders his Majesty will give your successor.

But as 'twill not be any contravention of these principles to destroy the fort which the English have erected last summer in the direction of Naurautsouak, inasmuch as that will be an absolutely defensive operation on your part, the King's intention is, not to allow the continuance of a post so dangerous and so contrary to his rights. Therefore, supposing that the Indians have not executed the project they had formed of expelling the English thence, and that you find yourself able to undertake it yourself, openly, his Majesty desires that you immediately adopt the measures necessary thereunto; but it must be only in case you are sure of success. It will be necessary, then, that the officer who will have charge of that expedition, shall commence by summoning the English to evacuate

and abandon the fort, and that he do not proceed to any forcible attack until they refuse to surrender to the summons, whereof it will be necessary for you to give him the draft, and in which you will appear to act without having received any order, and solely in consequence of the obligation you are under to defend the possessions of the government confided to you against such like usurpations, which can be regarded only as contrary to the intentions and orders of both Kings for the maintenance of peace and good harmony between the two Nations; should the undertaking succeed, the fort must be destroyed in such a manner that not a vestige of it remain.

The second object you are to attend to is the arrangements for the reception of the troops on their arrival in the Colony. By the copy I send you of the letter which I write on this subject to M^r^ Varin, you will learn the orders I give him. You are better able than any person to judge of all that is to be done in that regard. M^r^ Varin will consult with you respecting all his operations, and provide for those that you will consider necessary, until the arrival of M^r^ Bigot, who, in like manner, will have orders to arrange with you on all that matter.

I send you, also, an extract of the instruction given to Sieur de l'Eguille, whereby you will see that he will have to return to Bick, in the River St. Lawrence, to wait there for the fleet, for which I have furnished him signals; you will be careful, also, to send him back without delay to that rendezvous, and to cause Sieur Pellegrin, the Lieutenant of the Port, to embark with him, accompanied by some of the best of the river pilots, to conduct the fleet, reserving some of them for the frigate *La Fidelle*, which will have orders to come also and wait for the fleet at another rendezvous, of which you will have been informed.

The navigation of that same river will form the third object of your attentions. It is, in fact, proper that you examine whether, in order to avoid the risks that may be incurred in running large vessels up that river as far as Quebec, it would not be proper to let them remain at some of the good anchorages that are known, whence the troops could be transported in the frigates and other vessels which might be collected at Quebec; and on this point you will have to communicate your reflections to Count Dubois de Lamotte, the Commodore of the squadron, by the frigates you will send down to him.

Lastly, the fourth object is to prepare a plan of operations to be proposed to M^r^ de Vaudreuil and to the Commander of the troops, at the very first moment of their arrival, and that plan must be relative to the principles I have just reminded you of, and to the circumstances in which the affairs of the Colony will then be.

As for the rest, his Majesty does not prescribe anything to you in regard to the effects the first intelligence of the reinforcements in

question will produce in Canada and in the English Colonies. On the one hand, it may be proper to keep the secret in order to prevent both the rise it will possibly create in provisions and goods of the country, and the English being on their guard; but on the other hand, it may be necessary to announce before hand the arrival of this reinforcement, in order either to tranquilize the Indians who are faithful to us, or to restrain those who might allow themselves to be debauched by the English; as the latter will not fail to vaunt the superiority they might derive from the troops sent to Virginia; or to arrest the English themselves in the execution of the projects they might be induced to undertake by the confidence inspired by that superiority. 'Tis for you to weigh all these different considerations, and his Majesty refers to your zeal and prudence as to what you will consider most advantageous in this regard.

M. DE MÁCHAULT TO COMMISSARY VARIN.

17th February, 1755.

Sir: The King of England having sent two regiments of regulars to Virginia, under pretence of defending that Colony against the attacks to which it is supposed to be exposed on the part of the French, the King has thought fit to send also three thousand men of his troops of the line to Canada, although there is reason to hope that all these movements will pass off without occasioning a rupture between the two Nations, and that the two Courts will succeed in terminating in a conciliatory manner the differences which are the subject and cause thereof. These three thousand men, composing six battalions, are to be embarked on board some of the King's ships which will sail from the sixth to the fifteenth of April, from Brest, under the convoy of a squadron. Mr Bigot will precede them in a frigate that is to sail about the fifteenth of March; but in the meantime it is necessary that you attend to the arrangements necessary for their reception at Quebec.

The first must be for the sick that will possibly be among them on their arrival. Independent of the wards the Hotel Dieu can furnish, you will cause some to be prepared at the General Hospital for the reception of one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty sick; but 'twill be necessary only to arrange the wards, to mark the places and to have bedsteads constructed, because the Hospital in the Fleet will deposit in the King's store, sheets, mattrasses and other hospital furniture.

You will cause to be immediately repaired the old and new bar-

rack bedsteads, and order some made for the wards that will be in want of them.

You will visit the houses of the city to ascertain the number of rooms capable of lodging the officers of the troops for some days; your arrangements in this regard ought to be for one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty officers, and you will prepare in advance a list of these lodgings.

You will cause to be collected flour or wheat equal to twelve thousand quintals of flour, and if there be a desire to sell the one and the other too dear, which will not fail to be the case the moment 'twill be known in the Colony that troops are about to arrive, you will adopt, in concert with the Marquis Duquesne, the necessary measures to secure, by authority, that quantity of provisions, the price of which will be regulated on M^r^ Bigot's arrival. You will observe also, thereupon, not to lose any time in having the wheat ground, in order to take advantage of the fine season.

You will take the same precautions for a supply of three thousand quintals of salt pork.

And, seeing the increase these troops will occasion in the consumption of every description of articles, it is the intention of the King that [the exportation of] all sorts of Colonial provisions be interdicted, without having the power, under any pretext whatsoever, to allow any to be put on board, except what will be necessary for the subsistence of the vessels which will possibly be dispatched in the Colony; for the ships which will proceed from France to Quebec, will be notified that they will not be permitted to take in any sort of provisions there.

You will employ the coopers of Montreal to make barrels both for the transport of the flour which will not be put in small bags, and of the liquors to be furnished to the detachments of the troops that will possibly be sent into the field.

You will cause the large store in the gate opposite the Intendance, to be prepared for the storage of the flour and other provisions and effects, which will be landed from the fleet for the magazine.

You will set men to work at the caulking of the bateaux both at Quebec and Montreal, and have others built, should there not be sufficient of them for the transportation of from two to three thousand men, and the effects they will require for a campaign.

You are to provide yourself also with bark canoes for the same purpose, and particularly for the navigation of the River au Bœuf and the Beautiful river; and bateaux being capable of serving on Lakes Ontario and Erie, you will see if there be enough of them at the Niagara carrying place, for the passage to Presqu'ile, so that should any be wanting, some may be constructed at that carrying place, or supplied by bark canoes.

In a word, you will occupy yourself untill M^r^ Bigot's arrival, with

all the arrangements that will possibly be necessary as well for the reception of the troops as for the execution of the operations in which they will happen to be employed. You are, however, not to do anything in all this until you shall have conferred and agreed upon it with the Marquis Duquêne, who, being informed of the King's intentions respecting the destination of the troops, is qualified to judge of the precautions to be taken in advance relative to the circumstances. Meanwhile, if M. Duquésne happen not be at Quebec when this letter reach you, you will and even are at liberty, without waiting for him, to lay in supplies of provisions and make the other preparations I have mentioned to you for the reception of the troops and stores, which will be disembarked from the fleet.

But in all cases, you are as much as possible to keep the sending of the troops a secret until M. Duquesne thinks proper to allow the news to be circulated.

For the rest, the frigate, whereby you will receive this letter, and that which is to convey M^r^ Bigot, are to return to the lower part of the river to await the fleet. It will be necessary, as I inform M. Duquesne, to distribute all the good river pilots that you will be able to find, between these two frigates.

M. DE MACHAULT TO M. DE BOMPAR.

VERSAILLES, *17^th^ of February, 1755.*

To M^r^ de Bompar, Governour of the Windward Islands.

SIR: The public news will have informed you of the movements which have for some time been making on our Canada Frontiers, and particularly towards the River Ohio. The Court of England having dispatched two battalions of regulars to Virginia, and made other arrangements in that Colony and in the adjoining Provinces, the King has taken the resolution to send a reinforcement of six battalions of troops of the line to Canada, and his Majesty proposes that they shall sail in the month of April next, under a convoy of a fleet of his ships.

The King of England has caused the most positive assurances to be given that the troops sent to Virginia, and the other arrangements making in that Country, have no other object than to defend his Colonies against the invasions with which they pretend Canada is threatening them.

His Majesty, on his part, is very far from suffering any attempt at the invasion of his neighbors. He will give orders that the most

exact defensive be observed in Canada, but, although sincerely resolved to confine himself, thus to the defence of his right and possessions, he cannot flatter himself, especially after what has occured last year in the direction of the River Ohio, that he will not be obliged to make use of the forces he is sending to Canada.

The dispositions his Britannic Majesty does not cease to manifest for the preservation of peace, must, meanwhile, encourage the hope that all the discussions concerning the boundaries of the respective Colonies in North America, will possibly be settled without coming to an open rupture. There is even question at present between the two Courts, of new propositions in this regard.

But, in the incertitude of events his Majesty has ordered me to inform you, in his name, that his intention is, that you prepare yourself for all events; that you redouble the care and attention to provide, as much as possible, for every object relating to the defence of your government; that you adopt precautions to be informed of what is passing in the English Colonies in your vicinity; that your guard yourself against every surprise; but you are to observe, at the same time, in all the dispositions you make, not to allow it to be suspected that you have received any orders to this effect.

You will be so good as to render me an account of what you will do in the matter, and I shall take care to inform you of the circumstances it will be proper for you to know, with the new orders they may require.

But in all cases, 'tis necessary that the King be in a position to decide on what may interest the security of your government. His Majesty desires that you send me by the first opportunity, and with proper precautions, a report of its condition in reference to that object; the arrangements you propose making in case of war, and the estimate of the assistance you will possibly require.

Should his Majesty approve of writing this letter to the Governors of his Colonies, exclusive of Canada, it appears necessary to add, (to that) to Mr. de Bompar, Governor of the Windward Islands, the following article;

And, as in all cases, also, it is to be expected that the English will not lose sight of their projects on the Islands in dispute, particularly St. Lucia, the King desires that you conform to the orders his Majesty has already given you on that point, not only in case the English make an attack on any one of those Islands, but also on the first certain intelligence you may receive of a rupture on their part.

The orders referred to in this article relate to St. Lucia. M^{r} de Bompar, has, in fact, been directed on several occasions to be always on his guard in relation to that Island, in order not to allow himself to be surprised by the English; to adopt, for that purpose,

all measures possible to be informed of the movements they may have recourse to, and to be in a position to anticipate them himself on the first opportunity.

Same to the Marquis de Vaudreuil and to M^r de Kerlerec, suppressing the first article.

MESSRS. DE DRUCOUR AND PREVOST TO. M. DUQUESNE.

Copy of a letter written by Mess^rs de Drucour and Prevost, from Louisbourg, to the Marquis Duquesne, on the 27th of February, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five.

SIR: It is certain that the English are preparing to make their appearance on the lands bordering on the Ohio, or Beautiful river; we also know that there have been for a long time frequent meetings between the Governors and deputies of the Provinces of Boston, New-York, Merylan and Pensylvania, both for the purpose of agreeing on the projected operations on the frontiers, and of urging the Court of London on this subject, and perhaps to demand of it reinforcements and orders generally in regard to the navigation and to the provisions exporting from New England to our Colonies You may have learned, Sir, something about them; these preparations on the part of our neighbors are of too much importance to the service and to the measures you have to adopt, for us to neglect communicating to you everything that we learn respecting them; which also makes us conclude to dispatch, this day, Sieur de la Saussaye, an officer of this garrison, by sea to the River St. John, whence he will proceed to place in your hands the despatch we have the honor to write you, whereunto we annex the extract of an enigmatical letter that Mr. Prévost has received from New York three days ago, written by a man of your acquaintance who has spent a part of the winter of seventeen hundred and fifty-three and seventeen hundred and fifty-four in Canada, and as he has since made use of the same style in the advices he has had to communicate to that Commissary, we have looked together for the meaning this last may contain, which you wlll find reported in the margin of that extract. In fine, Sir, there is every appearance, and we believe, that your new posts will be vigorously attacked in the spring; the English are desirous of making a diversion and harassing the posts they may be able to reach by the rivers situated on the East of their Continent, in order to oblige you to diminish the forces you may have destined for the upper part. We lose not an

instant to transmit you what knowledge we possess in this regard, and we believe that M[r] de Drucour could not confide it to any person more capable than Sieur de la Saussaye of making an expeditious journey; it is moreover, a new occasion of improving the zeal and services of that officer, whom you, yourself, have already employed, if you are satisfied with them.

Perhaps you are ignorant, Sir, that Governor Shirley is at present at New York, and that he has despatched thither the regiment bearing his name. We are, also informed that the Governor of Halifax has furnished six officers of the troops of his garrison to organize and drill the new militia.

As for the rest, everything appears quiet in Acadia, but 'tis true that we have had no news from there since the end of November or beginning of December. Meanwhile Sieur de la Saussaye will call on Father German and Sieur de Boishébert, in order to render you a faithful account of events and of the situation of our posts in regard to our neighbors.

If your operations require any assistance in provisions on our part, 'tis essential, Sir, that you inform us of it very early, for you will perceive yourself how much difficulties will increase to providing from New England, and one Prévost will have precautions to take, in that case, in order to obtain and furnish what you may demand.

A snow, belonging to Quebec, coming from Martinico has wintered here; it will probably furnish us the first opportunity of writing to you, and then we shall have received news from Europe and America, which we'll communicate to you.

We have the honor to be respectfully, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servants.

(Signed), CHEVALIER DE DRUCOUR and PREVOST.

P. S. We observe to you, Sir, that what we mention concerning the movements of the English, do not amount to certainties, and we believe even that the number of nine thousand men is excessive in the conjuncture, and in view of the expenses such an armament entails; but if you are in possession of other advice, this will serve to compare with it, and you will be able, always, to draw conclusions therefrom relative to the reports which will be made to you, so as to keep you always on your guard, and to have an eye on the movements making in New England.

Extract of the letter written from New York on the eighth of January, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, to Mr Prevost, Commissary at Isle Royale.

Sir: I arrived here in safety after a passage of seventeen days, which appeared to me the longer in consequence of the continual bad weather we experienced during the entire voyage, nothing less than the recollection of your kindnesses, &c., was needed to bring any respite to my misfortunes, which have only changed their nature on my arriving here, being obliged to submit to the general lot of the Frenchmen in the country, who, two days before I came, were ordered not to leave their houses; therein it is very different from what it is with you, since not only have they permission to come thither, and to work there, but even to reside there. I must esteem myself lucky, nevertheless, in my misfortune, by the pleasure . . . . . procure for me every day at their house, etc.

I expect to leave here in the beginning of May at farthest; nothing will remain but my business of the twelve thousand *livres* security, which has strong indications, and even a certainty, of being interrupted. Meyracq and my brother must perceive it already, they must not expect any more; proper order has been applied thereto; therefore I advise them, etc[a].

Interpretation which we give to the letter on the other side.

This order has been issued in fact until a definite arrangement in regard to the acts of hostility occurring in the Upper country, and we have learned that the English, in order to justify, no doubt, their manœuvres or to excite the populace, are circulating the report that the Marquis Duquesne has sent six thousand men to the Ohio.

Mr Prevost is here given to understand that it will not be practicable for the writer to supply the slaughter-house of Louisbourg with English cattle, for the performance of which engagement the contractor had given 12000[li] security, and, apparently, that not only the exportation of cattle had been prohibited, but that the English had, moreover, been forbidden to come to Louisbourg, and this is observed in pointing out that the Judge and

I don't know whether you have any news from your Marseilles friend, and whether he will have sent back the nine thousand *livres* that you had sent him for me, namely, one thousand *livres* for Sieur Ignan, six thousand *livres* for Péan and Mercier, and two thousand *livres* for Sieurs Chaudière and Company; this does not fail to disquiet me, as I have had no news by the ships that have arrived from London. Perhaps I shall receive some by the first that will arrive, and which are expected daily, being fully persuaded that Mess^{rs} de Vismes and Son of London will send my letters to me here, if any be transmitted to them for me. As I doubt not but you will have an opportunity to write to that gentleman, I request you to write expressly to him about this matter in order that, by early spring, at latest, I may find myself provided with goods which I am to have for these funds, and you will do me a favor to mention it to his partner, M^{r} Brest, having no particular reasons which prevent me writing to him on that subject.

the King's Attorney of the Admiralty must perceive that hardly any vessels of that Nation have come during the winter.

The Marseilles friend must be the Marquis Duquesne, whose new posts will be attacked by 9000 men, and we believe that these will be distributed by sending 1000 men to Fort St. Frederick, where, M^{r} Prévost thinks, M^{r} de Lusignan commands, or to the River St. John, but he insists on the former interpretation; 6000 men will go to the *but*, which is on the Beautiful river, or the Ohio; and lastly, two thousand men will find their way by all the routes that are in the vicinity of the Chaudière falls, Beckancour; the uneasiness of the writer may, besides, arise, from the fact of his receiving no intelligence of what is passing in Canada, and from his desire that you may be informed there of the projects of our neighbors and of the course they will persue; if he would desire to give it to be understood that they are waiting for intelligence from London in order to operate, but it is more likely that he means that he has had no news from Canada, and that he is under the impression that they are safe there. This is the reason why he proposes sending an express to the Marquis Duquesne to let him know, in order that he may oppose these irruptions early in the spring, by offering resistance everywhere; and in the fear that a letter written to a military man would excite too much curiosity in existing circumstances, our man dares not

risk a notice to Mr de Drucour, who is designated as Mr Brest, and to whom Mr Prévost is requested to communicate this letter.

M. DUQUESNE TO M. DE DRUCOUR.

Extract of a letter written by the Marquis Duquesne to Chevalier de Drucourt, the 8th of March, 1755.

A circumstance has occurred at the Beautiful river which seems to promise me that there will be less difficulty in consolidating our new post. The Chouanons, who compose the strongest Nation in that quarter, have attacked the English, taken seventeen scalps and made ten prisoners, whom they have distributed among different tribes who have taken up the hatchet. Nothing could be so advantageous under existing circumstances, for there are no barriers equal to such defenders; but with such a fine game (for my movements are the same) the Indians must be sustained, as they would soon let go did they think that all the work was left to them. I have, in consequence, sent off a detachment on the ice, and shall, at the opening of the navigation, cause (others) to march off by brigade, as usual.

PRIVATE INSTRUCTIONS TO M. DE VAUDREUIL.

Private Instructions for Mr de Vaudreuil regarding the conduct he is to observe towards the English.

VERSAILLES, *1st April, 1755.*

To enable Sieur de Vaudreuil to conform to what his Majesty has to prescribe to him, respecting the conduct he is to observe in regard to the movements with which Canada has been for some time agitated, it is necessary to explain to him everything that relates to the pretensions the English have formed to the principal frontiers of that Colony, and which have given rise to all these movements.

By article 10, of the treaty of Utrecht, it had been agreed that Commissioners should be named on both sides to settle the boundaries between the French and British American Colonies.

On occasion of an expedition that the English fitted out, in 1718,

against the fishing posts which the French had in the Islands of Canso, the two Courts did, in fact, nominate Commissioners to decide the property of these islands. The Commissioners met at Paris. At the very first conference, those of the King of England, who claimed that the Islands of Canso were dependent on Acadia, which was ceded to the English by the Treaty of Utrecht, were convinced, on inspecting the Map, which they presented themselves, that those islands were, on the contrary, included in the reserves expressed in the article of the Treaty of Utrécht containing the cession of Acadia, and that, consequently, France had retained the property thereof. They withdrew, saying they required new instructions from their Court, and did not again make their appearance. Although there had been question on different occasions that since presented themselves, of naming other Commissioners in execution of the treaty, the English had always eluded it, until the last war; and Sieur de Vaudreuil is better informed than any person how they abused the moderation which had always governed his Majesty's proceedings and views, since he has been a witness of their unceasing usurpations, on the territory of Canada, during the long peace which followed the Treaty of Utrecht.

His Majesty did flatter himself that he should eventually succeed in placing bounds to their enterprises, and securing tranquillity to his Colonies by a definite fixation of the respective limits. In consequence of the last treaty of Aix la Chapelle, whereby that of Utrecht has been renewed, Commissioners have been named on both sides, and did meet at Paris to regulate all the disputes concerning the French and British possessions. But whatever earnestness and facilities his Majesty had lent to the this settlement, the success of the labor of these Commissaries is far from responding, up to the present time, to the hopes he had entertained thereof, from the disposition his Britannic Majesty had caused to be evinced in that regard.

As yet, the Commissioners have not entered upon the limits of Canada further than what regards Arcadia. The demands the British Commissioners have made on that subject, have laid bare the ambition and unjust views of their nation. Under pretext of the cession which has been made to England of Acadia, by Article 12 of the treaty of Utrecht, they have claimed not only all the Peninsula in which Acadia happens to be situated, but moreover that the cession included on the one side, all the territory extending up to the South shore of the River St. Lawrence, and embraced on the other side the territory which touches the frontiers of New England. But it has not been difficult for his Majesty's Commissioners to destroy ideas so chimerical, and they have shown that the cession of Acadia ought to include only a part of the Peninsula.

The English have been meanwhile desirous to sustain, by acts of

violence, the pretension put forth by their Commissioners; for, on the Acadia side, they have already erected a pretty considerable fort at Beaubassin, which is, in fact, in the Peninsula, but without the limits of Acadia. It is even probable that they would have extended their posts to the Continent itself beyond the Isthmus which separates the Peninsula from it, without waiting for the decision of the Commissioners, had not his Majesty adopted the resolution of stopping them by causing a fort to be erected a Beauséjour, and establishing other posts on that frontier; and they have undertaken last year to build on the New England side, by force of arms, a fort at Naurant Souak, which is only 35 leagues distant from Quebec. But the Marquis Duquesne is to take measures to destroy this fort; and perhaps that expedition will have been terminated when Sieur de Vaudreuil will arrive in Canada.

He is informed of what has occurred in the direction of the Beautiful river, which the English will now include within the dependencies of Virginia. But he is not aware that, not content with endeavoring to penetrate in that direction, into the interior of the country, and there cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana, they pretend, further, to have the right to resort to the lakes of Canada, and that the lands which are to the south of Lake Erié and of Lake Ontario belong to them.

They have not yet explained themselves respecting the extent they propose giving their Hudson bay boundaries. But it is to be expected that they will wish to stretch them to the centre of the Colony of Canada, in order to inclose it in all sides.

However that be, his Majesty is firmly resolved to maintain his rights and his possessions against pretensions so excessive and so unjust; and whatever be his love for peace, will not make for its preservation any sacrifices but those which will accord with the dignity of his Crown and the protection he owes his subjects.

Such is the principal on which his Ambassador at the Court of England has orders to labor in a negotiation that has been entered into with that court for the termination of all those differences by a provisional or definitive treaty; and it is also on that principal that his Majesty wills that Sieur de Vaudreuil do regulate his conduct in relation to these objects, until the issue of that negociation, whereof his Majesty will have him informed.

He is, in consequence, to be on his guard against all attempts the English might make against his Majesty's possessions; carefully to avoid affording them any just cause of complaint; to act on occasions wherein there will possibly be acts of violence, in such a manner that he might not appear the aggressor, and to confine himself to the adoption of all possible measures to enable him to repel force by force.

His Majesty's intentions is, in fact, that he confine himself to a

strict defensive, so long as the English will not make any attack, which is to be regarded as a rupture on their part.

If, to insure this defensive, he considers it necessary to make the Indians act offensively against the English, he will be at liberty to have recourse to that expedient. But his Majesty desires that he do not determine on that course, except so far as the conduct of the English will render it indispensable for the safety and tranquillity of his government.

Supposing, in the mean time, that, notwithstanding what ought to be naturally expected from the equitable and pacific dispositions, whereof the King of Great Britain does not cease to give assurances, hostilities on the part of the English should reach the point that they must be regarded as a rupture, he should not, in that case, confine himself to a simple defensive; and his Majesty wills that, in such contingency, he makes use of all the powers that have been confided to him for the operations which will be best adapted to the good of his service and the glory of his arms.

As these operations depend on circumstances, his Majesty relies on Sieur de Vaudreuil's zeal, prudence, and experience for undertaking those that will appear to him the most advantageous and the most honorable. He recommends to him only to observe, in the selection of those that he will think he can undertake, to give the preference to such as will have for object the English posts that can be wholly destroyed, such as that of Choueguen and even Fort Beaubassin, or will deserve to be preserved after he shall have become master of them, either for the purpose of increasing the Colony of Canada, as would be the case with Acadia, or of being used for exchange, according to the circumstances which will possibly occur or happen, whenever there will be question of a peace, and such would be the capture of Hudson's bay.

But before coming thus to operations of an open war, his Majesty desires that Sieur de Vaudreuil do assure himself that the English will have in fact committed absolute hostilities either against the French settlements or forts of Canada, or against some other Colonies, or at sea.

In this category may be regarded the usurpations they will possibly attempt on the unsettled lands of Canada, and on which they have undertaken to set up unfounded pretensions. His Majesty's intention meanwhile is, that so long as they will confine themselves to operations of that sort, Sieur de Vaudreuil do content himself with opposing them, and even employ force for that purpose only after he has protested and made the summons which time and circumstances will have possibly permitted. And in this regard his Majesty is very glad to enter into a full explanation of the pretensions of the English, in order to enable Sieur de Vaudreuil to act more understandingly on occasions relative thereto.

Independent of the Hudson bay boundary, of which there has, as yet, been no question with the English, their pretensions, as has been already observed, have for object to extend the limits of Acadia on one side as far as the South shore of the River St. Lawrence, and on the other, as far as the frontiers of New England; to include in those of Virginia the lands that reach to Lake Erie, and those of the Beautiful river; and to penetrate into the Lakes of Canada; so that in this system they would wrest from the French all the posts the latter possess south of the River St. Lawrence, and the Colony of Canada would find itself reduced to those they have on the north of that river, and wherein it would be soon crippled in consequence of the extension the English will not fail to desire to give the Hudson bay boundary.

It is true that the Court of England has declared that it would consent to no modification, in the demand its Commissioners have made in regard to Acadia, but the modifications that Court has enounced, still leave too great an extent to the cession of that Province made by the Treaty of Utrecht, to admit of being adopted; and his Majesty has maintained up to the present time, that that cession includes only a part of the Peninsula. Sieur de Vandreuil will find that question fully discussed in the Memoirs that his Majesty's Commissioners have communicated to the English Commissioners, and whereof he will cause a copy to be furnished to him. He will see therein that the pretension of the English is destroyed by their title itself, which is the Treaty of Utrecht; so that, independent of the portion of the territory of the Peninsula, that is not included in the cession made by that treaty, Sieur de Vaudreuil is to regard as dependencies of Canada, all the lands extending into the Continent from the River St. Lawrence to the frontiers of New England, and to maintain possession thereof against the attempts of the English.

3 observations are to be made respecting the frontiers of New England.

First, that in strictness and agreeably to the titles even of the English, his Majesty might claim that they are bounded by the River Sagadahock, but he consents that they extend as far as the River St. George, and possibly he will consent to extending them even as far as the River Pentagouet, according as the English will lend themselves to a conciliatory arrangement.

Secondly, that in regard to the boundary of New England inland, his Majesty is disposed to agree that it be fixed at what is called the Water shed *(Eaux pendantes)*, that is to say, the heads of the rivers emptying into the sea.

And thirdly, that Sieur de Vaudreuil must keep secret his Majesty's dispositions, both on this latter article and on that of the River Pentagouet, his Majesty communicating it to him only that he do not undertake anything contrary thereunto until new orders from him.

In respect to the limits of Virginia, they have been acknowledged from all time to be the mountains which bound that Colony on the west. It is only since the last war that the English have set up claims to the territory on the Beautiful river, the possession whereof had never been disputed to the French who have always resorted that river since it was discovered by Sieur de Lassale. The English have not yet alleged either title or reasons in support of their pretension. They have only given to understand that they founded it on the rights of the Iroquois; rights which they were in a position to establish, either by title of acquisition or of sovereignty over these Indians. But, 1st, the Iroquois have themselves no rights to these lands; for, besides the Iroquois having set foot on a territory being insufficient to give that Nation a title to it, 'tis certain that we were in possession of the Beautiful river before these Indians had resorted thither.

2d Title by acquisition would conflict with that by sovereignty, inasmuch as the pretended sovereignty would render the acquisition useless.

3d That sovereignty is a chimera. The English desire to establish it on the 15th Article of the Treaty of Utretcht, which states that *the inhabitants of Canada will not molest the Five Nations or cantons of Indians subjects of Great Britain.*

But such an enunciation, inserted in a treaty foreign to the Iroquois, can so much the less decide their condition, inasmuch as, besides their not being named in it, the same Article adds, that the respective Commissioners will explain, distinctly, which are the Indians who are or ought to be reputed subjects or friends of the one or the other Nation.

And besides, Sieur de Vaudreuil knows well that the Iroquois are very far from acknowledging any Sovereign.

It is, nevertheless, from this chimerical sovereignty that the English desire still to derive their pretended right to the territory extending from the mountains which shut in their Colonies to Lake Erié, as having belonged to the Iroquois. But this pretension destroys itself by the same reasons as that which regards the territory of the Beautiful river.

Finally, the English have not been more fortunate in their explanation of the right of resorting the lakes of Canada. They will pretend, perhaps, to support it on the same Article 15 of the Treaty of Utrecht, which states, speaking of the subjects of France, of the subjects of Great Britain and of the American subjects or friends of the two Crowns, that *the one and the other will enjoy full liberty of going and coming for the good of trade.*

But this disposition has never been understood to mean liberty of trade between the French and English. The general law that is established in all the European Colonies of America against all

foreign trade, is enforced in Canada and the adjoining English Colonies. That trade is carried on their only fraudulently; and the liberty stipulated in the Article of the Treaty of Utrecht has never regarded any but the Indians; that is to say, that the Indian allies of France may go to the English to trade, as those who are allies of England may come to the French; but this is the extent of that liberty; for the Indians, allies of France and located on its territory, cannot receive the English in their villages *(chez eux)* in the same manner as those who are allies of England and settled on English soil, cannot admit the French among them.

Such are the principles according to which Sieur de Vaudreuil is to be guided in whatever he will have to do in relation to the pretensions of the English, and the various movements to which they will, possibly, give rise. His Majesty expects from him that he will conform himself thereto with all the exactness and wisdom that these important objects may demand. But he recommends him, in every case, not to undertake any movement except with all the precautions necessary to insure its success, and to reconcile, as much as possible, those which he will have occasion to make for the defence of his government and the preservation of the rights and possessions dependent thereupon, with the views of the greatest economy, which he must make his principal study in every sort of expense.

Done at Versailles, 1st of April, 1755.

GENERAL SHIRLEY TO SECRETARY ROBINSON.

BOSTON NEW ENGLAND *June 20th 1755*

SIR: I had the honour to acquaint you in my last that Major General Braddock had informed me by letter from Williamsburg soon after his arrival in America, of the plan of operations he propos'd this year, viz[t] the attack of the French Forts upon the Ohio with the two British regiments, two of the New York Independent Companies and the Provincial troops of Virginia Maryland and North Carolina, amounting all of them to about 2400 men, under his own command; and the reduction of the French Forts at the Strait of Niagara with the two American new rais'd regiments, which service he purposed to put under my command. The measures for removing the French from their incroachments upon the Isthmus of Nova Scotia and S[t] John's River were as I had before acquainted you Sir, concerted, and the expedition against the French incroachments at Crown point form'd, before the General's arrival. The

business of my own Government (the General Court being sitting when I received his Excellency's letter) and in particular the disposition & orders relative to the two last mention'd expeditions, which were requisite to be settled before I left the Province in order to keep all the preparations going on in my absence, for carrying them into execution in case the General should approve of them at my interview with him, necessarily detained me from setting out from Boston untill the 30th of March. On the twelfth day of April I arrived at the Camp at Alexandria in Virginia, about 565 miles distance from this place, where I had the honour of meeting the General and the same day, after consulting with Commodore Keppell and myself, His Excellency determin'd upon the whole plan wch consisted of the before mention'd operations upon the Ohio, at Niagara, in Nova Scotia, and Crown Point, to be executed as near as might be about the same time. The first part of the plan indeed, was in effect concluded upon, and several steps taken in it (the whole corps of the British Regiments, except two Companies, being march'd with their baggage and greatest part of the train of artillery for Winchester in their way to Wills's Creek) before my arrival. The attempt to remove the French from their incroachments in Nova Scotia and at Crown Point were, upon my communicating the propos'd schemes for effecting them, to the General, both intirely approv'd of by him; and an express was thereupon sent the same day, with his directions for Colonel Lawrence immediately to proceed in the former, according to the place concerted between him and me, without staying till the regiments in Nova Scotia should be compleated to 1000 men each for which he had lately received orders. The attempt of the reduction of the French Forts at Niagara with mine and Sir William Pepperrell's regiments (as His Excellency had propos'd in his letter) was at the same time determin'd upon by him, and in order to secure the important pass there in the most effectual manner, it was agreed to have some vessells forthwith built to command the navigation of the Lake Ontario; the care of doing which the Commodore hath committed to me.

According to this plan the French will be attack'd almost at the same time in all their incroachments in North America; and if it should be successfully executed in every part, it seems highly probable that all points in dispute there with them may be adjusted this year, and in case of a sudden rupture between the two Crowns the way pav'd for the reduction of Canada, whenever it shall be His Majesty's pleasure to order it

After I parted with the General, I found from the deficiency of Sir William Pepperell's levies, that there was no prospect of his raising more than 600 men by the time, that the troops destin'd for Niagara must begin their march, and as two of the Companies of his regiment were order'd to be posted at Oswego upon an expecta-

tion that the French would attack it which will reduce them to 1400 men, and that force would in the general opinion as well as my own be too weak an one to secure the pass at Niagara; in my return thro' the Government of New Jerseys, I apply'd to the Assembly there, which was then sitting to permit the Regiment of 500 men, which they had lately voted to raise for the expedition against Crown Point, to join their forces under my command in the reduction of Niagara, and prevail'd with them and Gov^r^ Belcher to pass an Act for that purpose, by which means my troops were augmented to 1900.

As the diversion which must be occasioned to the French Forces in Canada by the attack of Niagara, must make a less force sufficient for the reduction of the French Fort at Crown Point than was at first determin'd to have been employ'd in it; before the attempt on Niagara was projected, I thought this regiment might be spar'd from the service at Crown Point; and the General hath since approv'd of this augmentation of the Niagara forces.

It being generally apprehended that the troops under my command would be still too weak for the service at Niagara, as with that pass the French must lose the only *practicable* communication they have be[twe]en Canada and the Mississippi (that lying across the Lake Ontario from thence over the Strait of Niagara to Lake Erie, and over that into the River Ohio which falls into the Mississippi) & consequently all hopes of establishing themselves in the rich country behind the Apalachian Mountains, or of maintaining their extensive furr trade there, without both which Canada can be of but small value to them; so that it must be expected they will use their utmost efforts to defend it: this I say, Sir, being the general apprehension, at my return to Boston, the Assembly of my own Government pass'd a vote enabling me to employ as many of the troops rais'd within this Province for the service at Crown Point, as I should think proper in that ag^st^ Niagara; leaving 3700 in the whole for Crown Point, and provided the men were willing to go with me and the other Governm^ts^ concern'd consented to it. Since which I have obtained the consent of all the other Governments, but one.

With this reinforcement I shall not have an opportunity of acquainting the General in time to receive his approbation, before I set out for Niagara. But as 3700 men, in conjunction with 300 Indians w^ch^ we have reason to depend upon being engag'd in the expedition ag^st^ Crown Point, is doubtless a much more adequate force now for the reduction of the French Fort there, than 5000 the utmost that was proposed before would have been when the whole strength that is left in Canada would have been muster'd at Crown Point to defend it ag^st^ our attack; and are certainly a much more sufficient force for that service than 2400 (the whole of my troops, if they should be increased with 500 more) will be for gaining and

securing the pass at Niagara, upon w^ch^ depends the Southern Dominion now in dispute between us and the French, which is of infinitely more value than the Fort at Crown Point; I think there can be no doubt of his approving it.

In addition to these reinforcements I am in hopes of procuring a number of Indians to join with me at Schenectady and Oswego, which are necessary in the service for scouts, outguards in marches thro' narrow defiles, and to guard the battoes in their passage thro' the narrow parts of rivers and creeks, and gaining intelligence: and as the General could not spare me any part of his train of artillery, I have, with the peices I have taken from Castle William in this Province, others which I have borrow'd of Governor De Lancy from New York, and some peices of ordnance which I have caused to be cast within my own Government, collected a proper train for the service.

In my passage back to Boston thro' the several Governments concern'd in the expedition against Crown Point, I had an opportunity of settling several points among them which retarded their movements in it; and I hope the troops destin'd for that service will be fitted out in proper time; they are most or all of them upon their march for Albany the place of rendezvous, and many of them arrived there and on the point of proceeding from thence towards Lake Champlain.

My own regiment began 13 days ago to march in divisions from hence to Providence in Rhode Island governm^t^ where they were all imbark'd and sail'd five days since w^th^ a fair wind for Albany, thro' which they will directly march for Schenectady, without making any halt; and I hope by this time their transports may have enter'd Hudson's River. The New Jersey regiment arriv'd at Schenectady some days ago, as I have reason to hope all the heavy pieces of artillery did, w^ch^ I have order'd to be immediately put on board the battoes prepar'd there for them, & transported with other military stores and part of the provisions to Oswego with that Regiment before the waters grow low. The two Companies of Sir William Pepperell's regiment and one of the Independent Companies of New York have been some weeks at that Fort & employ'd in strengthening it & making it as defensible as the very weak state of it will admit in so short a time. Two other Companies of Pepperell's have been several days detach'd to the Great Carrying Place near the Wood Creek in the way to Oswego, with orders to clear it of any French Indians w^ch^ may be sent to obstruct the passage of the Creek by falling great trees across it, to guard the battoes as they pass through it, mend the roads for the more easy conveyance of the artillery, stores, and battoes over the Carrying Place, and making the passage of the battoes thro' the narrow parts of the Creek more practicable in the difficult places.

The battoes for transporting the forces have been all made and ready at Schenectady some time, together with the stores procur'd at New York and those purchas'd here, and the builders and workmen whom I have hir'd for building the vessells and boats to be employ'd on the Lake Ontario, w^ch^ must be built at Oswego, have been sent there several weeks ago, and at work upon them; so that I hope to get them upon the Lake before I leave Oswego, w^ch^ I look upon to be a point of great importance. I have procured seamen to navigate them, and the Officers appointed by the Commodore to command them are arriv'd from Virginia, and are gone with the stores for Oswego to have them rigg'd & fitted out with the utmost expedition. Part of my Regim^t^ is order'd to proceed with their baggage in battoes as soon as may be from Schenectady to Oswego, and having now set the forces for Crown Point in motion and settled the affairs of my government as much as I can before I go, I shall set out the 24^th^ instant for Providence and imbark on board the Province Sloop for New York, from whence I shall proceed in 24 hours after my arrival for Albany up Hudson's River with the remainder of Sir William Pepperrell's regiment now at New York and some levies of my own, w^ch^ are to join me there; & having settled every thing which remains to be determin'd between me and Colonel Johnson concerning the expedition to Crown Point under his command, & the forces to be employ'd in it, I shall pass on to Schenectady and proceed directly from thence to Oswego, with the remainder of the forces destin'd for that service; and having seen the vessells and boats to be employ'd on the Lake Ontario or at least some of them fitted out, or very near it, and gain'd what intelligence I can and the time will allow, of the situation of the French at Niagara, I shall proceed with all the forces artillery and stores there, as soon as may be.

The New England troops rais'd for the service at Nova Scotia were ordered, before I left Boston to repair thither on the 7^th^ of April, in order to sail for the Bay of Funda, and about 2000 of them accordingly appeared there, & were imbark'd by the 22^d^ of that month, and waited for the arms from England, w^ch^ did not arrive at Boston until the 17^th^ of May, being the day before my return thither from Virginia; the vessell in which they were sent happening to have a long passage of about ten weeks; so that the troops did not sail untill the 23^d^ of May. Their stay the last month gave me uneasiness; had I been upon the spot as there were 1000 stands of arms at Annapolis Royal and 800 might have been had here, tho' not so good as those sent from England, I should have chosen to have sent them away before; but I have reason to hope that they will succeed as it is. I have receiv'd an account, dated 15^th^ instant from Col Lawrence, of their arrival at Scheignecto on the 2^d^ and that he concluded from not having received any news from thence,

that they were by that time masters of the Isthmus, and was of opinion the reduction of the French Fort at S^t^ Johns River would after that be an easy task, if the two French 34 Gun Frigates, w^ch^ he had intelligence were in the Bay of Funda, for the protection as he supposed of that River, should not be too hard for our sea force there, which consisted of three twenty gun ships only, and a sloop of war. The news I received here four days ago of a French squadrons being spoken with off Bank Vert near Newfoundland, full of soldiers standing for Louisbourg, gave me no small concern for the success of the expedition to Nova Scotia; but it was reliev'd in two hours by an acco^t^ of Admiral's Boscawen & Mostyn with eleven sail of the line being spoken with off S^t^ Johns River at Newfoundland nine days ago, close at the heels of the French, and having sent a letter to Cap^t^ Aldrick the Commandant there, acquainting him that they were going to cruize off Louisbourg; otherwise the stay of the New England troops here the last month, might have ruin'd the attempt for recovering the Isthmus, if not occasion'd the loss of the whole Province.

The Acts pass'd lately in the several Colonies to prevent the exportation of provisions to Louisbourg, together with the embargo in Ireland, have greatly distress'd the French at Louisbourg and the effects must be soon felt in all their settlements in North America.

A few days ago I had a letter from the General dated 20^th^ of May from Fort Cumberland at Wills's Creek in which he complains that the inexpressible disappointm^ts^ he hath met with, hath retarded his march a month beyond the time he at first intended; but by the advices I have since received from Gov^r^ Morris and Gov^r^ Dinwiddie, I hear he hath surmounted his difficulties, and it was judg'd would proceed the beginning of this month from Fort Cumberland for the French Fort called Fort Du Quesne upon the Ohio, which is computed to be from 90 to 110 miles distance from Wills's Creek, where very possibly he may be arriv'd by this time & begun his attack, in w^ch^ I have little or no doubt in my own opinion of his succeeding, tho' it is pretty certain the French have sent a reinforcement of 900 men (100 of them regular troops) and stores, very lately either to the Ohio or Niagara, and many of their battoes have pass'd by in sight of Oswego. When I had the honor of conferring with His Excellency at Alexandria, he purpos'd to build some vessells at Presque Isle for securing the navigation of the Lake Erie; w^ch^ if effected must, together with those designed for Lake Ontario, make us masters of the Great Lakes and Ohio and the country there, untill the French can get a superior force upon those Lakes, w^ch^ it seems very difficult if not impracticable for 'em to do, when our vessells shall be cruizing upon them. I hear from Gov^r^ Morris that at the General's request he hath establish'd a magazine of Provisions in the

back parts of Pennsylvania, from whence he will be easily supply'd by a new road, w^ch^ he, M^r^ Morris, is making thro' the mountains to the waters of the Ohio, and which the General proposes to him to extend to Veningo and Niagara; all w^ch^, if executed, must be of infinite use for marching the troops to & subsisting them upon the Ohio and at Niagara from a Colony more abounding w^th^ provisions than any at present in North America.

The General's presence and activity hath infus'd spirit into the Colonies concern'd in the attempt ag^st^ Crown Point, and by the Commission w^ch^ he hath given to Colonel Johnson for taking upon him the management of the Indian Affairs, and the ready money he hath most opportunely advanc'd to him for engaging 'em in the English Interest, he has greatly promoted that service. The expedition to Niagara this year is wholly owing to His Excellency's proposal of it.

I am now to acknowledge, Sir, the receipt of your letters dated the 23^d^ and 24^th^ of Jan^y^, and 10^th^ of February the contents of which are answer'd in the foregoing part of this letter, except that I beg leave to observe that in the last mentioned you seem to think that the soldiers in New England are enlisted for His Majesty's service in general terms, whereas it is at present impracticable to raise any number of them without acquainting them w^th^ the place of their immediate destination, nor will any born in these Colonies inlist to go to the Southward of Niagara, at furthest. The command under which they are to act, is likewise another very material point w^th^ them.

I beg leave further to observe Sir, that the common fund, w^ch^ you seem to suppose to be provided by the several Governm^ts^ in the Colonies for the support of His Majesty's service will never be agreed upon by the Assemblies among themselves, tho' acknowledg'd to be necessary to all; that, and a plan of Union must be establish'd by an authority from home or neither of them will be effected; & this you will perceive by the inclos'd extract of the minutes of Council at Alexandria, is the opionion of the other Governors who were present there as well as my own. And if I might presume, Sir, to suggest my opinion further in this matter, nothing would be a firmer cement of His Majesty's colonies, or go further towards consolidating them in the support of his service & government there, and the defence of their common interests ag^st^ a foreign power, than the establishment of such a fund and a plan of Union among 'em; nor do I think they would be difficultly rec^d^ by them from the Parliament.

You will perceive, Sir, by the inclosed copies of my message to the Assembly of my own government and their message in answer to it, upon the subject of their finding provisions for mine and Sir William Pepperrell's regiments, according to the directions of Gen^l^

Braddock's inclos'd letter, and paying their Quota of the levy money for the raising of them, that they refuse to do it.

I beg leave to assure you Sir that I shall consult œconomy as much as may be consistent with His Majesty's service in the expence of the expedition under my command. I omitted to observe to you before that the reason of my being the Colonel of the two New England Regiments gone to Nova Scotia was principally for the sake of encouraging the inlistm^{ts} and saving the expence of the pay of two Colonels, having no expectation of any allowance or pay to myself in it.

I hope Sir, consideration will be had of an allowance for my necessary suite in the expedition under my command, & as the execution of the command will be attended wth an extraordinary charge to myself, especially in the rank to w^{ch} I have lately had the honour to be promoted in His Maj^{s} army, I hope His Majesty will be pleas'd to order me a proper support in it during the time of the service. The expence of my travelling charges out of my own pockett in my journey to Alexandria and back (being about 1250 miles) tho' I made use of my own horses half the way and my servants the whole, and had some horses found for me in two of the governments, exceeded £200 sterling, w^{ch} is near double the income of my Governm^{t} to me for the time I was absent from Boston.

The inclos'd copy of the General's instructions will show you Sir, the extent of my command.

My desire of laying before you a particular state of the Colonies with regard to the operations carrying on there agst the French, and the very little appearance there is of their forming a plan of Union among themselves, as recommended by His Majesty, in one view, hath drawn this letter into a greater length than I design'd, w^{ch} I hope you will be pleas'd to excuse on that account.

I am with the greatest regard
Sir
Your most humble
and most obedient servant
W. SHIRLEY.

The Right Honorable Sir Thomas Robinson on of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

M. DUQUESNE TO M. DE VAUDREUIL.

Memoir respecting the Ohio and its dependencies, Fort Niagara, Fort St. Frederic, the suppression of certificates, the regulation of the Posts, the new Mission of Lake St. Francis, the Militia of the Colony and the horrible abuse of ardent spirits. Addressed to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

By Sieur de Contrecœur's letter of the 24th of May last, the works of Fort Duquesne are completed. It is at present mounted with six pieces of cannon of six, and nine of two (@. three pound ball; it was in want of neither arms nor ammunition, and since Sieur de Beaujeu's arrival, it must be well supplied, as he had carried with his brigade succors of every description.

I must explain to the Marquis de Vaudreuil that much difficulty is experienced in conveying all sorts of effects as far as Fort Duquesne; for, independent of the Niagara carrying place, there is still that of Presqu'isle, six leagues in length. The latter fort, which is on Lake Erie, serves as a depôt for all the others on the Ohio; the effects are next rode to the fort on the River au Bœuf, where they are put on board pirogues to run down to Fort Machault, one-half of which is on the River Ohio, and the other half in the River au Bœuf, and serves as a depôt for Fort Duquesne. This new post has been in existence only since this year, because it has been remarked that too much time was consumed in going in one trip from the fort on River au Bœuf to Fort Duquesne, to the loss of a great quantity of provisions which have been spoiled by bad weather. 'Tis to be hoped that, by dispatching the convoys oppor. tunity from Fort Machaults, everything will arrive safe and sound in twice twenty-four hours; besides, it will be much more convenient at Fort Duquesne to send only to Fort Machaults for supplies.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil must be informed that, during the first compaigns on the Ohio, a horrible waste and disorder prevailed at the Presq'isle and Niagara carrying places, which cost the King immense sums. We have remedied all the abuses that have come to our knowledge, by submitting these portages to competition. The first is at forty *sous* the piece, and the other, which is six leagues in extent, at fifty. But we do not think the contractors can realize anything in consequence of the mortality among the horses and other expenses to which they are subject.

Had we been favored with any tranquillity, nothing would have been easier than to supply Fort Duquesne, by having the stores of Fort Presq'isle filled during the summer, the horses could have rode the supplies during the winter to that of the River au Bœuf, whence they might be sent down the Ohio on the first melting of

the ice; but continual and urgent movements up to the present time have not afforded leisure to ride the effects in winter, and the horses are dying, which has determined us to give orders to draw from the Ohio as many of them as posssible.

Fort Duquesne could in less than two years support itself, since, in the very first year, 700 *minots* of Indian corn have been gathered there, and, from the clearings that have been made there since, it is calculated that if the harvest were good, at least 2000 minots could be saved. Peas are now planted, and they have two cows, one bull, some horses and twenty-three sows with young.

At Fort Machault where the land is very fertile, it will be easy to have the same resource.

At River Bœuf the land is not so good, but it is expected that peas, Indian corn and oats will easily grow there. Hogs can be easily raised there; they have already nine; the prairies in that quarter, which are extensive, furnish only bad hay, but it is easy to get rid of it.

At Presqu'isle there is the same uniformity of land, but the hay is very abundant and good on it.

'Tis to be observed that the quantity of pirogues constructed at the River au Bœuf has exhausted all the large trees in the neighborhood of that post; it is very important to send carpenters there soon, to build some plank bateaux like those of the English. Two advantages will result therefrom; a much greater load can be carried, and the inconvenience of readily upsetting, so common to pirogues, will be avoided.

The site of Fort Niagara is to be changed, as it is undermined by the lake and crumbling in every direction.

Fort St. Frederic is threatening to fall on all sides, in consequence of the walls being too weak to support the terraces. It could be located with more advantage near Carillon. The Court is informed of the sad state of all these forts which constitute the keys of the Colony, and I have transmitted a project thither for the statement of Gaspé that is not less important.

On arriving in this Colony I found that the officers of the posts in the Upper Countries had the right to issue certificates, under color of stopping the Indians who wished to change their abode, and on equally specious pretexts. I have wholly reformed them, unless the General issue orders to put the Indians in motion, which is at the expense of the King.

M[r] de Vaudreuil will find the explanation of the arrangements of the posts; it is the same that I have sent to the Court. He will also find the regulation of the posts which fixes the limits of each.

Although we informed the Marquis de Vaudruil of the motives which have induced us to allow the missionaries of the Sault a new mission on Lake St Francis, in order to attract the Mohawks

thither, who had evinced some repugnance to come to the Sault, either because the land there was not fertile, or rather because they had remarked that Brandy was as abundant among their praying brethren as among the English, I repeat to him that it had never been my intention to settle the people of the Sault there, but on the contrary to attract those Mohawks and the Indians belonging to the Five Nations who would like to come thither, having already taken some steps. I have reported to the Court the necessity that existed of attracting the Mohawks to a place they asked of me, the rather as Father Billiard in M^r^ Varin's presence, demanded no greater advance than one hundred pistols, at most, for a saw-mill, and that he would undertake all the rest.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil will find the militia of the country in perfect order, and submissive. It is now armed and provided with twenty rounds of powder and ball, but this cannot be preserved, except by paying attention to the reviews which I have ordered to be held every month for the inspection of arms and ammunition. When I commanded it for the Ohio, I established a rotation *(tour de role)*, which has been so closely followed, that all my levies have been made without a murmur.

To be prepared for all events, I have established throughout the Colony a reserve in all the Militia Companies, which amounts to thirteen hundred men. This reserve is not only named by the captains, but is ready to march at the first warning. This establishment appears to me of so much importance, that I should advise the renewal of this reserve every six months, as well in peace as in war, by which means the General would always have wherewith to offer immediate opposition to unexpected movements, even were it necessary to double the reserve in case of a *coup de main*. The Indians, who would meditate an attack or a robbery of a settler in his house, will certainly be very careful when they will be aware that the man is able to defend himself.

M. de Vaudreuil has read in the letter of Sieur Benoist, the Commandant at Presqu'isle, the dangers the people are exposed to by this cursed traffic in brandy, which is maintained and protected, and whose source he will soon ascertain.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil will have the means of knowing the orders I have issued to, and the punishment I have inflicted on, those who were selling brandy to the Indians at Montreal, and that I have reduced the Voyageurs to three barrels per canoe.

Done at Quebec, the 6^th^ July, 1755.

DUQUESNE.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF THE MONONGAHELA, 9th JULY, 1755.

M de Contrecœur, Captain of Infantry, Commandant of Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio, having been informed that the English were taking up arms in Virginia for the purpose of coming to attack him, was advised, shortly afterwards, that they were on the march. He dispatched scouts, who reported to him faithfully their progress. On the 17th instant he was advised that their army, consisting of 3000 regulars from Old England, were within six leagues of this fort. That officer employed the next day in making his arrangements; and on the ninth detached M. de Beaujeu, seconded by Messrs Dumas and de Lignery, all three Captains, together with four Lieutenants, 6 Ensigns, 20 Cadets, 100 Soldiers, 100 Canadians and 600 Indians, with orders to lie in ambush at a favorable spot, which he had reconnoitred the previous evening. The detachment, before it could reach its place of destination, found itself in presence of the enemy within three leagues of that fort. Mr de Beaujeu, finding his ambush had failed, decided on an attack. This he made with so much vigor as to astonish the enemy, who were waiting for us in the best possible order; but their artillery, loaded with grape *(a cartouche)*, having opened its fire, our men gave way in turn. The Indians, also, frightened by the report of the cannon rather than by any damage it could inflict, began to yield, when M. de Beaujeu was killed. M. Dumas began to encourage his detachment. He ordered the officers in command of the Indians to spread themselves along the wings so as to take the enemy in flank, whilst he, M. de Lignery and the other officers who led the French, were attacking them in front. This order was executed so promptly that the enemy, who were already shouting their "Long live the King," thought now only of defending themselves. The fight was obstinate on both sides and success long doubtful; but the enemy at last gave way. Efforts were made, in vain, to introduce some sort of order in their retreat. The whoop of the Indians, which echoed through the forest, struck terror into the hearts of the entire enemy. The rout was complete. We remained in possession of the field with six brass twelves and sixes, four howitz-carriages of 50, 11 small royal grenade mortars, all their ammunition, and, generally, their entire baggage. Some deserters, who have come in since, have told us that we had been engaged with only 2000 men, the remainder of the army being four leagues further off. These same deserters have informed us that the enemy were retreating to Virginia, and some scouts, sent as far as the height of land, have confirmed this by reporting that the thousand men who were not engaged, had been equally panic-stricken

and abandoned both provisions and ammunition on the way. On this intelligence, a detachment was dispatched after them, which destroyed and burnt everything that could be found. The enemy have left more than 1000 men on the field of battle. They have lost a great portion of the artillery and ammunition, provisions, as also their General, whose name was M^r^ Braddock,[1] and almost all their officers. We have had 3 officers killed; 2 officers and 2 cadets wounded. Such a victory, so entirely unexpected, seeing the inequality of the forces, is the fruit of M^r^ Dumas' experience, and of the activity and valor of the officers under his command.

M. DE VAUDREUIL TO M. DE MACHAULT.

QUEBEC, *10th of July, 1755.*

MY LORD: I had the honor to inform you, in my letter of the 2nd instant, that the English were sending a number of people towards Chouaguin, where they had built sloops carrying 10 guns, and two sorts of little galleys; that a force of 3000 men were assembling also at Fort Necessity, within about 40 leagues of Fort Duquesne, where the van-guard, consisting of 700 men, had already arrived.

We had confirmation of this intelligence from some reliable Indians belonging to different villages, who had given us pretty strong assurances of it, not admitting of a doubt. They have also added, as a very sure thing, that 4000 men were going to Choueguin; that the 5 Nations would form the wings of this army; that the English were desirous of seeing Niagara and Fort Frontenac, and that 600 bateaux had, moreover, been built at Orange, where they were busy constructing a great many others; that 5000 men were encamped outside Orange, covering two leagues of country; that this army was to march against Fort St. Frederic, and afterwards advance on our settlements on this Continent. I am about sending,

[1] Major-General EDWARD BRADDOCK, only son of Major-General B., was born towards the close of the 17th century. He entered the Army as Ensign in the Grenadier company of the Coldstream Guards, 11th October, 1710; on 1st August, 1716, was appointed Lieutenaut, and fought a duel, with sword and pistol, with Colonel Waller, 26th May, 1718; on the 30th October, 1734, he became Captain-Lieutenant, and on the 10th February, 1736, Captain, with the Army-rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He served in Flanders; became second Major of his regiment in 1743; was present at the battle of Fontenoy, 11th May, 1745, and was appointed 1st Major of the Coldstreams, and Lieuteuant-Colonel, 21st November, 1745, Brigadier-General, April 23d, 1746, and in 1747 and 1748, served again in Flanders. In 1753 he was appointed Colonel of the 14th Foot; in March, of the following year, Major-General; and on 24th September, Commander-in Chief of his Majesty's troops in America. He sailed from England, 21st December, 1754; arrived at Hampton Roads, Virginia, 20th Feburary, 1755, and was killed on the banks of the Monongahela, in Western Pennsylvania, on the 9th July of the same year.

my Lord, some reinforcements to the latter fort, but this diver ion will not cause me to make any change in my Lake Ontario project, which I had the honor to communicate to you. The preservation of Niagara is what interests us the most. Were our enemies masters of it, and to retain Choueguin, the Upper countries would be lost to us, and we should have no further communication with the river Oyo.

I had the honor to inform you that I should order 400 men whom I would take from Presqu'isle, to fall back on Niagara, but the danger to which Fort Duquesne is exposed has caused me to change my mind, and they will proceed to the latter post.

I will confess to you, my Lord, that I find myself much embarrassed, and that I think any other person in my place would be equally so. I arrive in a country where, I am assured, everything is peaceable; I find, in consequence, no store of provisions laid in, no carriages built, and I must oppose the enemy's attacks on all sides in less than six weeks. The necessary preparations are hastening forward, and notwithstanding M[r] Bigot's activity, I doubt if he will be able to put me in a condition to carry out my plans completely.

You will learn this autumn, my Lord, the success of my projected operations, and the event alone will enable me to decide as to the demands I shall have to make on you.

I start to-morrow for Montreal, where my presence is necessary both for the dispatch of the troops and the levy of militia.

I have the honor to be, with the most profound respect,

My Lord

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

M. DE VAUDREUIL TO M. DE MACHAULT.

MONTREAL, *24[th] July, 1755.*

MY LORD: I had the honor to report to you in my letters of the 2[nd] and 10[th] of this month, the sad condition of the Colony; that it was so much the more surprising to, as it was quite unexpected by, me, relying on the assurance which the Marquis Duquesne had given me that the government was quiet, that he had provided against everything, and that there was not a semblance of any movement on the part of the English.

Since my arrival at Montreal, I do not cease to learn the confirma-

tion of the bad news which have increased so excessively that I cannot, consistently with my duty, forbear having the honor of laying them before you.

The English are increasing from day to day, and do not hesitate to tell the Indians especially, that they will take Fort St. Frederic, Fort Du Quesne, Niagara, Fort Frontenac and La Présentation. Their views on all these points are by no means doubtful, according to the reports which have been unanimously made to the Commandants of these posts, by their scouts, and by a number of prisoners in succession, the one after the other. I have interrogated all these prisoners, and none have contradicted the information I have received.

The English appear always to have a design on Fort St. Frederic, and to make arrangements with that view at Orange. These movements have even so frightened the settlers, whose lands are without the fort, that they have abandoned them. The detachment I have sent off to establish a camp of observation there, must have arrived at its destination. I have given orders to the Commandant to send scouts out continually, and to transmit their report to me forthwith.

Fort Duquesne is really threatened. On the 7th of this month the English were within 6 or 8 leagues of it; I am informed by letter that they number 3000, being provided with artillery and other munitions for a siege.

I would not be uneasy about this fort, if the officer in command there had all these forces; they consist of about 1600 men, including regulars, militia and Indians.

With which he would be in a condition to form parties sufficiently considerable to annoy the march of the English from the first moment he had any knowledge thereof; these parties would have harassed, and assuredly repulsed them. Everything was in our favor in this regard, and affording us a very considerable advantage.

But unfortunately no foresight had been employed to supply that fort with provisions and munitions of war, so that the Commandant, being in want of the one and the other, is obliged to employ the major portion of his men in making journeys to and fro for the purpose of transporting those provisions and munitions, which cannot even reach him in abundance, in consequence of the delay at the Presq'isle portage and the lowness of the water in the River au Bœuf.

I must also observe that Fort Duquesne has never been completed; on the contrary, 'tis open to many capital defects, as is proved by the annexed plan.

'Tis true that the Commandant, urged by the officers of the garrison, who perceived all these defects, took upon himself early in the spring, to demand sub-engineer de Lery of the Commandant at De-

troit, which officer had put the fort in the best condition he was able, without, however, daring to make any alteration in it.

I dread with reason, my Lord, the first intelligence from that fort, and shall be agreeably surprised if the English have been forced to abandon their expedition.

In regard to Niagara, 'tis certain that, should the English once attack it, 'tis theirs.

I am informed that fort is so dilapidated, that 'tis impossible to put a peg in it without causing it to crumble; stanchions have been obliged to be set up against it to support it. Its garrison consists of thirty men without any muskets. Sieur de Villiers has been detached with about 200 men, to form a camp of observation there.

Such, my Lord, is a true abstract of the condition in which M. Duquesne surrendered the government to me, in respect to the parts I have treated of.

I do not think that I ought to conceal from you that the preparations of the English were not unknown to the Colony; they have been generally known, even from the moment of their inception. 'Twould have been easy in the beginning to extinguish them without compromising ourselves. I add that the two English captains who are here as hostages, have had as much liberty as if they had been invited to learn thoroughly our situation. They have had the run of the villages of our domiciliated Indians, with whom they have had conferences, and have even advised their Governors of our forces and plans. I have had them confined.

The evil is done; 'tis so visible that I can say, without partiality, that it would have been desirable that I had been in possession of this government three years ago. The Colony and the finances would not be so excessively exhausted.

How serious soever the evil, I must apply a remedy to it; and, in order to carry out my views and my zeal in this regard, I should not lose sight of my project against Chouaguen, inasmuch as on the success of that project depends the peace of the Colony.

The expedition against Chouaguen, which at all times would have been easy, is now unfortunately very difficult, and that (I cannot but repeat) because the English have experienced no impediment to their labors and ambition.

The security of the Colony has even rendered them so proud, that having at length attained the degree of perfection to which they aspired, they have boldly raised the mask, and in the very beginning of June have been sufficiently daring to fire three balls at the King's flag which was floating from the boat of an officer that was conducting a detachment to the Beautiful river.

They have actually two and perhaps three flat-bottomed sloops with sweeps, armed for war, cruizing on Lake Ontario; from one day to another they are to launch other vessels for the like purpose.

I am informed, by letters of the 20th of this month, that these two sloops have been, with several bateaux, beyond Quinté, where the English have landed, and that it is certain they are to go to Niagara.

Chouaguen is no longer a trading house; 'tis regularly fortified and suitably provided with cannon.

There is a second fort equally provided with artillery.

The woods that surrounded Chouaguen, and militated against its defence, no longer exist; the approaches to it have been rendered difficult.

The number there is large, and is becoming still more so every moment, by the troops which are coming from Orange.

Nevertheless, my Lord, I act with confidence, and dare flatter myself that I shall pull down Chouaguen.

The army will consist of about 4300 men, 2300 of whom will be regulars, 1800 Canadians and 500 domiciliated Indians. I am rejoiced to see that the one and the other evince great zeal in fulfilling my desires.

This army will be supplied with some pieces of portative artillery and generally with munitions of war and utensils necessary for a siege.

Since the 12th of this month, the troops have been filing off by brigade on their way to Fort Frontenac. I hope the remainder of the army will have left Montreal by the 10th of this month, and that, unless there be unfavorable weather, the whole of my forces will be reunited at Fort Fontenac by the 25th of the same month.

I should have had extreme satisfaction, my Lord, in marching at the head of the army, persuaded of the effect my zeal for the King's service and for my country would have infused among the Canadian soldiers, and especially among the Indians. But Fort St. Frederic being equally menaced, my presence becomes necessary at Montreal.

Baron de Dieskaw will command this army. I confer daily with him, and see, with pleasure, that he desires, ardently, to accomplish my views.

As for the Five Nations, I do not expect their aid, but do not despair of their neutrality.

Chouaguen, ever since it was founded, is the rendezvous of the various Indian Nations. 'Tis from Chouaguen all the Belts and Messages go, that the English scatter among the Nations of the Upper country. It has been always at Chouaguen that the English have held Council with the Nations, and by means of presents, principally intoxicating liquors, have made them resolve to murder the French.

In fine, 'tis, consequently, Chouaguen which is the direct cause of all the troubles that have overtaken the Colony, and of the vast expense they have occasioned the King.

From the destruction of Chouaguen will follow:

On the one hand, the perfect attachment of all the Upper country Indians; on the other, a considerable diminution of the expense the King annually incurs for the Colony.

Should the Five Nations have sided with the English, they will abandon them the moment Chouaguen no longer exists.

The Indian Nations, having the English no longer as a resource for obtaining intoxicating liquors, I shall insensibly cut off, at certain posts, the sale of brandy, which is injurious to the good of the service and of commerce.

These same Indians not recognizing, and being unable to have dealings with any but the French, the prodigious quantity of Beaver and Peltry that used to pass to the English, will, from that moment, reënter into the trade of France.

I beg of you, my Lord, to be persuaded of my exactness in performing all that my instructions prescribe to me, and that I shall do everything in my power to signalize my zeal for the King's service.

I am, with the most profound respect, My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

Return of the artillery, munitions of war and other effects belonging to the English, found on the field of battle after the action which took place on the 9th of July, 1755, within three leagues of Fort Duquesne, on the River Oyo, between a detachment of 250 Canadians and 650 Indians, commanded by Captain de Beaujeu, and a body of 2000 Englishmen under the command of General Braddock, exclusive of the considerable plunder that the Indians took.

4 brass pieces with the arms of England, of the calibre of 11lbs
4 ditto of 5½lbs
4 brass mortars or howitzers, of 7⅓ inch diameter.
3 other grenade mortars, of 4⅘ inch.
175 balls of 11lbs
57 howitzers of 6¾ inch.
17 barrels of powder, of 100lbs
19,740 musket cartridges.
The artifices for the artillery.
The other articles necessary for a siege.
A great quantity of muskets, fit and unfit for service.
A quantity of broken carriages.
4 or 500 hundred horses, some of them killed.
About 100 head of horned cattle.
A greater number of barrels of powder and flour, broken.

About 600 dead, of whom a great number are officers, and wounded in proportion.

20 men or women taken prisoners by the Indians.

Very considerable booty in furniture, clothing and utensils.

A lot of papers which have not been translated for want of time; among others, the plan of Fort Duquesne with its exact proportions.[1]

NOTE.—The Indians have plundered a great deal of gold and silver coin.

BARON DE DIESKAU TO COMMISSARY DOREIL.

MONTREAL, *16th August, 1755.*

SIR: I start in a moment for Fort St. Frederic to place myself at the head of a body of about 3000 men, to meet an English force of 4500 men, whose design is to seize Forts St. Frederic, St. John, Chambly, and afterwards to advance as far as Montreal. I shall try, however, to mar their plan. The troops are in the best disposition possible, and panting only for the attack. All I fear is, that the enemy, who imagine all our troops to have gone on the expedition against Chouaguen, will beat a retreat on learning that we are on the march.

The battalions of la Reine and Languedoc are of the party; but Guienne and Bearn had, as you are aware, already arrived at Fort Frontenac when we were apprised of the enemy's movements against the Colony. We are as well acquainted as themselves with all their treacheries, from General Bradock's papers, which have been found on the field of battle near Fort Duquesne. There are some from this General to the British Minister, Mr Robinson; copy of the latter's answer; also one from the Duke of Newcastle and the Secretary of the Duke of Cumberland. It appears that this last is the prime mover of the whole. Their plan was concluded two years ago, since which time they have not ceased their preparations for its execution this year. To wit, that General Bradok, with a force of 3000 men, should attack Fort Duquesne, and proceed thence to Niagara, which was to be attacked at the same time by the Governor of Baston, at the head of a force of 3000 men; and, in order to cap their treachery, General Johnson was to come with 4500 men and enter the heart of the Colony. It is with this last that I shall have to do. In regard to the expedition against Niagara, I believe that they will not dare attempt it, inasmuch as there are 1200 men

[1] Captain Robert Stobo drew this plan whilst a prisoner or hostage at Fort Du Quesne.

at Fort Frontenac, all ready to march against Chouaguen, in the supposition that the enemy will strip that place in order to attack Niagara, into which we have thrown 300 men.

The English have, in an intrenched camp at Chouaguen, 2500 men, exclusive of the garrison and a vast number of bateaux, for it was from this fort that they were to proceed against Niagara.

The defeat of the English on the Ohio, and especially the death of General Bradok, who has been killed, must have furiously deranged their plans, and I calculate on deranging them still a trifle more, provided they hold on.

M^r^ de Vaudreuil is getting a translation made of all the letters taken on the defeat of the English General on the Ohio. They have had their General and 1500 killed, and all their artillery captured. These letters will be sent to Court on the return of my expedition.

If you find occasion, Sir, to write to France, inform Mess^rs^ the Ministers hereof, and send them this letter. I shall not be able to render them a very positive account until I return from my campaign.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

(Signed), BARON DE DIESKAU.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

ALBANY. *21. July 1755*

MY LORDS: I went to Alexandria in Virginia to wait on His Excell^cy^ General Braddock. I received from and signed by him, a Warrant for the sole superintendency and management of the affairs of the Six United Nations of Indians their allies and dependents, also some Instructions relating to my conduct; I further received from him two thousand pounds sterling, part to be laid out in presents and the remainder for various other expences, which would arise from the part I was to act; besides this the General has given me an unlimited Credit upon Gov^r^ Shirley for what further sumes this service might call for.

Immediately upon my return home I sent Messages with Belts and Wampum thro' the several Nations, to acquaint them with my appointment, and to desire they would come down to my house with all possible dispatch; they came and herewith I transmit to your Lord^ps^ an authenticated copy of my proceedings at this meeting. Tho' I have not General Braddock's Instructions for doing this, yet I have wrote him I should take this honour upon me, and as he is

at a great distance from any of our Sea-Port Towns, I doubt not but both, your Lord[pps] and the General will approve of this method.

In the monies I have laid out, in those I shall be obliged to lay out, I have and shall be governed, by the most prudent frugality, which circumstances will admitt of; my accounts shall be kept with all possible regularity, and an undeviating integrity shall govern my whole conduct.

I think it my duty to acquaint your Lordships with the following particulars relative to the Department I am now placed in.

From the weakness of the public influence of this Colony on the confederate nations; from the superior activity, attention and artful conduct of the French, the British Interest hath been long declining amongst these Indians.

From Informations confirmed by my own observations and experience, I am convinced that several of the most leading Men in the upper Nations of this confederacy, had entered into engagements with the French, and would speedily have effected a general defection from us to them and joined the French against us, and I fear their example would have produced a total destruction of our interest amongst the confederate Nations.

I think I can now take upon me to assure your Lord[pps] there are very few, I hope none amongst the whole confederacy, who in the present disputes between our Crown and the French, do not sincerely wish us success and are not disposed to assist our Arms. I hope in a few weeks they will demonstrate this their present temper of mind by their actions. If we continue to exert ourselves with the spirit which seem[s] at present to animate us, should be successful, and right measures are pursued with regard to Indian Affairs, I doubt not but the ambitious and deep laid schemes of the French, not only with regard to these Indians, but all those various Nations who surround the Dominion of great Brittain in America, will not only be frustrated but receive a mortal wound. True it is, that to obtain this desirable end, a great expence for perhaps some years will necessarily arise, but the alternatives in my humble opinion most glaringly deserve it, and the beneficial consequences will abundantly repay it.

Three things appear to me necessary to be put in execution with all convenient speed, & which I humbly recommend to your Lord[pps] attention.

First: that the complaints of the Indians respecting their lands, be taken into a speedy and impartial consideration, and a final determination made therein. They have often and warmly applyed to Governors here, but met with no redress. Some very powerful and wealthy people in this Province are I believe concerned in these complaints. The two Patents which the Indians lay most to heart, are: Cayaderossoras and the Connojohery Patent, and till Justice

is done them therein, I am convinced they will think themselves oppressed and I fear with some reason. I apprehend the common powers of a Gov^r^ merely as such, are not equal to this affair. I hope your Lord^pps^ wisdom will fall upon some happy method to terminate by sufficient Authority these perplexing matters, which when the time grow more calm, will, if not remedied, be of fatal consequence. I gave the Indians my promise (speaking after their manner) that I would write to the King their Father on these complaints, and that I did not doubt but he would do them Justice, and this they depend on.

The Second particular which I would humbly recommend to your Lord^pps^ attention is: To build wooden Forts at the Chief residing place of each Nation who can be prevailed on to admit it; to keep each of them garrisoned with at least a Lieut^ts^ Party; that the Officer be judiciously chosen, laid under certain restrictions, and that to both, Officers & Men by encreasing their Pay or by some other methods, it be made an eligible duty.

Thirdly: That a provision be made for Gunsmiths or armourers, to reside at each of the said Forts, that a warehouse of such commodities, Rum excepted, as Indians are in the most constant want of, be kept in or near said Forts, to be sold under proper regulations by persons understanding their language, who may also act as residents and Interpreters, accountable to the Supperintendant of Indian Affairs, and to be by him authorized, and that no other person or persons do presume to interfere in the said business.

My unwillingness to press upon Your Lord^pps^ patience, and the call of the public upon me at this interesting juncture, will not permit me to enlarge further upon these hints, to which I beg leave to add, the securing the Navigation of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, both which I am glad to find are now on foot.

Since my public transactions I have had a private conference with some Indians who tell me, their chief reasons against going to General Braddock's assistance, are, that as they doubt not Gov^r^ Dinwiddies Influence over those Southern Nations of Indians who live on the back of Virginia, will procure their assistance to M^r^ Braddock, and that if those and they were to meet together, as a good understanding does not at present subsist between them, some Broils might arise, fatal to themselves, and very disserviceable to our Cause. I have advised General Braddock hereof.

Gov^r^ Shirley will, I make no doubt find as many Indians at and about Oswego as he will want. In my humble opinion, his safety does not require any in his way up thither as it lays thro' their several Countrys. The Indians were of the same opinion as are most persons whom I have heard speak on the subject.

I expect upwards of 300 will join me in my March towards Crown

Point. The Colonies have made a provision only for 300. and that not sufficient in many articles.

I have endeavoured to do my duty in the station I am placed with regard to the Indian affairs, to the utmost of my abilities. I have neither spared myself Day or night, and have indeed greatly injured my health by it; I shall however rejoice if my conduct meets with your Lord^{pps} approbation, and that I may thereby be honoured with his Maj^{tys} gracious acceptance of my duty and faithfullness:

My Lords, Justice and Truth, call on me to acknowledge, the faithfullness, diligence and capacity of the Secretary for Indian Affairs in the execution of his Office, he has at present but about £60 sterl^{g} per annum without any perquisites—I am—My Lords. ettc.

W^{m} JOHNSON.

CONFERENCE BETWEEN SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON AND THE INDIANS.

The proceedings of the Hon^{ble} W^{m} Johnson Esq^{re}, sole Superintendent of Indian Affairs with Nine confederate Nations of Indians, at a public meeting held at Mount Johnson in the Province of New York.

Names of the Nine Nations.

Senecas
Cayouges
Oneidas
Tuscarorers
Onondages
Tiederigroenes
Schanadarighroenes
Delawares & Aughquages
Upper & Lower Mohawks

} In all 1106 Men Women and Children of which a greater number of Men than were ever before known at any public Meeting.

MOUNT JOHNSON, *Saturday the 21. June 1755, P. M.*

PRESENT—The Hon^{ble} William Johnson.
The Rev^{d} M^{r} Ogilvie Indian Missionary
Peter Wraxall Secr: for Indian Affairs
M^{r} Daniel Clause, Arent Stevens, William Printup, and Jacobus Clement Interpreters.
M^{r} Ferral, Cap^{tn} Stoddert, Capt^{n} Butler and several other persons attending.

The Hon^{ble} W^{m} Johnson's first public speech to the Indians.

N B. This speech was translated and wrote in the Indian language by M^{r} Daniel Clause, a German Gentleman of education who

hath lived for sometime amongst the Indians of the Upper Mohawk Castle in order to make himself master of their language, herein he was assisted by the other Interpreters under the inspection of Coll: Johnson. Before it was delivered in public it was read in Indian to two chief Sachims and Eminent speakers of the Onondaga and Onejda Nations, and was afterwards spoken to the whole Body of Indians with their consent and approbation, by the Onondaga Sachem called Red Head who was prompted by the Onejda Sachem to whom M^r^ Clause read the speech with a low voice paragraph by paragraph, Colonel Johnson having first read it aloud to all present in English.

Brethern of the Confederate Nations here present.

With this string of Wampum I wipe away all tears from your eyes, and clear your throats, that we may cheerfully look one another in the face and that you may at this meeting attend and speake without constraint. (a string of Wam:).

Bretheren, I have been lately at Virginia where I went in company with the Governors of Boston, of New York, of Pennsylvania and Maryland to wait on his Excellency General Braddock (a great Warriour) whom our Father the King of England hath sent over to this continent with a large number of armed Men, with great Guns and other Implements of war, to protect you and all his other subjects within these his Dominions from the Insults and encroachments of the French.

With this Great Man we met the Governor of Virginia and another great warriour, who commands all the King's ships in these parts of the World.

At this meeting a great Council was held, many important affairs were considered and agreed upon, amongst which, the welfare and interest of you our Brethren bore no small part and I assure you were seriously considered. By this string of Wampum I confirm the truth of this account. (gave a large string of Wam^m^).

Brethren. The tree, in which your publick speeches and private applications to me, you have so often and so earnestly desired might be again set up, is now raised and fixed in the earth by so powerful a hand, that its roots will take a firm and deep footing, and its branches be a comfortable and extensive shade for you and all your allies to take shelter under it. For I now acquaint you that the Great King your Father, hath granted your request and that conformable to His Instructions to General Braddock, I am appointed to the sole management and superintendency of all affairs relating to you and your Allies which may be transacted in these parts. And by this Belt I now invite you and all your Allies to come and sit under this tree where you may freely open your hearts and get all your wounds healed. (gave a Belt of Wampum).

I do Bretheren, at the same time remove the Embers which remained at Albany and rekindle the Fire of Council and Friendship at this Place; and this Fire I shall make of such wood as will give the clearest light and greatest warmth, and I hope it will prove comfortable and useful to all such as will come and light their pipes at it, and dazzle and scortch all those who are or may be Enemies to it. I expect Bretheren that you will on your parts increase the Lustre and benefits of this fire, by keeping it dressed up and attending it with that diligent zeal, as may render it not only a blessing to yourselves but to your posterity. To obtain and secure these salutary ends, it will be absolutely necessary for you, totally to extinguish all other deceitful and unnatural fires which are made up to mislead and in the end destroy both you and yours; to confirm and enforce your compliance with what I have now said on this subject I give you this Belt. (gave a Belt of Wampum).

Bretheren, With this string of Wampum I make this Council Room clean and free from everything offensive, and I hope that you will take care that no Snake may creep in amongst us or any thing which may obstruct our harmony.

(gave a string of Wampum).

Brethren. I must admonish and exhort you, that you will at all times, but more especially at this important conjuncture, pluck from your hearts, and cast away all discord, jealousies and misunderstandings which may subsist amongst you, or which any evil spirit may endeavour to raise in your hearts—Consult together with that love and confidence which becomes Bretheren—Let your general interest be the desire, and above all things engage the attention of every particular man amongst you. Unity amongst Brethren is the best & surest defence against every Enemy. Brothers joined together with love and confidence are like a great Bundle of sticks which can not be broke whilst they are bound together, but when separated from each other, a Child may breake them. (here a bundle of sticks bound together were delivered by Coll: Johnson to the Speaker who with a very lively action and in an animated manner exemplified the Metaphor, and gave the Bundle of Sticks to a Sachem on the Front Bench—Upon this a universal Shout of applause was given) so will it be with you—if you keep in Union and love with one another, You will be strong and your Enemies can not hurt you—but if you are inflamed and divided by jealousies and mistrust, you may be easily destroyed. To fix in your hearts and to render this advice which I have given you effectual, I strengthen it with this belt of Wampum (Gave a Belt).

Bretheren, I have a speech to give you from His Excell^cy General Braddock and some presents which the great King your Father hath sent you by that Warrior. I shall deliver you this speech with an-

other of my own the day after tomorrow. And as what I shall then say will be of the greatest importance to you all, I desire that none will absent themselves either Men, Women or Children.

The Coll: then told them he had done for this time.—

A few minutes afterwards the Great Sachem of the Mohawk Nation rose up and said.

Brother. We return you our most grateful acknowledgements for the speech you have made to us, and also for the promise of the further speeches you mention; and for the present we take our leave of you.

MOUNT JOHNSON *23. June 1755*

The Sachims having this morning sent notice to Coll: Johnson that they proposed making their reply to his speech of the 21. inst: he consented to put off delivering them General Braddock's speech and his own till tomorrow P. M.

PRESENT—The Hon^ble^ William Johnson.
The Rev^d^ M^r^ Ogilvie the Missionary
Peter Wraxall Secr: & the Interpreters as before.
Lieu^t^ Butler, those formerly mentioned, and many other persons of the neighbourhood attending.

Hendrick the Mohawk Sachim first rose up and said:

Brother Wariaghejaghe (Coll: Johnson's Indian Name). The Confederate Nations are now ready to make their reply to your speech to them on last Saturday; are you prepared and disposed to hear what they have to say?

Collonel Johnson told them, he was.

Hendrick then rose up again and addressing himself to the Indians said:

Brother Sachims and You Warrior my children!

We are now assembled to reply to our Brother Wariaghejaghe. I will therefore acquaint you with the method, which has alwa[y]s been observed by our Forefathers on these occasions.

The Mohawks, the Onondagas and the Senecas being the Elder Brothers of the confederacy, the Speaker at all public times, was chosen out of one or other of those Nations, nor was any preference given to either of the three, from whichever of them a speaker was chosen, there was no fear but every thing would be regularly conducted; and I give you notice that our Brother Kaghswughtioni (alias Red Head) an Onondaga Sachim is chosen for our speaker at this meeting. You Warrior and young men take notice and remember this Custom.—[A great Council of the Sachims & Chief Warriors of all the Nations had been held upon this Reply the whole morning and Hendrick was nominated for their speaker but he declined it and proposed Kaghswughtioni which was at last agreed to. This Kaghswughtioni for some years past had been very much in

the French Interest but by Coll: John'son's influence had been shaken in his attachment towards them, and the Coll: had now brought him quite over to ours.] Kaghswughtioni then rose up and addressed himself to Coll: Johnson and said as follows:

Brother Wariaghejage sole Superintendent of our Affairs, and all you who are here present, attend to what I am going to say.

We the Confederate Nations now Assembled do by this String of Wampum return you our Brotherly thanks for the ceremony of wiping away our Tears ettc:—We do the same to you for every cause of grief you may have had and we also clear your throat and Heart that you may speake with an unconstrained freedom. We condole with our Brothers the English for all the Blood which hath been spilt by the French and all other Enemies.

(Gave a string of Wampum)

Brother. If we are deficient in any manner of form or should forget to answer in a particular manner any part of your speech, we hope you will excuse us. We only depend upon our Memories and cannot have recourse as you may to any written records.

Brother. We take very kindly, and thank you for the relation you have given us of your Journey to Virginia and what passed at the Great Council there, and we are thankful to the great King our Father for sending over Gen[l] Braddock with so many of his warriors and great Guns to secure our Lands from the encroachments of the French.

(gave a string of Wampum).

Brother. We were grieved and distressed whilst the Tree lay down. We are with the utmost gratitude, sensible of the King our Father's goodness and kindness towards us in granting our request, which was made from the bottom of our hearts, to have it raised up again. We are universally rejoiced to see this Tree replanted and that in so strong a manner; we hope it will be nourished by refreshing streams, that it may grow up as high as the heavens, and be proof against every envious wind; that it[s] branches may be large and numerous enough to afford sufficient shelter for us and our Brethren to come and consult under it; and that our Children's Children may bless the hand that planted it.

(gave a Belt).

Brother. We have been long in darkness, and we are extremely obliged to the King our Father, for now restoring us to that clear and comfortable light which in old times cheared our Forefathers, by appointing You to the sole Management of our affairs, who have always treaded us kindly and honestly and whom we look upon as our own flesh and Blood. You last year to our great satisfaction made up the Fire at Onondaga of such wood as will never burn out. As to the Fire at Albany it was so low and so bad, that we could

not find even a spark to light a pipe at it, & we can not express our joy, that here we shall now have a fire that will answer every purpose we wish for, and that it will never be extinguished. We look on you Brother, as the King our Father's representative and that we are under your direction and disposal, and the fire you have kindled here, as well as that at Onondaga, we will cherish, and all other fires we thus kick away (here the Speaker kicked with his foot) as unnatural and hateful to us.—[The Speaker then presented a Belt of Wampum to Coll: Johnson and made three low bows and all the Indians gave a shout.]

Brother. We are much obliged to you for renewing our ancient forms. You have Records of these things, and we thank you for putting us in mind of them by clearing this Council place; and we assure you we will on our parts endeavor to keep it clean and free from every thing that may be hurtful or unfriendly.

(gave a string of Wampum).

Brother. We are extremely thankful to you for conveying your good advice to us to be sincerely and affectionately United together, in so expressive a manner as you did by this bundle of sticks. It hath warmed our hearts, and we are sensible that divided, we shall be like this single stick easily broken and destroyed, and we are determined to support that strickt union which rendered our Forefathers formidable and happy. (gave a Belt of Wampum).

Here the Speaker made a bow and sat down.

The Chief Sachim of Oneida then rose up and addressing himself to the Mohawks, Onondagas and Senecas, and said:

Fathers and Elder Brothers. We acquaint you that as one of our Sachims called Connochquisie is dead we raise up this Boy (presenting one) in his room and give him the same Name. Then he addressed himself to Coll: Johnson and said the same unto him and gave him a String of Wampum. Coll: Johnson took the Lad by the hand, and said he was pleased with the appointment, and desired the Sachems of that Nation, to introduce him to morrow morning and he would cloath him as usual.—Coll: Johnson then returned the Assembly his thanks for their respectful and affectionate answer to his speech; and having given him notice by one of the Sachims to attend to-morrow, great and small to hear what he had further to say to them, and that two Cannon would be fired as a signal; the Colonel then withdrew and the Assembly broke up.

Mount Johnson *25 June 1755.*

This morning Coll: Johnson examined the two Onondaga Indians whom he dispatched the 15th ult° to Cadarachqui for intelligence. They arrived here some days ago, but there was no time to examine them till this morning.

Present—Peter Wraxall Secr:—Arent Stevens interpreter.

The Chief Man of the said two Indians says: That at the Falls of Oswegoe River he met an Indian who had lived at the new French settlement of Sweegachie which is below Cadarachqui on the River S[t] Lawrence and had left it about 8 or 10 days before; that he sat down and entered into conversation with him and thereby learnt the following particulars:

That he and the other Indians of the Six Nations whom the French had drawn away to settle at Sweegachie were obliged to break up their settlement there for want of provisions, for that all was given away to and consumed by the Troops, which Marched that way to the Ohio and that the Priest who was settled at Sweegachie had left that place.

That he told him 1200. Troops had gone by this spring to the Ohio but there were very few Troops kept in garrison at Cadarachqui Fort, and that all the Troops go from Niagara to the Ohio.

He told him there was another Indian whom he expected to come along, and if he would wait he might have more news from him. He did, and the second Indian came up to them. This Indian confirmed what the other said, and added that 800 more Troops had passed Sweegachie since the above mentioned 1200 bound also for Ohio. That at Cadarachqui Fort there used commonly to be but 4. Cannon but that there were now 15. that the walls were about two foot and a half thick, he shewed it with a stick. That the Gov[r] of Canada had insisted upon each of the Castles of Indians settled round about Canada to give him ten warriors a piece to go to Ohio, & ten also from Sweegachie; but that the Indians were displeased at the demand and with the warlike proceedings at Ohio, that it was with great difficulty the Gov[r] of Canada could prevail on the Indians to grant him any warriors, but at length he obtained five from each Castle and had the same number from Sweegachie.

That the French Officer at Cadaraghqui had asked him if the Fort at Oswego was a strong one, he told him it was, the Officer said: no, it is not, I can push it down with a stick.

He likewise told him all the Indians were leaving the settlement of Sweegachie for want of provisions. Our Indians having gained this Intelligence thought it unnecessary to go to Cadarachqui themselves & so returned.—

Last night the scouting party sent the 7. inst: to spy at Crown Point returned, and say they could make no discoveries, that all seemes very still there, and that they did not see even a Centinell at the gate.

MOUNT JOHNSON *24. June 1755. P. M.*

The Honble William Johnson's second speech to the Sachems and Warriors of the Confederate Nations.

PRESENT—The Honble William Johnson
The Revd Mr Ogilvie Missionary.
Peter Wraxall secretary for Indian Affairs.
The Interpreters as before.
Most of the persons who attended yesterday ettc:

The same methods were taken with this speech which are notifyed at the Coll's first Speech only that Hendrick the Mohawk sachem was joined with the Onondaga and Onejda Sachems and all three divided the delivery of it between them. The Secretary for Indian Affairs read it first aloud in English by Coll: Johnson's Orders.

N B. Coll: Johnson had designed to have delivered General Braddocks speech before he did this, but he afterwards judged *this* would be a proper introduction to *that*, and the Sachems he consulted and who assisted in speaking this speech told him, it would be more adviseable to prepare the Indians for General Braddock's speech, by giving them the first.

Bretheren Sachems and Warriours of the Confederate Nations here present.—With this string of Wampum I pick your ears and I desire you will give the most serious attention to all I shall now say to you

(gave a string of Wampum)

Behold Bretheren these great Books [Four folio Volumes of the Records of Indian Affairs which lay upon the Table before the Colonel] They are Records of the many solemn Treaties and the various transactions which have passed between your Forefathers and your Bretheren the English, also between many of you here present and us your Bretheren now living.—You well know and these Books testifie that it is now almost 100 years since your Forefathers and ours became known to each other.—That upon our first acquaintance we shook hands and finding we should be useful to one another, entered into a covenant of Brotherly love and mutual friendship.—And tho' we were at first only tied together by a Rope, yet lest this Rope should grow Rotten and break, we tied ourselves together by an iron Chain—lest time and accident might rust and destroy this Chain of iron, we afterwards made one of Silver; the strength and brightness of which would but eject to no decay—The ends of this Silver chain we fixt to the immoveable mountains, and this in so firm a manner, that the hands of no mortal Enemy might be able to remove it. All this my Bretheren you know to be Truth; you know also that this Covenant Chain of love and friendship, was the dread and envy of all your Enemies and ours, that by keeping it

bright and unbroken, we have never spilt in anger one drop of each other's blood to this day.—You well know also that from the beginning to this time we have almost every year strengthened and brightened this Covenant Chain in the most publick & solemn manner. You know that we became as one body, one blood and one people, the same King our common Father, that your Enemies were ours, that whom you took into your Alliance and allowed to put their hands into this Covenant Chain as Brethren, we have always considered and treated as such.

Bretheren. You know also, that from the beginning the French were your declared and most cruel Enemies—Did they not stir up and join the surrounding Nations of Indians to oppress and cut you off from the face of the Earth? did they not cruelly and treacherously drive your Forefathers from their ancient habitations, and obliged them to remove to where you are now settled? did they not still continue their Devilish and Blood thirsty Enmity against you, and endeavour many and many times to burn these your settlements and destroy your Men, Women and Children? did not your Bretheren the English in these times of your distress, support and assist you with arms & amunition? And when by our Union we have become strong, did we not go out to war with you against the French and their Indians, bring off a great Number of prisoners and Scalps, and make all the French in Canada tremble? did not the French find that by your entering into a Covenant Chain with us, you were become so strong and powerful, that they could not destroy you by open force? did they not then make peace with you and pretend a friendship for you? but were they faithful and sincere to these professions? no, did they not talk of peace with their Lips when war was in their hearts? did they not smile on you when they had the Hatchet in their bosoms? did they not under the professions of friendship, betray, deceive, and murder you at Cadarachqui? did they not make war on and kill you at the Senecas, the Onondagas, the Oneidas and the Mohawks? do not the bones of your Forefathers remain a testimony of it to this day and call on you, their children, ever to mistrust the fair speeches of the French and to revenge their foul deeds? did they not impose on your good nature and confidence, when they begged your leave to build small houses at Cadarachqui, Niagara and Crown Point upon your lands, and instead thereof build Forts and put soldiers therein contrary to your inclinations and their agreement with you? and in order to secure yourselves from their treacherous encroachments, did you not put all your lands under the protection and dominion of the Great King of England your Father, by a solemn deed in writing signed by your great Men of each Nation, and which the books now before me testifie? did not the French afterwards delude some of you and partly by art, and partly by force, build a strong House

even at your Castle at Onondaga ? and did not the Great Quieder come up, pull it down and burned it to the ground, and to your great joy drive the French Men away ?

I should never make an end, if I were to relate to you, how often and how much of your blood the French have spilt—how frequently they have deceived and endeavored by their wicked lies and abominable Arts, to make you suspicious of us your Bretheren, and to prevail on you to breake the Covenant Chain of Your Forefathers; when these base methods would not fully succeed, have they not often and that lately, like Devils in the shape of Men, poisoned some of your wisest Sachems and greatest warriors who were the best friends to your Bretheren the English ? did they not six years ago, send a body of armed Men under the Command of Monsr Celleron, to surprise and cut off your Bretheren at the Ohio, which they would in all probability have succeeded in, had I not prevented it, by giving them timely notice of their danger ? have they not absolutely taken possession of your best Hunting grounds at Ohio and built Forts thereon, contrary to your inclinations, as you have often declared to me ?

Thus have in the shortest manner I was able, rehearsed to you some of the chief matters which have passed in old times and in these our days, between you and your Bretheren the English ; also the behaviour of your ancient and most bloody Enemies the French, who are in their hearts still the same, whatever they may profess with their lips. I know that most of these things have been handed down to you by your Forefathers, and that many of your Sachems here present, can in a great measure witness the truth of them. However, I thought it necessary at this important time, to give you this general relation, that your young people may put it into their hearts, and I give you this Belt of Wampum as a testimony that what I have told you is truth and fact (gave a Belt).

And now my Bretheren, I ask you, and I desire every Man present to put his hand on his heart and ask himself seriously this question: *who have been, who are the Friends and bretheren of the Five Confederate Nations and their Allies? the English or the French?* Does it require any time to consider, does it require any argument to determine ? if you can be one moment in doubt, I must tell you, you will not act like the Children of those Brave & honest Men, whom you call your Forefathers, but like French Men in the shape of the Five Nations. Are you indeed our Brethren ? Are you the Children of our ancient friends and brothers ? Are you those Sachems and Warriors of the Five Confederate Nations, whom the Great King of England, the best and most upright Prince in the world, loves and honours as his Wise, his Warlike and dutiful Children ? Are you the Bretheren of the English ? Are you my Broth-

ers also? I hope you are, and if so, I am sure you can not in your hearts deny, but that the English have ever been, still are, and while you remain true to your solemn engagements and keep the Covenant Chain unbroken, I assure you will ever be, your affectionate Bretheren & steady friends; And that on the other hand, the French have been and still are in their hearts, Enemies whom you are at all times bound to suspect & detest.

Thus I am sure you ought to think, and I am persuaded do think. Be Men therefore, and be neither affraid nor ashamed, with one United voice to make an honest and open profession thereof. I call on you by this large Belt of Wampum

(gave a large belt of Wampum.)

Bretheren. Whatever Reports the French may artfully spread amongst you to alarm & excite jealousies in you against the English your Ancient Bretheren, your sincere Friends and Faithfull Allies, believe me they are false, raised only to ruin and enslave you, to establish their own power, and then execute upon you & yours that malice and hatred which they now keep concealed. Be wise then my Bretheren and in order to remove from you any jealousies which those vile lies and abominable arts of our Enemies the French may make you harbour against your Bretheren the English—I call *that Almighty Spirit above to witness, who made us all, and knows our hearts, who created the sun which shines upon us, and in whose hands are the Thunder and Lightning, That we your Brethren have no ill designs whatsoever against you.* [The French have lately propagated amongst our Indians that the English intend to environ and cut them off, and as the present armaments without any formal declaration of War have raised the attention and caused some serious surprise in the Indians, they, who are naturally suspicious have been much affected by these Reports. Colonel Johnson therefore thought it necessary to make the above declaration in such solemn terms, thinking it would be the most effectual method to prevent hereafter the influence of these base & pernicious reports of the French from having the effects they propose, and to establish the confidence of the Indians in our Integrity] If you will stand by and uphold the Covenant Chain of Your Forefathers—if you will continue to be dutiful & faithful children to the great King of England your Father, if you will be true Brothers to the English, and neither enter into any underhand engagements with the French, or into any Treaties with them against your Bretheren the English, If you will do this with sincerity and keep it truly and honestly—I am now ready with this Belt in the Great King Your Father's name, to renew, to make more strong and bright than ever the Covenant Chain of love and friendship, between all the English upon this Continent and you the Confederate Nations here present, your

Allies and Dependants. And that it be now agreed between us, that those who are Friends or Enemies to the English, shall be considered as such by the said Confederate Nations their Allies and Dependents, and that your Friends and Enemies shall be ours.

(Here a Union Belt was given).

Bretheren. It is not that the English are affraid of the French or any of their Enemies, that I make you this offer; it is because your Father the Great King of England loves and honours the memory of your Forefathers, and is inclined to treat you, their Children, as his Children, provided you will be as dutiful and faithful as they were. He is willing and he is able to protect, you, your wives and Children from the power and Enmity of the French. And he is determined to drive all the Frenchmen into their Country of Canada, for which purpose his Warriors are now gathered together with their swords in their hands, his great guns are loaded and all his warlike instruments are sharpened and ready. If you will therefore be so wanting to your own interest, as to join with the Enemies, or will refuse to go to war with your Father and Brethren, you will draw upon your own heads the fatal consequence of your wickedness and your folly—If you have any regard for, if you have that confidence I have reason to expect in me your Brother and friend, for whom you have always expressed an affection and who, you know has never deceived you—harken to my advice—I love you and speake for your good—*Stand by your Bretheren the English*—don't break your Covenant Chain with them, let not the French boastings or lies deceive you. The English have indeed been long asleep, but now, they are thoroughly awake; they are slow to spill blood, but when they begin, they are like an angry Wolf, and the French will fly before them like Deer. Now is your time, Brothers to chose, which side you will be of; if you are wise you want but little time to determine, but upon this determination depends the future happiness of yourselves, your Wives & children after you.

Bretheren, Here is a speech I received a few days ago from our Brother Schaaoradjady in answer to one I some time ago sent him and which I shall now read to: viz^{t}:

FORT CUMBEBLAND *15 May 1755.*

Brother. This day I received a speech delivered me by George Croghan in your name. I have been here these four days waiting on the General with all the Warriors I had at George Croghan's house, he himself came in company with us.

Brother. I am glad to hear our Father the King of England has appointed you to take care of the Indians. You are well known to us and a Man we can trust. I answer you that I and all my people here will heartily join the General and go with him to fight the

French, and I hope you will send what warriors you can spare to join us and we assure you we shall always be ready, and to confirm what we now say to you we present to you this Belt of Wampum.

(Gave a Belt).

Now Bretheren. After all I have said and when you see by this speech, that our Bretheren to the Southward have joined General Braddock, and determined to go with him and fight the French, and when I tell you also that by this letter which I received at the same time from Mr Croghan who is likewise with General Braddock, that great numbers of other Indians are daily expected at the Camp with the same intentions. I say after all these things, if you our Bretheren whose courage and Bravery are known far and near, and from whom we have a right to expect the warmest Zeal towards us, should on this great occasion show yourselves cool and inactive; shall not we have reason to think, will not the surrounding Nations believe either that you lost your ancient Bravery, or that the Convenant Chain of friendship and alliance no longer exists between the English Nation and you.—I am ordered to go myself with a considerable number of your Bretheren from the neighbouring Provinces over whom I am appointed to the Chief Commander with great guns and other implements of war, to drive the French from their encroachments on your hunting grounds in this Province; if you will be dutiful to the King your Father, if you will be faithful to your Bretheren the English, if you will treat me as your Brother, Go with me. My war kettle is on the Fire, my Canoe is ready to put in the water, my Gun is loaded, my sword by my side, and my Ax is sharpened. I desire and expect you will now take up the Hatchet and join us, your Bretheren against all our Enemies. Bretheren. I well know the Coghnawagas are as your own flesh & blood. We look upon them at present as our Bretheren also, and to convince you, how tender I am of every one who belongs to you, I promise you, I will take every method in my power to make the Coghnawagas sensible of their true Interest on the present occasion, and to prevent if I possibly can, one drop of their blood from being spilt by us; and to obtain this desireable end, I make no doubt you will lend me your assistance; but if neither your endeavours nor mine will perswade them to get out of the way of mischief, they must take what follows. I will treat those who go with me as Bretheren, and in their absence take care and support the Old Men, the women and Children who belong to them. Dont you already see the King your Father is resolved to secure you and your Country by sending his Troops to Oswego, and many more are getting ready to go there, so that if the French should attempt your destruction, we shall be between you and them and stand their warmest attacks. If after all these friendly exhortations and sincere prom-

ises made to you, you should be still obstinate and blind to your own Interest, I am determined to demit the management of your affairs entirely and leave this Country.

By this large Belt therefore I call on you to raise up like honest and Brave Men and join your Bretheren and me against our common Enemy and by it I confirm the assurances I have given you.—(Hereupon Coll; Johnson himself presented the War Belt to Abraham a Chief Sachem of the upper Mohawk Castle.)

When the Speech was ended Coll: Johnson told them that as it was a very long one and continued several matters of greater consequence at this important time. He desired they would appoint a deputation from each Nation to go now up stairs with him, where the speech should be again read over to them that it might be fully imprinted on their memories.

They accordingly appointed their deputies and M^r^ Clause read it over and was assisted by the interpreters and some Sachems in the pronunciation, and they said they now had it perfectly.

Coll: Johnson gave notice that to-morrow, he would deliver them General Braddocks speech.

And then this days conference broke up:

MOUNT JOHNSON. *25 June 1755. P. M.*

PRESENT—as yesterday.

The same method was made use of in translating and delivering the following speech as is mentioned to have been observed in Coll: Johnson's two former speeches.—This speech was spoke wholly by Kaghswughtioni the Onondaga Sachem, prompted by Hendrick the Mohawk Sachem.

All being seated and ready, Hendrick by Coll: Johnson's directions said:

Bretheren and Warriors of the Confederate Nations: Attend to the speech of his Excell^cy^ General Braddock.

The speech was first read in English by the Secretary for Indian Affairs.

To the Sachems, Warriors and Great Men of the Six Nations.

The speech of his Excell^cy^ Edward Braddock Esq^re^ General and Commander in Chief of all His Britaanic Majesty's forces in North America.

Brothers. His Maj^ty^ the Great King of England our Father being absolutely determined to punish with the utmost severity Our and your Enemies the French, who have unjustly invaded his frontiers and your Hunting grounds contrary to your consent and have committed great hostility against you and your Bretheren the English inhabiting these Colonies for many years, all which is very well

known to you; and also to chastize those Indians who have dared to take up the Hatchet and to join with the King our Father's Enemies, who are too treacherous to be confided in, and too weak to support them, has therefore sent me with a very large Force of Men and all kinds of warlike instruments from England, to recover his own Dominions and your possessions and to drive these Invaders for ever from you.

I send this by Coll: Johnson one of my officers to whom I have committed the sole management of all Affairs, between our Father the King and Your, and what he is going to say to you I desire you to receive as my own words. In confirmation thereof I give you a Belt of Wampum (Gave a Belt).

Brothers. You are very sensible of the great friendship and affection which has subsisted between the English and your Nations, for many generations, and that the French by their unjust invasions of your lands, and cruel behaviour to you and Your Bretheren, the English, are endeavouring all in their power to make a Breach between us and you and to rust the Chain which till now remained clear and which I am determined to brighten in hopes it will continued so while the sun and Moon gives light

(Gave a Belt).

Brother Sachems & Warriors of the Six Nations.

Remember and take notice, that I now desire, you will immediately take up the Hatchet against the French and their Indians, and that with a fixed resolution, to join us against our common Enemy, agreable to the usual Custom of your Ancestors, which will be very agreable to our Father the King, and you may be assured I shall represent your Conduct at this time in its proper light.

(Gave a Belt of Wampum)

The French our common Enemy on the other side the great Lake, much alarmed at the armament sent from England under my Command to your assistence, were preparing to send a considerable Force to Canada, to assist your Enemies there, but the King our Father has prevented their attempts, by sending out some of his large ships of war, and blocking them up in their Ports. During the time I command the King our Father's Forces on this Continent, you may assuredly depend on my assistance and brotherly protection, and its expected on your parts, that you will, with the spirit and activity, so well known to be your Characters, not hesitate, but exert yourselves & immediately declare against the French & join your Brothers and old friends the English.

(gave a very large Belt of Wampum).

The Amity and Friendship now proposed, I doubt not will continue while the Mountains remain and the Rivers run.

In confirmation of all the above, I present you with a Belt of Wampum.

E. BRADDOCK.

N. B. The paragraph which begins with: "Remember and take notice" was at the delivery of the speech spoke last (as the War Belt is always given at the conclusion of a speech) when Coll: Johnson threw down the War Belt in General Braddock's name, it was taken up by an Onejda Sachem, when Arent Stevens the Interpreter began the War dance for General Braddock, he then danced one for Coll: Johnson, to both which the Sachems bore the usual Chorus.

Coll: Johnson then ordered a large Tub of punch out, for, to drink the King's health.

After which the Assembly broke up.

MOUNT JOHNSON *the 26, June 1755.*

This afternoon Ottrowana a Great Sachem and Warrior of the Cajuga Nation arrived with 19 more of his people; with his also came Nockkie a Great Sachem of a Castle called the Missisagaes who lived on the North side of Lake Ontario, and belong to the Chippewyse Confederacy which chiefly dwell about the Lake Missilinianac & are a very numerous people allies of the Six Nations. He says the French have deterred all his Countrymen from coming to Trade at Oswego by telling him they would be cutt of, but that he was determined to come and proceed to Colonel Johnson's fire, that he is very glad, he is now here.

The Coll: told him he was welcome and desired he would acquaint his Nation, with what he would see and hear, and, that he would be glad at all times to see any of his Countrymen who should be well used.

MOUNT JOHNSON *28 June 1755. A. M.*

Ottrowana the Cayouga Sachem who arrived here 26th inst: sent word that he and the Mississaga Sachem desired a Conference with Coll: Johnson, they were accordingly admitted.

Ottrowana spoke as follows:

Brother. The Mississaga Sachem now present is sent from four Castles of that Nation who are Allies of the Six Nations, and as I am myself a sincere friend of the English, I think our general interest will be strengthened by securing and improving an Alliance with the said Castles.

Brother. I must desire that this Delegate, my friend may be kindly used as his report when he returns home will be of great consequence to our common iterest, and that you would send a Belt or Belts by him to his Countrymen, in which the Six Nations will join

you. He is for his part determined not to join the French, and his said four Castles have sent him to acquaint you, that they are of the same mind.

Brother. When I heard, that you had no longer the management of Indian Affairs, I did not think it worth my while to come down, but as soon as I heard, you had again taken up the direction of them and sent for the Six Nations, I came away with my people, and we were hindered by wind and weather from being here, when you spoke to the Confederate Nations, however I have since been informed of all you have said to them, and when they have by and by given you their answer, I propose to talk a little more with you in private.

Coll: Johnson replyed:

Brother. As you propose to have another conference with me, I will defer any further conversation with you upon what you have now said till then; in the mean time, I hope you will in Council, and particularly with your Nation, who, I am sorry to find, are a little backward, act according to the declaration of Friendship you have just now made.

MOUNT JOHNSON *28 June 1755*

PRESENT—Coll: Johnson, Peter Wraxall Secretary, Arent Stevens and Jacobus Clement Interpreters.
Principal Sachems of the Mohawks, Onondagas & Senecas.

Brother. We are very uneasy lest you should be displeased at our so long delaying to give you an answer to the matters you have laid before us in your's and General Braddock's speech, and we are come to acquaint you that it is not our faults, for we three Nations are agreed, & think, you have desired nothing but what is very reasonable, and does not require so much time to determine; but the leading Men of the other Nations when we thought to have come to a general conclusion, have not been capable to attend at Council, by reason of the Rum, which is to plenty amongst them. To-morrow we purpose and doubt not to give you the answer of our whole Body.—

Coll: Johnson replyed:

Bretheren. I accept and am pleased with your apology and am sensible the delay is not owing to your Nations. I should not be so impatient but my presence is very much wanted at Albany where many of the Troops I am to command are arrived and more every day coming. I published a prohibition against selling Rum in this Neighborhood. I desire you will let me know, from whence so much Rum is brought.

They said there was none sold in the neighborhood, but that it was fetched from and bought at Schenectady and Albany.

N. B. Five or six Cags of Rum had been discovered and Coll: Johnson had them taken away and lockt up, but great quantitys were daily among them, and sold to them at Schenectady and Albany, tho' the Inhabitants of both these Towns are well acquainted how much the sale of it retards and prejudices the publick service at these times, and that they are subject to penalties for selling the same.

MOUNT JOHNSON *29. June 1755. A. M.*

Sundry Sachems of the Onejda, Tuscaroras, Skaniadaradighroonas, Aughquageys, & Delawaras waited on Coll: Johnson.

The Skaniadaradighroonas, Aughquages and Delawares gave a string of Wampum by which they informed the Coll: that last war he made a Sachem of the Aughquaga Nation who is since dead. They then presented a Belt of Wampum to let him know that a young Man whom they then presented was thought proper to succeed him, and hoped the Coll: would please to accept of him and cloath him, accordingly.

The Coll: promised to do so.

The Onejdas and Tuscaroras then by a string of Wampum presented two young Men whom they said were firm to the Interest of the English, and worthy to be made Sachems, and desired they might be accepted as such, and that the Colonel would distinguish them with the usual cloathing as Sachems.—He complied with their request.

MOUNT JOHNSON *29. June 1755.*

The Sachems having sent Coll: Johnson notice that they were ready to make their reply to the speaches he had delivered to the Confederate Nations the 24 and 25 inst:—He sent them word he was ready to hear them.

The Assembly met about 2 o'clock P. M.

PRESENT—The Hon^{ble} William Johnson Esq^{re}
The Rev^{d} M^{r} Ogilvie
Peter Wraxall Secretary
The Interpreters as before and sundry other persons attending.
The Sachems and Warriors of the several Nations.

Kaghswughtioni the Onondaga Sachem spoke as follows:—

Brother Wariaghtejage, sole superintendent of our affairs.

You called upon us to give our serious attention to what you had to say to us; we assure you by this string of Wampum we did so, and we desire you will now do the same to what we are going to reply to your speech to us. (gave a string of Wampum)

Brother. We are much obliged to you for the relation you gave us of what hath passed, both, with regard to our Brethren the English as well as the French. We know it in general to be true, and we are very thankful to you for refreshing our memories with the particulars.

In those days the Governors contributed to the strength and Union of the Five Nations, we hope that you, who have now the sole Management of their affairs will do the same.

(Gave a Belt).

Brother. You desired to know, who we had most reason to believe were the friends and Brethren of the Six Nations, the English or the French, and you said we ought not be long in determining upon it. By this Belt we acknowledge the Great King of England our Father is the Master of our confederate Nations and we put our confederate Nations and we put our trust in him. Dont think Brother that we are come thither with a double heart, we are honestly and fairly in Earnest, when we acknowledge or Brotherly affection and attachment to the English, and we hope you will keep it on your side inviolable as we will do on our.

(Gave a Belt of Wampum)

Brother, No evil Reports or artful endeavours of the French shall draw us away from our affection and Unity with our Brethren the English.

We doubt not your declaration to us on renewing the Covenant Chain comes from the bottom of your heart, we on our side do with this Belt in the sight of Him who dwells on high, renew and strengthen the Ancient Love and friendship which hath ever subsisted between your Forefathers and ours, and we hope you will mind duly to renew and brighten this Covenant Chain.

(Gave a Belt of Wampum with several strings of Wampum to it).

Brother. You told us to act like the Worthy Children of our brave and honest Forefathers and to delare ourselves like Men. We thank you for putting us in mind of our Ancestors; 'tis very true they were such as you describe; we are but weak children in comparison with them, and we hope you will be a kind and tender Father to us. You have desired us not to listen to our be affraid of the French. We will not regard their insinuations, but remain dutiful to the Great King of England our Father, and tho' our neck is but small, we do not dread the French or any of our enemies, and tho' we are not inclined to enter into quarrells without reason, we will stand by our Bretheren the English & adhere to our Covenant Chain with them.

(Gave a Belt)

Brother, You have represented to us how much the French are our enemies, and you have laid before us the present State of affairs as matters of the last importance to our welfare. We think them such and we are very much obliged to you for that Esteem and Affection you have expressed for us all on this occasion, and that you are ready to go out with us, and expose your own life in conjunction with us, and that you will take care of our families in our absence. We the confederate Nations here present agree to your request and will join and assist you in your undertakings. We have not yet determined what particular numbers will go from each Castle, but we are taking the necessary steps to be ready with our people.

Brother. we know, the affairs you have proposed ought not to be delayed, but as we left our families unprepared for this event, we are desirous that some of our young Men may first return home and settle matters properly. We imagine you are not yet quite ready, and you may depend you shall not wait for us.

Kaghswughtioni then made the following reply to General Braddock's speech:

Brother. You desired us to be attentive to Gen^{l} Braddock's speech to us; by this string of Wampum we beg you will do the same to the answer we are going to make to that great Warrior.

(gave a string of Wampum).

We return Gen^{l} Braddock our grateful thanks for the information he gives us of his designe to chastize those who have invaded our hunting grounds and for the good opinion he has of us. We sincerely wish him success in his undertakings.

(gave a Belt of Wampum).

We are thankful to him that he has appointed a person so agreeable to us to take care of our affairs, and we hope that you our Brother Wariaghtiejaghe, who are now raised up by so high an Authority will continue to be our steadfast friend.

(gave a Belt).

The Speaker then took General Braddock's War Belt and Coll: Johnson's and put them together and said:

We are already declared ourselves on the one, and we now make the same declaration on the other. And we are truely thankful to Gen^{l} Braddock for the assurances of his care and protection for us.

The Speaker then took the Bundle of Sticks in his hands given by Coll: Johnson in his first speech and said.

Brother. You exhorted us by this bundle of Sticks to Union. friendship and Brotherly love. We shall stricktly observe your admonition and adhere together like true Bretheren. It seems as if your advice has already taken effect, for the Senecas are gathering together, and the Onondagas are retrieving their people from Swee-

gachie ; but Brother we must tell you, Your People are very faulty, they are too thirsty of money and carry on a Trade with the French which is not only a real prejudice to us but to yourselves also.

Conochquiesie an Onejda Sachem then rose up and said.

Brother. We are very thankful for and concur in every thing you have said to us since the present meeting. The Things you proposed required no very long consideration. You have invited us to join with you as Bretheren, we can not refuse so reasonable a proposal, and the Confederate Nations here present have complied therewith. You may perhaps think, we have not been so particular in our answer as your speech deserved but Bretheren must not stand too much on form and ceremony, the main point is settled and we hope that will give you satisfaction.

Coll: Johnson then said:

Bretheren. I am well pleased with all you have said in answer to Gen[l] Braddock and my speeches, and as I consider it must be disagreable to you to sit so long in the sun, I will not detain you at present but say something more to you to-morrow when I deliver you the presents.

Bretheren, I am very sorry that notwithstanding all the care I have taken to prevent Rum being sold to your people at this meeting or from being brought amongst you, yet it has nevertheless found its way here.

You are sensible of the many ill consequences which attend the use of this liquor. It has, I am apprehensive hindred you in your Councils and prevented many of your young Men from attending at our conference, and I must desire every one will do all in their power to hinder any more Rum from being brought and drank here.

In the evening the War Kettle was put on and at night the War dance was danced. Coll: Johnson began it. The two Sachems who were Speakers this day danced and many of the head Warriors.

MOUNT JOHNSON *1. July 1755. A. M.*

Several Sachems of the Cajouga Nation having desired a private conference with Coll: Johnson he met them this morning.

One of them spoke in the name of the rest & said:

Brother, our Nation was truly rejoiced when we heard you were again raised up according to the united request of all the Nations and it was with great readiness and pleasure that we came down to this meeting.

But we must confess that your pressing us to take up the hatchet is somewhat sudden and for which we were not prepared. Dont think Brother that we are any ways inclined to prefer the French to our Bretheren the English, we assure you we are not; the English are our Ancient Bretheren, and we are determined to stand

by them; the only concern we are under, on this occasion is on account of our Bretheren the Coghnawagaes, they are our own flesh and blood and many of us have Brothers, sons ettc who live amongst them, their safety you must think naturally affect us, and we can not but be uneasy about them and wish there was time given us to secure our kindred there from danger. This Brother is the only uneasiness we are at present under.

(Give a Belt of Wampum)

Coll: Johnson answered:

Bretheren. I know and am sensible of your relation, and your interest in the safety of the Coghnawagaes.—

I have already mentioned my sentiments in regard to them in a general manner in my publick speech which I now confirm to you.

The Coghnawagaes are at present looked on and treated by the English as Bretheren, they come now freely and unmolested to Albany, tho' it would be in our power, if we were so inclined to destroy or confine them, but I sent down orders to the soldiers there that they should be treated civilly and as friends. We have no desire or intention to spill one drop of their blood. I do propose to send a Message to them and try if they will return to their Friends and live amongst the Five Nations, and if they wont do this, to stand out of the way and not join the French against us, and in this I desire not only your concurrance but your advice. But if they will be obstinate and not only refuse our friendly admonitions, but act as Enemies against us, surely you do not expect, you can not blame us, if we treat them as their head strong rashness will deserve; as I would do by my own son or my Brother, so will do by them. Do you ask or expect any thing more and can I speak more reasonably or fairly. I give you this Belt to assure you, I mean what I have said. (gave a Belt).

They said:

Brother. We are extremely obliged to you, for what you have now said, we will seriously consider of it and then say somewhat in answer to it.

They then gave another Belt and desired they might have a Smith sent up to reside amongst them to mend their arms and their Tools and that they could not do without so necessary a person and requested also, that a Man whom they named might come up with the Smith and bring a little dry goods and some Gunpowder and lead to sell but no Rum.

The Coll: promised he would look out for a Smith, and enquire if the person they named was proper and willing to go.

They then withdrew with great appearance of satisfaction.

MOUNT JOHNSON *1 July. 1755. P. M.*

PRESENT—The Hon^ble^ William Johnson Esq^re^
Peter Wraxall Secretary
The Interpreters as before, and several other persons attending.

N. B. The following speech was translated into Indian by M Clause and spoke by Hendrick the Mohawk Sachem. The presents were set out in the middle of the yard, the Sachems and Warriors of the several nations sitting round.

Coll: Johnson's speech:

Brethren of the Confederate Nations here present.

[This speech was designed to be delivered with the presents as yesterday but it raining violently all day long prevented].

The day before yesterday you engaged yourselves to assist your Brethren the English in their undertakings now on foot against their and your enemies, the French. You have in this acted like dutiful children of the great King of England your Father, like Brethren to the English and like true children of your brave and honest Forefathers. I hope you will fulfill your engagements like honest Men and be guilty of no deceit or breach of your words; if you should, you will be detestable to all Men. (gave a Belt.)

Bretheren. I expect and desire you will acquaint all your allies and dependents with the engagements you have entered into and press upon them to act conformably thereto.

(Gave a large string of Wampum).

Bretheren. You desire, some of your young men may return home to settle matters relating to your families as you left them unprepared for this event.

As I would be far from insisting upon any thing that might be prejudicial to your safety & welfare, so I am willing, some of your young men should return home as you request. But I desire that some may immediately go and join the rest of their Bretheren with General Braddock, and I shall send a White person well known to them to go with them [Here Capt^n^ Stoddert stood up and was presented as one to whom the Coll: designed to send with them to General Braddock] and you may be assured they will be well received and kindly treated by the General. (Gave a Belt).

Bretheren. Your Brother and friend Gov^r^ Shirley who is well known to you is now or will in a day or two be at Albany. He is is going to Oswego with a great number of Soldiers who are now at Albany and Schenectady. He designs to go to Niagara to prevent the French from sending any more reinforcements to the Ohio, and to open the Road which is now stopped for your and our Bretheren to the Westward to come to Oswego. He expects and I desire you

will meet him there and give him that assistance in his undertakings which as bretheren you are bound to do (Gave a Belt).

I shall in a little time be ready to march with the forces under my command for Crown Point, and I desire you will have some Warriors of each Nation here to attend my directions, and when I send for more that they may be ready to join us. (a Belt.)

Bretheren. I propose to send a Message with a Belt of Wampum to our Bretheren the Coghnawagaes and before your departure I desire your advice and assistance therein agreeable to what I mentioned in my speech (Gave a large string of Wampum).

Bretheren. Here is a present which the King your Father hath sent you by Gen^{l} Braddock. I desire that you will make a just and equal division of it. There is a large quantity of gun powder to be likewise given you, as it would be dangerous to give it now, you shall have it when you are going away.

MOUNT JOHNSON *3. July 1755. A. M.*

Hendrick and his Brother Abraham Chief Sachems of the upper Mohawk Castle waited on Colonel Johnson and acquainted him, that they had received certain intelligence from the half King, who is with Gen^{l} Braddock, that six young Men relations of theirs who went to the Southward early this year were all cut off by the Creek Indians, and tho' it was a very severe and afflicting loss to them, yet they assured Coll: Johnson it should not hinder them from assisting in the public business at this juncture and that they would promote all in their power the affairs he had recommended at this meeting.

MOUNT JOHNSON *3. July 1755. P. M.*

The Sachems of the several Nations having given Coll: Johnson notice that they were ready to make a reply to his speech to them of the 1st inst: he sent them word he was ready to meet them. They accordingly assembled.

PRESENT—The Hon^{ble} William Johnson.
Peter Wraxall Secretary.
The Interpreters as aforementioned.
Coll: Lydius, Cap^{n} Killock, his son and sundry other persons who had attended formerly.
The Sachems and Warriors of the Confederate Nations.

Aguiotta an Onejda Sachem rose up, and in the name of his Nation, the Cayougas, the Tuscaroras, the Skaniadaradighroonas and the Tiederighroonas condoled the upper Castle of the Mohawks on the loss they had sustained of the Six young Men of their Castle who had been killed to the Southward and gave a string and Belt of Wampum as testymonies of their concern.

Then Kaghswughtioni the Onondaga Sachem stood up and with

a string of Wampum addressed himself to the five aforesaid Nations and desired they would not be too much dejected by this Misfortune, but keep their minds firm and capable of business; he then in the name of the half King Schaaroyady condoled the upper Mohawk Castle with a string of wampum sent from the said half King by those Indians who went with Coll: Johnson's messengers to General Braddock. He next condoled the said Castle in the name of Coll: Johnson, the lower Castle of the Mohawks, the Onondagas and the Senecas, with a string of Wampum, and Col: Johnson gave them some black Stroud for mourning upon the occasion.

These ceremonies being passed, Caghswughtioni stood up and made the following reply in the name of the Confederate Nations to Coll: Johnson's speech to them of the 1st inst:

Brother. In answer to your first Belt, we say we will persist in our engagements and we hope you will fulfill all those on your side.

Gave a Belt.

In answer to your string, we promise you to press the conduct we shall observe upon all our allies and dependents, here is the Deputy of the Mississageyes now here, with him we shall begin and fulfill our desire.

(gave a string).

In answer to your second Belt we say, that as the Confederate Nations have agreed to join their Bretheren the English against the French, your desire on this Belt is already fulfilled by the half King having joined Genl Braddock with several of our people as we learn by a Message yesterday received from him

(gave a Belt).

Brother. In answer to your third Belt we say, are you not our Tree of shelter, and why will you desire us to take shelter under any other Tree, where you go we are ready to follow. However there will be many of our people round about Oswego and near to Niagara, who will join and be ready to assist Govr Shirley

(gave a Belt).

Brother. In answer to your fourth Belt we say, that we desired first to go home to take care of our families and put our affairs in order, besides, we must consult upon, and send proper Messages to all our scattered friends and Relations who will lay exposed to the Enemy; they are still ignorant as we were when we came down of the present State of Affairs; none of us were prepared for this sudden call which you have made upon us. You are a large body and will move slowly, when you are ready and will send us word, we will run down, and tho' you should even be upon your march we will soon overtake you.

(gave a Belt).

In answer to your string about the Cohnawagaes, we will cooperate with you and use our best endeavours to prevail on them to get out of danger and not assist the French against our Bretheren the English

(gave a string).

Brother. We have now finished our answer to your Speech, and we repeat to you, that our young Men are desirous they may first return home, for we cannot upon so short a warning be fully prepared for Action; besides, if our people were to stay here, we see no arms or accoutrements provided for them, therefore we must go home to equip ourselves.

Brother. We have taken into our Confederacy our Children the Skaniadaradighroonas and they are desirious you will look upon them as your Bretheren; there are many of them who at present live in Maryland and want to come to live near to us, that both, our strength and theirs may be increased. We have sent for them by Belts of Wampum, but they are not effectual, for there are three Colonels in Maryland [They named the three Colonels: viz^{t} Coll: Scarbrough Coll: Henry and Coll: Hooper; the three Chiefs they also named viz^{t} Jomikakonick in Locust, Neck Dame Jam in d^{o} and Gecho in Pekoinoke] near whose houses they live, who in conjunction with three Chief Men amongst those Indians will not let them come away, we desire you will interpose and write to those persons to let them come away.

(gave a string).

The Speaker then took in his hands a large Belt of Wampum with a smaller one tied to it and said.

Brother. As everything is gone on in a friendly way between us at this meeting and we are now united together in the most intimate manner, let us not have the Devil to join with us, that is the Rum. We desire you will stop up the Bung and let none come to Oswego to be sold to our people; let us be content with the drink which God gives us from the Heavens. Rum is not necessary for our lives, but on the contrary is the occasion of our losing them. We have never any difference but thro' this cursed Liquor; but as you told us of some Corn you had for us, that is a necessary article, and we beg you will send it up in five different parcels.

(Gave the two Belts).

Brother. We must correct you a little. You desire us to unite and live together and draw all our Allies near us, but we shall have no land left either for ourselves or them; for your people, when they buy a small piece of land of us, by stealing they make it large. We desire such things may not be done, and that your people may not be suffered to buy any more of our land. Sometimes its bought of two Men, who are not the proper owners of it. The land which

reaches down from Oweigey to Schahandowna, we beg may not be settled by Christians [lands belonging to the United nations near the Susquehanna River] but if any come there they may be called away that so we may have land left for ourselves and our Allies.

(gave a large and small Belt).

Conochquiesie, The Onejda Sachem, rose up and said.

Brother. You promised us that you would keep this fire place clean from all filth and that no snake should come into this Council Room. That Man sitting there (pointing to Coll: Lyddius) is a Devil and has stole our lands, he takes Indians slyly by the Blanket one at a time, and when they are drunk, puts some money in their Bosoms, and perswades them to sign deeds for our lands upon the Susquehana which we will not ratify nor suffer to be settled by any means; The Gov^{r} of Pennsylvania bought a whole Tract and only paid for the half, and we desire you will let him know, that we will not part with the other half but keep it. These things make us constantly uneasy in our minds and we desire that you will take care that we may keep our lands for ourselves.

(gave a very large Belt of Wampum).

Brother. We have now finished all we have to say and to-morrow we propose to return home.

Coll: Johnson then told them.

That he had attentively heard what they had said, but as it was too late now to give them an answer he would make a reply to-morrow morning.

Kaghswughtioni the Chief Onondaga Sachem came to Coll: Johnson and told him, that as very troublesome times were approaching, and they had now declared themselves in favour of their Bretheren the English against the French; he desired a Fort might be built at their castle, for that they lay exposed to the French who might perhaps come and fall upon them, and therefore some place of security would be very necessary for them.

Coll: Johnson told them that he could not promise them to build a Fort immediately, and he thought the army of Oswego, which was in their neighborhood would send the French work enough that way, and deter them from giving his people any disturbance, and that the French would be beset on all sides and find it too difficult even to defend themselves. However, that he was pleased with his request, and it should be granted as soon as possible.

Mount Johnson, *3. July 1755.*

This evening the Cajuga Sachems waited on Coll Johnson in consequence of the conference he had with them about the Coghnawagae Indians the 1st inst:

They gave it as their opinion that an express should be sent by

Coll: Johnson to each of the Cogh[n]awaga Castles and another from the Six Nations.

The Colonel asked them when they proposed to send theirs; they said as soon as they came home they would call a Council and send one off immediately.

The Colonel asked them whither if he should meet with any chief Men of the Cogh[n]awagaes at Albany, it would not be as well to deliver the Belt, and what he had to say to them, as to send a special Messenger; they answered either way would do.

The Colonel asked them if they thought the methods proposed would be effectual to prevail with the Coghnawagaes to comply with our propositions; They answered they would not be positive, but as soon as ever they knew what effect their message had, they would acquaint the Coll: with.

The Colonel then told them, he expected their message to the Coghnawagaes would correspond with what he had said upon the subject in his publick speech and in his former private conference with them; that his would be so, and both ought to be uniform, they promised theirs should conform.

MOUNT JOHNSON *4. July 1755. A. M.*

Colonel Johnson sent for the Onejda Sachems, and told them, Gov^{r} Shirley would have occasion to build two Magazines for his amunition and provisions at each end of the carrying place, & desired they would consent and give no interruption to the people employed therein.

They said that Capt^{n} Petrey's son had come up there, with a number of Men and Axes ettc, and told us they were come to build two large houses at each end of the carrying place, and began to cut down Timber without any further ceremony upon which we stopped them having no Message from you about it; but as you now make the request with a Belt of Wampum we readily grant it.

As to the Germans who live there its only by your permission, for they have never paid for the land they are settled upon. We received them in compassion to their poverty and expected when they could afford it, that they would pay us for their land, but now they are grown rich, they not only refuse to pay us for our land but impose on us in every thing we have to do with them; we have therefore told them to go about their business and remove from our land.

The Coll: told them he would at all times use his utmost power, that they should have justice done them and not be imposed on by any body, and exhorted them to peace and Brotherly love on their side particularly at this time when our Enemies are doing every thing they can to distress and ruin us.

They seemed satisfied and the Coll: left them in good humour.

MOUNT JOHNSON 4. *July 1755.*

Coll: Johnson's Rejoinder to the reply of the confederate Nations of yesterday—Spoke by William Printup Interpreter.

PRESENT—The Honble William Johnson
Peter Wraxall Secretary
The Interpreters as aforesaid and sundry other persons attending.

Bretheren of the confederate Nations.

As to what you yesterday said upon my desire that some of your young Men should remain here—I think the objections you made are rather evasive then just. Your young Men have had time enough to determine upon it. There are more than a sufficient number who have their arms now with them, and you know I have taken care to have all your arms and warlike instruments mended since your being here, which has been a great expence; amunition you have had plentifully in the present I gave you.

All those who join our arms shall be sufficiently provided, and as I have already told, you shall meet with every kind of good usage; each Man who choses to bring his own Gun shall be paid for it.

Bretheren. I must correct you a little and put you in mind that last War, when I armed, cloathed and fitted you out compleatly, several of your warriours deceived me and did not go upon service.

I give you this Belt to reassure all those who shall Join their Bretheren in any of the present undertakings which I have mentioned, that they shall be treated in every respect as friends and Brothers. (Gave a Belt).

Bretheren. As to the Skaniadaradighroonas I shall write letters about their removal agreable to your desire. (Gave a string)

Bretheren. I shall take care that no Rum be brought by any Christians into your Castles. I am fully sensible of the ill consequence of it and that it really is like a Devil when it gets among you. (Gave a Belt).

Bretheren. I am convinced that many frauds have been made use of in the purchasing of your lands which I am verry sorry for; but the King your Father having heard of your complaints and ever mindful of your welfare, hath sent such orders to the Govr of this province as will prevent these evil doings for the future, and I dont doubt but he will punish those who have been guilty of these proceedings. (Gave a Belt).

Bretheren. I did promise, that I would keep this fire place free from all filth and did desire, that no snake should come into this Council room. As to Coll: Lyddius, if his coming hither was such an offence to you, I am sorry for it, he came of his own accord without any invitation from me [Coll; Lydius came to Mount Johnson

with an Interpreter, and several Indians complained to Coll: Johnson that Lyddius had been privately perswading them to go to Niagara with him. They expressed their displeasure at this application of Lyddius, upon which Coll: Johnson spoke to Mr Lyddius and forbid him and the Interpreter to interfere any further with the Indians as it had and would occasion an uneasiness amongst them which might be prejudicial to the service in general] If Coll: Lyddius hath done as you represent and which I am afraid is in a great measure true, I think, he is very faulty, and that nobody should attempt to settle Lands upon such unfair purchases. I will endeavour all in my power that justice may be done you in this affair.

As to those lands, which the proprietaries of Pennsylvania bought of you last year, it was done in a fair and open manner with the consent of your whole body then present, and I believe most of your Sachems now here did agree to and were present at that Bargain, and tho' you then received but half the purchase money, you were told, you might have the other half whenever you would call for it with which you were satisfied; for you therefore to want to recall half of that purchase for the whole of which you have given a deed in so publick and so solemn a manner, is in my opinion unreasonable and unjust. If you expect justice to be done you, you ought to be ready to do justice yourselves, and believe me my bretheren that to be honest men is the surest way to be happy and respected. I think you ought and I would advise you to stand by the Bargain and take the rest of the purchase money when you want it. As to the Schahandowana land the proprietors will not attempt to settle it, but whenever you are inclined to sell it you will remember you are engaged to sell it to them. (Gave a Belt).

Bretheren. Our publick business is now at an end, I am very glad we have continued so long together in good health and that no ill accidents have happened to us at this meeting.

I hope, you will put into your hearts the many important affairs which have been treated of at our conferences. I will stand by my engagements to you, and I hope you will as strictly observe those on your side.

I wish you well, and safely home, to your families, and hope I shall speedily see some of you again.

Kaghswughtioni the Onondaga Speaker then addressed himself to the Indians and said.

Bretheren. You hear our Brother Warraghiyage tell us he has now finished the publick business with us and what he has further said by way of conclusion.

Bretheren. We have all great reason to thank him for the harmony with which every thing has been carried on at this meeting and that it is so happily ended.

We have experienced that in all the former expeditions in which we have been pressed to join our Bretheren the English, affairs have not turned out well, and this has been a great discouragement to us, but as we have now person appointed over us by our own request to the King our Father and who is, as it were like one of ourselves, were we to refuse his application to us, it would be a great shame—Let us then go hand in hand with him and we may hope to be as successful as our Forefathers were in times of old. (Hereupon a general shout of applause was given).

When Coll: Johnson had taken his leave and was gone up stairs, a Deputation of the Sachems of each Nation waited upon him and desired they might say somewhat more to him.

The following is what passed at this conference.

Arent Stevens Interpreter.

Kaghswughtioni said:

Brother. The English and the French seem now to be in earnest and we hope this expedition will not be like the former ones which were disappointments to us and no honour to you. We are sensible that we can not now stand neuter and we are determined to join and assist our Bretheren the English and not behave as we did last War.

But as the French are a revengeful people and have a great number of Indians in their interest, we must keep some of our people at home to secure our own dwellings from the Attacks which we have now reason to fear from the French, and we hope you will take care that we are supplied with Arms and Amunition to defend ourselves. When we return home we shall call our respective Tribes together and acquaint them with every thing that has passed at this meeting; and our young Men are so much inclined to war, that we are affraid too many of them will be ready to join you, therefore we must repeat to you our request that we may not want arms and amunition to defend our habitations. (Gave a Belt).

Colonel Johnson withdrew with the Secretary, when the following answer was drawn up and at their return made.

Bretheren, I can assure you the King our Father is in earnest in the present undertakings against the French, and I am persuaded, matters will be carried on, more effectually than formerly. From the assurances you have now given me I expect that all your Nations will behave more in earnest than you did last war, and I doubt not you will soon be convinced, the French are not a match for the English. Tho' I dont think you will be in any danger from the French or their Indians at your habitations, as we shall give them sufficient employment; yet, as you seem to be uneasy, I will take care and supply you with a proper quantity of arms and amunition to defend those who stay at home. (Gave a Belt).

Kaghswughtioni then addressed himself to the Cayouga Sachems and said:

Brothers. We three Nations your elder Bretheren are agreed and determined to assist our Bretheren the English against the French, but tho' you have consented to do the same, yet, you appear at times to be wavering, and as if your inclination were not thoroughly settled; speak out now therefore before our Brother Warraghiyage and let us know what are your fixt resolutions?

[The eight Confederate Nations are subdivided into two grand Divisions viz^{t} The Mohawks, Onondagas and the Senecas, who are called the Elder Brothers of the Confederacy; the Onejdas, the Cayougas, the Tuscaroras, the Schaniadaradighroonas and the Tiederighroonas, which five are called the younger Brothers, the Delawares are looked on as the children of all these Nations.

The Cayougas at this Meeting, had shown a remarkable unwillingness to join the English against the French, and it seems to be for that reason Kaghswughtioni addresses himself to the Cayougas in particular].

One of the Cayouga Sachems said:

We are determined to follow the example of our Elder Brothers and assist the English against the French.

They then told Coll: Johnson that they proposed to set off to morrow morning and that the Sachems would keep Company with the Young Men, to prevent their doing any mischief in their way home to the Inhabitants' Cattle or corn etc; and said they hoped Coll: Johnson would order some provisions along the Road to support his Children the Sachems and his Grand Children the Warriors.

The Coll: told them he would take care they should be supplied.

They then took their leave and the Conference broke up.

Mount Johnson 4. July 1755.

This evening Ottrowana the Cayouga Sachem came with the Mississaga Deputy, who repeated his errand hither as mentioned, and assured Coll: Johnson, that the Castles he came from were determined to remain in friendship with the English and the Confederate Nations.

Coll: Johnson gave him a string of Wampum to assure him that, whilst he and his friends continued in this disposition, the road hither should be free and open for them. And gave him a Belt to carry home, thereby advising and admonishing his Nation to remain firm in their friendship and Alliance with the English and the Six Nations, and not hearken to the French, but come freely to Oswego where they might depend upon meeting with every kind of good treatment.

The Coll: gave him a handsome present for himself, and told him, that if his Nation would come down in a body with the Confederate

Nations when they might hereafter meet here, they should be treated in every respect as our brethren.

He promised to deliver this Belt and acquaint his people with the Colonel's Message and with what had passed at this meeting.

A true copy from the original Records compared and examined by me

PETER WRAXALL.
Secretary.

GOVERNOR DE LANCEY OF NEW YORK TO SECRETARY ROBINSON.

NEW YORK 7 August 1755.

Sir—: Pursuant to the directions I received in Your letter of the 26th of October last, that I should carefully conferr or correspond, as I should have opportunitis, upon every thing relative to the service with General Bradduck' I went to him to Alexandria in Virginia, where among other things it was agreed in Council, that this, and the New England Colonies should raise a body of men, and endeavor to remove the French from their encroachments at Crown Point. As soon as the business at Alexandria was over I returned to New York to meet the assembly, that were adjourned to the 22nd of April, when pursuance of an agreement before made upon a plan of Mr Shirley and which only waited for general Bradduck's approbation, the Assembly made provision for raising 8 Companies of one hundred men each being the Quota of this province; I accordingly ordered them to be raised, and they are in conjunction with the Forces of the other Provinces put under the command of William Johnson Esqre as Major General, to procede to Crown point, and by the latest accounts from Albany, the last division marched this week.

The Fatal account I lately received from Captn Orme in a short letter, of Generals Bradduck's defeat and death, and the Army's retreating to this side of the mountains made it necessary to call the Assembly together again, and to recommend to them the raising more men to reinforce Major General Johnson; the French on the Ohio, by the retreat of the British Troops, being at liberty to return to Canada, and some of the French ships with Troops, which escaped Admiral Boscaven, having probably got up the River St Lawrence to Quebec, whence the Troops may soon be sent to Crown Point, appeared to me sufficient reasons to strengthen the army destined against Crown Point. My recommendation succeaded with the Assembly, they have voted four more companies of one hundred

men each to be draughted out of the militia, and are preparing a Bill for that purpose with all speed, so that I hope to be able to dispatch the new companies time enough to join the troops already gone, and if the Colony of Connecticut send five hundred Men and the province of Massachusetts Bay the like number in time, I hope Major General Johnson will be able to send a good account of his campaign; his army before amounting to thirty six hundred Men or thereabouts, if joined by the New Hampshire forces, who were to march by land cross the Country, and meet him at the carrying place on Hudson's river.

Another point I took in charge at Alexandria was to provide Battoes for transporting the effectives of the two Independent Companies posted in this Province, and two Companies of Sir William Pepperell's Regiment to Oswego and to furnish them with provisions, which I have done for six Months, the expence of which to this province amounts to upwards of three thousand pounds: I also supplied Capt[n] Bradstreet, who was sent to command at Oswego, with whatever he wanted, and was to be had out of his Majesty's stores in Fort George, and must do him the justice to say, no man ever made more dispatch to get to his command than he did, having in three hours time passed the great carrying place between the Mohawks River and the Wood Creek, with his Company, provisions, Battoes and Baggage, which is a less time than what the Traders generally take with a single Battoe when they hasten to the Mart at Oswego, and I am firmly pursuaded, from the condition of the Fort and the State of the Garrison, at [the pass] of Niagara, five hundred Men might easily have made themselves masters of it. But the French have had time to prepare for its defence, and it is probable many of those who return from the Ohio will be ordered to stop there. By the last accounts I received Gen[l] Shirley was about fifty miles from Albany in his was to Oswego.

I hope it will not be thought improper to mention the number of Cannon that have been spared from this City for the several expeditions on foot, which could not have been done with safety to this place, had not Admiral Boscaven been sent out to awe the French fleet; for the expedition to Isthmus of Nova Scotia, ten iron eighteen pounders with their carriages and implements; to Gen[l] Shirley for the expedition against Niagara, 6. Brass twelve pounders, one brass eighteen pounder, and seven iron six pounders; and for the expedition to Crown Point, two iron thirty two pounders, six iron eighteen, two iron twelve, 4 brass six & 4 iron six pounders. The use I would make of this, is to shew the expediency of having at all times in this City, as being nearly the center of the British Colonies, a number of Cannon and Arms & a large quantity of Amunition ready on all occasions to be disposed of for such services, as the General, his Majesty shall think fit to appoint for North

America, shall judge proper. This is a further reason, because the operations which will most sensibly affect the French interest, should be carried on through this province, by the way of Crown Point towards Montreal, and by the way of Oswego on the Lake Ontario, westward to Niagara or North eastward to the head of the River S^{t} Lawrence; and the passage to Oswego being chiefly by water and through the Country of the Five Nations of Indians in alliance with us, there can be no great danger of surprise or ambuscades. I have said that the operations which will most sensibly affected the French interest should be carried on through this Province, my reasons are:—There are but three ways to distress the French in Canada. The first is by a Fleet and army up the River S^{t} Lawrence to Quebec, with this I shall not meddle because a Force for that purpose must be sent from Britain, and even then should be assisted by the strength of the Colonies to make a diversion at Montreal. The second is thro' this Province by the way of Crown Point a Fort scituated at the south end of Lake Chaplain; from this place, the French Indians who make their excursions into these Colonies are supplied with arms and ammunition; to this place they retreat for shelter, and are soon fitted out again for fresh excursions to murder or enslave our Inhabitants: possessing this Fort we may intercept parties of Indians, or lay them under such difficulties in going out or returning, as will greatly discourage them and will tend to keep our Borders in quiet. We shall then have the Lake Champlain open to us, we may build such vessels on it, as can carry whatsoever may be wanting to destroy the Forts at S^{t} John's and Chambly, and thereby open a passage either by land to the River S^{t} Lawrence opposite to Montreal, or by water through the River Sorell quite to Montreal, whenever occasions offers for attacking that place, and till that place be destroyed, the Colonies will not enjoy a lasting peace. The third method of distressing the French, is by the way of Oswego: to go thither we pass as I observed before through the Country of our friend Indians, we pass, by water, a much less expensive carriage than by land, from Oswego we may go westward by water through the Lake Ontario to Niagara; if we become masters of this pass, the French can not go to reinforce or victual their garrisons at Presqu Isle, Beeve River or on the Ohio, but with great difficulty and expence, and by a tedious long passage. From the Fort at Niagara, there is a land carriage of about three leagues to the Waters above the Falls, thence we go into the Lake Erie and so to the Fort at Presqu Isle, and if we take that, the French can carry no supplies of provisions nor send men to the head of Beever River or to the Fort du Quesne on the Ohio, and of course those Forts will be abandoned. The same Battoes which carry the train, provisions ettc for the Army to Oswego, may carry them to Niagara, and being transported above the falls, the same may carry

them to Presqu Isle, the Fort on the South side of Lake Erie, so that it will be practiable to bring the expence of such an expedition into a moderate compass, far less, than the expence of Waggons, horses ettc which are necessary in an expedition by Land from Virginia to the Ohio; besides that, proceding from Virginia to Fort Du Quesne, if it be taken, it is only cutting off a toe, but taking Niagara and Presqu Isle, you lopp off a limb from the French, and greatly disable them. Thus far Westward for the present, tho' the Detroit at the West end of Lake Erie be an object that will deserve some future consideration, when it shall be thought proper to build one or more vessels of force to command that lake.

From Oswego we may take our course North Eastward to the River S^t Lawrence, and remove the French encroachment at Cataraqui or Fort Frontenac, or if occasion offer, procede down the River S^t Lawrence to Montreal, to join a body of Troops sent by the way to Crown Point to take that place.

From this view of things, it appears, of what consequence Oswego is: at the Council held at Alexandria, it was agreed to be a post of the greatest importance for facilitating the reduction of Niagara and securing the retreat of the Troops to be employed on that service, and therefore, that it was necessary the Fort should be strengthened and the Garrison reinforced; accordingly General Braddock ordered the effectives of the two independant Companies and two Companies of Pepperell's Regiment thither. I considered it in that light and therefore readily agreed to transport and victual these Troops at the expence of the Province for the time now specified and as far as the fund in my hands would go. These considerations make it evident how necessary it is to build a strong Fort at Oswego and to Garrison it well. The present Fort was built and the garrison maintained at the expence of this Province: but such a Fort as the importance of the place requires, being the great inlet into the Country of the five Nations of Indians, will demand such an expence, at this province alone it not able to bear and therefore should be built and garrisoned at His Majesty's expence or the united expence of the Northern Colonies: The doing this, is now almost the only measure we have left to keep the five nations from their dependance on the British Interest.

I am

Sir

Your most obedient and most humble

Servant

JAMES DE LANCEY.

POPULATION OF THE BRITISH AMERICAN COLONIES.

An Account of the Number of White Inhabitants in His Majesty's Colonies in North America distinguishing the Number of the Militia or of Men capable of bearing Arms; taken from the last Returns transmitted to the Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations, and, where those Returns are defective, from the best Accounts which can be obtained.

Colonies.	Dates of the Returns.	Total number of Whites.	Militia.	Men capable of bearing Arms.
Georgia,	1752	3.000		
South Carolina,	1752	25.000	5000	
North Carolina,	1755	50.000	....	13.000
Virginia,	1755	125.000	28000	
Maryland,	1749	100.000	12500	
Pennsylvania,	No returns since the year 1730; but according to the best Accounts.	*220.000	....	25.000
Connecticut,		100.000		
Rhode Island,		30.000		
New Jersey,	1755	75.000	10000	
New York,	No returns since the Year 1738, but according to the best accounts.	55.000	....	12.000
Massachusetts Bay,		200.000	....	40.000
New Hampshire,	1755	75.000	6000	
Nova Scotia,	1754	4.000	1200	
	Total,	1.062.000		

* Of these 100.000 are German and other foreign Protestants.

GOVERNOR DE LANCEY OF NEW YORK TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

New York *9th August. 1755.*

I had only a short letter from Captn Orme first Aid-de camp to the late General Braddock, he wrote more particularly to the other Governrs nearer at hand, from whom I doubt not your Lordpps will have received the intelligence, as Commodore Kepple lay at Virginia ready to sail as soon as he received an authentick account of this disaster. General Braddock agreed to draw for the expence of supporting the Garrison at Oswego, when the Fund I had was ex-

hausted, and there is now no more remaining than what is necessary for the common contingent services of expresses and the like. £500 of it having been before I went to Alexandria engaged to fortify the Mohawk Indians at their request, and which will attach that small but valient Tribe the more firmly to our Interest. I am my Lords,

Your Lord^{pps} most obedient and
most humble servant
JAMES DE LANCEY.

P S. I have sent your Lord^{pps} one of Louis Evan's Maps.

SIR WM. JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

LAKE GEORGE. *3 Sept^{r} 1755.*

MY LORDS: As I left all those papers which were not necessary to my present Military Department behind me, I can not be exact as to the date when I had the honour to write to your Lord^{pps} with a copy of my proceedings at the late meeting with the Indians. I think it was about the middle of July.

About 250 Indians have already joined me, and as small parties are every day dropping in, I expect, before I can be able to leave this place, to have full 300. I sent a Message in conjunction with the Six Nations to the Cognawaga Indians who live in Canada in order to persuade them to stand neuter in our present disputes; I have had their answer: "that it was not in their power, that by Religion and Treaties, they were so united to the French, they must obey their orders." The Sachems of the several Nations now with me, have this day sent them another deputation, to try if by fresh arguments they can bring them over to a neutrality; this is to be the last effort." Our Indians appear to be very sincere and zealous in our cause, and their young Men can hardly be withheld from going out a Scalping; but that is not thought either prudent or politic until the Cognawagaes give their final answer which I expect in two or three days.

General Shirley soon after his arrival at Albany in his way to Oswego, grew dissatisfied with my proceedings, employed one Lyddius of that place a Man extreamly obnoxious to the public in general and to me in particular which I told Gov^{r} Shirley, and the very Man whom the Indians had at their public meeting so warmly complained of. To this Man he gave a Coll's Commission over the Indians and set him up to oppose my interest and management with them; under him several others were commissioned and employed.

These persons attacked all the Indians they could meet, went to their Castles, and by bribes, keeping them constantly feasting and drunk, calumniating my character, depreciating my Commission and Authority, scandalously misrepresenting my management, endeavoring to raise jealousies of me—in short, by the most licentious and abandoned proceedings, raised such confusion amongst the Indians, particularly the two Mohawk Castles who are the most leading people, that their Sachems were under the utmost consternation; they dispatched deputies down to me to know, what was the occasion of all this surprising conduct, that I had told them I was appointed sole Superintendent of their affairs, which had given universal satisfaction tro' all their Nations, but that now every Fellow pretended to be vested with Commissions, authority ettc. I sent several Messages and the Interpreters up to quiet their minds, for my Military Command would not suffer me to leave Albany, otherwise I would have gone myself, and I believe should soon have put a stop to all these violent measures.

I have at Albany a great number of original letters and papers, which give particular Relations of the lawless behaviour and villanous conduct of these Agents of Gov^{r} Shirley's, tho' if I had them here, I would not trouble your Lord^{pps} with a detail, which tho' very shocking and interesting, would be extreamly tedious.

I shall only say in general, that a complication of more scurrilous falsehoods, more base and insolent behaviour, more corrupt, more destructive measures would not have been fallen on, to overset that plan of general harmony, which I had with infinite pains and great expence to the public, so lately established—I spoke, I wrote to Gov^{r} Shirley about it, but without remedy; they pleaded his authority for all they did and said they had his Commission and I cant but presume it must have been done with his knowledge and consent, for the Indians, since they have been in this Camp told me that he said at the Upper Mohawk Castle, that I was an Upstart of his creating, that it was he, supplied me with money and that he could pull me down ettc ettc. they said this in public before the Chief Officers in this Army and desired they might be witnesses to what they told me.

The reason or the pretended reason which Gen^{l} Shirley pleads for his thus opposing my Indian Management and setting up these persons in opposition to me, is that I would not get him some Indians to escort him from Schenectady to Oswego. I had indeed mentioned it to some of the Sachems, but they told me, as his way to Oswego lay thro' their several Countries (Oswego itself is in the Senecas Country) they would not conceive there was any occasion for escourting him, and that when he came to Oswego there was no fear but many of the united nations, would according to my desire meet him there and assist him. Numbers of the Troops had gone

up without any molestation, not the least interruption had been given to any one; the Traders to Oswego were daily going and returning with single Boats. Those who are acquainted with Indian Affairs, well know, that it would have been the worst of policy for the French at that time to have violated the tranquility of the Country of the United Nations; 'tis true some small parties of Indians had been discovered between Schenectady and my house, but they are looked upon as a set of Free Booters, and Gov^r^ Shirley's body guard would have been a full security to him against any of these, even his premier Lyddius when I talked to him on this head owned to me he saw no want of Indians for an escourt, and said he would endeavour to dissuade Gen^l^ Shirley from it.

It is with reluctance I trouble your Lord^pps^ with these affairs, but as I have been honoured with a Department of great importance and entrusted with monies belonging to the Crown, it behoves me on every account not to be wholly silent. I have said as little as I possibly could to give your Lord^pps^ some idea of transactions which I apprehend come properly under the cognizance of your Board.

Gov^r^ Shirley's conduct, not only shook the system of Indian Affairs, gave me fresh vexation and perplexities, but occasioned considerable and additional expences on all sides, which would otherwise have been saved. The profuse offers which his agents made to the Indians in order to debauch them from joining me, tho' it did not succeed but with very few, yet gave to all such self importance, that when I urged to any of them who made demands upon me, their unreasonableness, they reproached me that they had refused Gov^r^ Shirley's greater offers, by whom they were promised all they should desire. The critical situation of Indian Affairs in particular and of public affairs in general, M^r^ Braddock's defeat also happening about this time—under these circumstances I was forced to compromise matters and make compliances, which they would otherwise neither have expected nor submitted to.

My Lords, I will hasten to a conclusion; From General Shirley's late behaviour and his letters to me, I perceived he is and will be my inveterate Enemy; that the whole weight of his power, his influence, his craft and abilities, will be exerted to blast my character, here and here only am I anxious. Gross falsehoods (such as he has already asserted, both in his speeches to the Indians and in his letters to me) artful misrepresentations—deliberate malice—presentment worked up by people in his confidence, whose interest, nay whose very livelyhood depends upon inflaming him against me. These My Lords are circumstances which I own disturb me.

I am sensible, Gov^r^ Shirley has in many respects been an active and a useful servant to the Crown, and tho' I have reason to think he does not wear power with generous ease and true dignity, yet his rank in public life will naturally give him consequence and gain

him influence. Were I to open in a particular manner, the whole scene of my conduct with regard to the public and him, and from the papers and letters in my possession, to contrast his conduct with regard to the disputes between us. I say, were I to do this and any one who should think it worth their while, calmly to peruse and impartially to examine the full state of the case between us, I would risk character, life and fortune upon the decision. But I apprehend unless I am properly called upon to do this, such a voluminous appeal would not find either leisure or patience from those persons, whose opinions would be of the greatest consequence, I might rather perhaps be thought impertinent and too full of myown importance.

My present address on this subject to your Lord^{pps} is, to entreat you will at least receive those acusations against me, which I suspect already are or will be transmitted by Gov^{r} Shirley, with a suspension of your judgment. If your Lord^{pps} are disposed to have the whole amply laid before you and I live to receive your commands, they shall be obeyed with all possible dispatch.

In the mean time I beg leave to declare to your Lord^{pps} with the most unfeigned sincerity, as I did to the late General Braddock, that my only motives for accepting the commission & powers he conferred upon me, were to serve my King and my country at this important Juncture. I stipulated with him for no reward, and whatever expectations I might indulge, they were never equal to the fatigue nor the disadvantages to my private fortune, which I foresaw I should, and which I have suffered.

My Lords, animated by my Loyalty, by my zeal for the public safety and welfare (both which were at stake) and by some desire of Fame, I accepted Gen^{l} Braddock's Commission, and executed the trust reposed in me, with my best abilities and with integrity. Gov^{r} Shirley's interfering in the authoritative and ill judged manner he has done, was injurious to the true system of Indian affairs, a violation of the terms of my Commission and an arbitrary insult upon my character.

I must beg leave to declare to your Lord^{pps}, that if his Maj^{ty} should think proper to honour me with the Management of Indian Affairs, I do not think I can fulfill His Royal expectations and do that service to my Country which will be thereby intended, if my proceedings are to be subjected to or controlled by any Governor, who may, by being ill advised or from personal resentments, or from other undue motives, take upon him to counteract my measures. Permit me further to observe to your Lord^{pps}, that unless the monies appointed to carry on Indian Affairs are confided to my disposal and a certain fund fixed on, I shall be ever liable to be perplexed and opposed, and often perhaps prevented from bringing into effect schemes

which by a precarious fund I may be forced to drop and so loose that chain which may bind the whole structure.

My Lords, I hope I shall not be misunderstood, I do not thirst for power or honours either from ambition or pride, my judgement not my passions take the lead on this subject.

From Gov^r^ Shirleys ill grounded resentment—from the imperious stile he writes to me since Gen^l^ Braddock's death, from his threatning intimations and his temper, I am confirmed in this lesson, that a subordinate power here with regard to Indian Affairs, and a fund dependant upon the will and pleasure of His Majestys Govern^rs^ in these Colonies, will be incompatible with my abilities and inclinations to conduct them; and as I have no private or mercenary views to serve, I must humbly beg leave to decline the charge, unless I am put upon the footing as above intimated.

I shall always be disposed to take advice from any of his Maj^ty^'s servants here, and to be accountable for my conduct to any Judicature his Maj^ty^ think proper to appoint; but to be subjected to the caprice or political views of Gov^rs^, I cannot think will ever harmonize with that uniform direction of Indian Affairs which in my humble opinion is the only judicious plan which can be pursued.

Persuaded I am that if the management of Indian Affairs (those of the six Nations I mean) are branched out into various channels of Power, the British interest relative to them will be unstable, perplexed and in the end, totally lost—this, past experience teaches.

I am building a fort at this lake which the French call Lake S^t^ Sacrament, but I have given it the name of Lake George, not only in honour to His Majesty but to ascertain his undoubted dominion here.

I found it a meer wilderness, not one foot cleared, I have made a good Waggon Road to it from Albany, distance about 70 miles; never was house or Fort erected here before; We have cleared land enough to encamp 5000 Men. The Troops are now under my command and the reinforcements on the way will amount to near that number. Thro' our whole march from Albany, tho' parties of the French have been hovering round us, we have had but one man scalped and one taken prisoner; they had both strayed four miles and upwards from our former Camp, contrary to the orders I had given. When our Boats are brought up from our last encampment, about 17 miles from hence which must be done by Waggons, and is a tedious work. When they arrive and are put in order, I propose with a part of the Troops to proceed down the Lake, at the end whereof is an important pass called Tionderogue about 50 miles from hence, and 15 miles from Crown point, and there endeavour to take post till the rest of the Forces join me and then march to the attack of Crown point, all which I hope to effect in about three weeks.

We have reason to expect a very powerful resistance and a number of Indians against us, greatly superior to what we have.

I am
with the utmost respect
My Lords.
Your Lord^{pps} most obedient
humble servant.
WM. JOHNSTON.

SPEECH OF HENDRICK, THE INDIAN SACHEM.

CAMP AT LAKE GEORGE *4. Sept^{r} 1755.*

PRESENT—General Johnson—
Lieut Coll: Whiting—
Lieut. Coll: Pitkin.
Major General Lyman.
Coll: Ruggles
Capt^{n} Peter Wraxall: Secr: for Ind: Aff:
Capt^{n} Butler
Lieut^{t} Claape } Interpreters.
W^{m} Printup

Sachems and Warriors of the several Indian Nations who having desired a meeting and made a speech upon several affairs relating to the regulations of Army matters; when they had finished, desired every body to stay, and hear what they were further going to say. Then Hendrick the Great Mohawk Sachem addressing himself to Gen^{l} Johnson spoke as follows.

Brother Warahejage *sole* superintendent ettc.

Sometime ago we of the two Mohawk Castles, were greatly alarmed and much concerned, and we take this opportunity of speaking our minds in the presence of many Gentlemen concerning our Brother Gov^{r} Shirley, who is gone to Oswego—he told us—that though we thought, you our brother Warahejage had the sole management of Indian affairs, yet that he was over all; that he could pull down and set up. He further told us: That he had always been this great Man, and that you our Brother Wariahejage was but an upstart of yesterday. These kind of discourses from him caused a great uneasiness and confusion amongst us, and he confirmed these things by large Belt of Wampum.

Brother. I just now said, these matters made our hearts ache and caused a great deal of confusion in our Castles. Gov^{r} Shirley further told us: "You think Your Brother Wariahejage has his

"Commission for managing your affairs, from the King your Fa-
"ther—but you are mistaken—he has his Commission and all the
"monies for carrying on your affairs from me and when I please I
"can take all his power from him; it was I gave him all the pres-
"ents and goods to fit out the Indians with."

Brother, he further told us when he came to our Fort: "This is
"my Fort, it was Built by my order and directions, I am Ruler and
"Master here, and now bretheren I desire twenty of your Young
"Warriours from this Castle to join me as your Brother Wariahe-
"jage promised me you would do and be ready at a Whistle. Breth-
"eren you may see, I have the chief command, here is money for
"you, my pockets are full, you sha'n't want, besides I have goods
"and Arms ready for all that will go with me"—He said a great deal more of the like kind, which time will not permit us to repeat at present.

He was two days pressing and working upon my Brother Abraham to with him as a Minister for the Indians—he said to him: "Wariahejage gives you no wages, why should you go to Crown "point, you can do nothing there but crack Lice; with me there "will be something to do worth while."

These Speches made us quite ashamed, and the Five Nations hung down their heads and would make no answer.

But Brother, notwithstanding all these temptations and speeches, we that are come and now here, were determined to remain steadfast to you, and had it not been for Gov^{r} Shirley's money and speeches you would have seen all the Six Nations here.

Brother, we have taken this opportunity, to give you this relation, that the Gentlemen here present may know and testify what we have said, and hear the reasons, why no more Indians have joined this Army.

a True copy from the original minutes.

PETER WRAXALL *Sec^{ry} Ind: aff:*

New York Secretary's Office 18th Sept^{r} 1755.

I certify the preceeding to be a duplicate of a copy signed Peter Wraxall Secr^{ty} for Ind: Aff: carefully examined and compared by me.

JN^{o} GODBY *Clerk.*

T. POWNALL, ESQ., TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

NEW YORK *20 Sept^r 1755.*

MY LORDS: Sir Charles Hardy being gone up to Albany, and desiring me to forward his letters to Your Lord^pps which I had the honour to do by a Vessel that sailed from this Port yesterday, duplicates whereof I now send your Lord^pps by a vessel that I am told will sail to morrow; and further particulars having been sent me since his departure, I take the liberty to inclose them to your Lord^pps, for tho' they are detached and private accounts of the action, they will serve to explain M^r Wraxall's letters; and if Your Lord^pps have not yet received the account wrote by Direction of the Council of War, be the best account that can be got at present.

There are many further accounts brought down from Albany by the Schippers, of which the following is one. That when the French Indians were for standing aside and letting the English and French decide the Quarel, Old Hendrick declared for War and fired the first shot. He lost his life by riding on Horse back on one of Gen^l Johnson's Horses, his Horse was shot under him, and he being unwelldy and not able to disengage himself and get away was stabbed with a bayonet.

Part of our Indians came down to Albany with number of scalps, in their way to their Castles, where they are gone to perform the usual ceremonies of Condolence and Triumph, and bring out with them every Warrior in the Country.

My Lords, the account of the Action of the Party from Fort Lyman not been in any letter I have seen sufficiently explicit, and I having it the day before yesterday from an Albany Man who received it from Major Champlain of the New Hampshire Regiment, I take the liberty to send it to your Lord^pps, as I had it.

On the 8^th^ in the Morning at Fort Lyman they hearing that the Indians had killed some Waggoners, a party of sixty Men N. Hampshire Reg^t went out to scour the woods, which party upon a Report of a shott firing being heard towards the Lake was reinforced (by a detachm^t from the New York and New Hampshire Reg^ts under the Command of Capt^n Maginnis) to the number of 250 with orders to proceed to the assistance of the General; by the time they had advanced to within four miles of the Camp, the place where the action began in the morning they discovered the Enemies Baggage lying in the Road (for it seems the Enemy had no expectation of a party coming from the South) and at some distance on the top of a Hill five or six Men keeping a look out; they got between the Baggage and these Men, and advanced up the Hill and discovered a party of Canadians and Indians to the number of 300 sitting by a run of

water in the Valley. They attacked these, defeated them, killed numbers, took many prisoners and put the rest to flight. They then according to their orders advanced to the Camp coming up just as the Enemy were going off and gave the finishing stroke to the Enemies defeat.

I do not, My Lords, presume to send the above accounts as authentic, tho' the people assure me of the Truth of them.

I received to day a letter from M^r^ Franklin, who says: "Conraed Weiser informs me that the Six Nations have actually sent a Message to the Indians in their Alliance at Aukwick and the Ohio, to sharpen their arrows and prepare for war, for they are now determined to drive the French from Ohio, and do all in their power to assist the English"—.

My Lords,

I have the honour to be

Your Lord^pps^ most obedient and

faithful humble servant,

J. POWNALL.

CHEVALIER DE MONTREUIL TO COUNT D'ARGENSON.

MONTREAL, *16^th^ of August, 1755.*

MY LORD: I have the honor to renew to you my respectful attachment, and to inform you that *three thousand English are coming from Orange to besiege Fort St. Frederic. The Marquis de Vaudreuil sends thither, in consequence, eighteen hundred men and four hundred Indians. Baron de Dieskau puts himself at their he d, whose intention it is to attack the enemy, who are near Lake St. Sacrement, and to postpone the siege of Fort Chouaguen to next year.* I have had the honour to inform you that, on the 9^th^ of July, six hundred of our Indians and three hundred Canadians had attacked, within four leagues of Fort Duquesne, two thousand Englishmen who were coming to lay siege to it; that the enemy had lost six hundred men, exclusive of wounded; that they lost seven mortars, six brass pieces and considerable booty; if credit is to be attached to several deserters, General bradoc has been killed in this action. The King of England had confided all the operations to him. His instructions have been taken and sent to M de Vaudreuil. The battalions of Guienne and Bearn are encamped under Fort *Cataracoui;* the nine companies of La Reine and Languedoc are going to Fort *St. Frederic. Baron de Dieskau* has formed a company of grenadiers in each of these two corps, commanded by the First Lieutenant. *He is at Fort St. Fred-*

eric since some days; I am going to join him; he had left me here until the departure of La reine and Languedoc, which were on the road for Fort Cataracoui, and which he recalled. I hope, on this occasion, to let Baron de Dieskaw see that, with a will as determined as mine, it is impossible to do wrong. I am much attached to him; he appears to me to be a very good General and a very excellent soldier. I aspire, my Lord, only to the pleasure of learning that you are in good health, and of telling you that we have beat the enemy.

I am with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

your most humble and

most obedient servant,

CH^er^ DE MONTREUIL.

M. DE MACHAULT TO M. DE VAUDREUIL.

5th September, 1755.

I have received from you, since your arrival at Quebec, only the two individual letters of the 2^d^ and 10^th^ of July, and that which you have written to me conjointly with M^r^ Duquesne on the 5^th^ of the same month. But I think that there were others in the packets that had been delivered to the Captain of the ship *Le Pierre-Alexandre*, arrived at Bourdeaux, who has declared that he had thrown them overboard to the number of 22, which were tied in a bag, on meeting an English frigate who overhauled him on the 17^th^ of August in the latitude of L'Ile Dien. And I expect to receive other news by the return of M^r^ Dubois de la Motte's ships, which I am, from day to day, expecting with the greatest impatience.

We have already learned, by the way of England, of the capture, by the English, of the posts of Beausejour and Gaspareaux, and the march of different bodies of troops of that Nation against the forts of River St. John, St. Frederic, Niagara, and that of the Beautiful river. The King has approved the resolution you have adopted, on learning all these expeditions, to dispatch M^r^ Dieskaw, to prevent or repair their execution, pursuant to the plan of operations you have concerted as well with that officer as M^r^ Duquesne. And you will easily judge that it will not be without impatience that his Majesty will await the news of these operations.

Neither is it without pain that his Majesty sees himself forced, by the hostilities of the English, to adopt measures so opposed to his love of peace, and to the efforts he has made to maintain it with that Nation. There is not, however, as yet, any declaration of war on

either side. On the first intelligence of the capture of the ships *L'Alcide* and *Le Lys*, his Majesty has recalled his Ambassador from London, and his Minister from Hanover, without taking leave. The English men of war visit all our merchantmen that they meet, but we have not yet learned that they have retained any. We have, nevertheless, reason to believe that they will not spare those they fall in with having supplies for Canada and Ile Royale. And they make no secret of their plans on that head. However it be, I can, for the present, only direct you to conform yourself to your Instructions relative to the conduct of the English. They afford you, already, more occupation than we had anticipated. But his Majesty is persuaded that, with the aid you have, you will succeed in thwarting their unjust enterprises, and in maintaining the glory of his arms.

The news we have received from England, increnses the King's confidence. They announce to us, in a positive manner, the entire defeat of the body of troops that marched from Virginia against the fort on the Beautiful river under the command of General Braddok, who has been killed there. I expect that the first ships from Canada will bring me the detail of the affair, with all the circumstances. And I notify you, beforehand, that the King is determined to reward, in a marked manner, those who have distinguished themselves on that occasion.

I confide to you, at the same time, that his Majesty entertains very different dispositions, but founded, nevertheless, on the same principle, in regard to the officers who were at Forts Beausejour and Gaspereaux. According to private accounts that have come here, and to what the English have, themselves, published about it, these forts have been very badly defended, and that of Gaspareaux was even surrendered before the English had arrived there. The King wishes to know what has taken place; and it is in fact, important, for many reasons, that the conduct of these officers be cleared up. His Majesty desires that you enable me to report to him what you will be able to learn hereof, and I request of you to do this without favor to any person.

M. DE MACHAULT TO CHEVALIER DE DRUCOURT AND M. PREVOST.

VERSAILLES, 5th *September*, *1755*.

In my despatch of the 29th of July last, I acknowledged, Gentlemen, the receipt of the letters you had written me by the schooner *L'Esperance*, arrived at Bayonne, the duplicates whereof reached

me by the boat *Le Jason*, arrived at Rochelle. I have since received those you intrusted to the Captain of the boat *L'Apollon*, and to him of the ship *L'Etienne Pierre*, but he of the schooner *La Genevieve* has declared, at Nantes, that having fallen in on the 21st of July, 10 leagues east of Louisbourg, with five English men of war, they overhauled him, and broke the seals of several letters; that they retained three of them, but that the packets which Mr Prévot delivered to him have been thrown overboard, agreeably to the orders he had given.

Although I have nothing to add to what I have explained to you respecting the King's intentions in regard to the defence of the Colony, in my dispatch of the 29th of July, whereof I annex hereunto the triplicate, I have proposed to his Majesty to send the frigate *La Valeur*, commanded by Sieur Maccarthy, which I expect will sail immediately from the harbor of the Island of Aix.

Two principal reasons have determined his Majesty to give him that destination.

First. To acquaint you that affairs with England are still in the same state they were on the 29th of July. There has been no declaration of war on either side. The English do not even stop our merchantmen up to the present time; but these uncertainties ought only render each of you, in his sphere, more attentive in adopting all possible measures for the safety of the Colony, for we must be prepared for all events on the part of the English.

Secondly. His Majesty has thought that it might be useful to have a frigate at Lewisbourg to be used next spring, at the opening of the navigation, either for the purpose of learning the movements of the English, or even for the defence of Louisbourg, in case that place be attacked, for then the crew of the frigate could be usefully employed in serving the artillery. The King does not, however, order Chevalier de Drucourt to retain this frigate. His Majesty refers to his prudence to adopt what he will consider the properest course in that regard, relation being had to the circumstances. If he send it back this year, it will be an occasion the more to inform me of the news and of the situation of the Colony, and to transmit any details you will have to communicate to me.

I continue waiting for M. de Salvert with the greatest impatience. And I am even the more uneasy at his delay, as I am ignorant what arrangements he was proposing to make for his return; and, on the other hand, whether he had other motives than the fear of the English fleet, to prolong his sojourn to Louisbourg.

Since the news of the capture of the forts at Beausejour and Bay Verte, the rumor has prevailed in England that those on the River St. John and at Pointe à la Chevelure, on Lake Champlain, had also surrendered to the English, but this is not yet confirmed.

We have just learned from another quarter, by way of England,

the total defeat of the body of troops that were marching against Fort Duquesne under the command of General Braddock, who was killed there. And you will, doubtless, have learned from Quebec, the particulars of that action, which has been most advantageous for us.

But whatever occurs in Canada, Louisbourg requires the greatest attention, and his Majesty is disposed to bestow such on it; if the supply of provisions that has been sent thither from France arrive safely, the place will be well provided. It is with much pleasure that I have learned the arrival of those sent thither by M. Bigot, under the convoy of M. de Jonquière. I hope that M. Prevôt will have been able to procure some elsewhere, and I shall have some forwarded thither early next spring.

In regard to funds, in addition to those carried by the frigates *La Diane* and *La Fidele*, 200,000[li] have been put on board the fly-boat *L'Outarde*, and the fly-boat *La Valeur* will carry out 100,000[l].

I am, gentlemen, perfectly yours.

JOURNAL OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE ARMY FROM 22d JULY TO 30th SEPTEMBER, 1755.

July 16[th] We received our orders to march from Quebec to Montreal. The scarcity of bateaux has been the cause of our having proceeded by land. We kept along the bank of the river, which is pretty thickly inhabited; arrived on the 22[nd] at Three Rivers, a small town with an état-major, and on the 27[th] at Montreal.

The regiments, told off by divisions of four or five companies, had marched and partially gone to Fort Frontenac, where we were to form a camp, and to proceed thence to lay siege to Choyen. That project could not be put into execution, having been obliged to make them march to prevent the enemy besieging Fort St. Frederic, and it became necessary to recall the regiment of La Reyne and our first division, which was already far advanced. The enemy had three armies; one destined for the Beautiful river, where they were defeated. The corps was three thousand strong, under the command of General Brandolk, whose intention was to besiege Fort Duquesne; they had considerable artillery, much more than was necessary to besiege forts in this country, most of which are good for nothing, though they have cost the King considerable. M. de Beaujeu, who was in command of that fort, notified of their march, and much embarrassed to prevent the siege with his handful of men, determined to go and meet the enemy. He proposed it to the In-

dians who were with him, who at first rejected his advice and said to him: No, Father, you want to die and to sacrifice yourself; the English are more than four thousand, and we—we are only eight hundred, and you want to go and attack them. You see clearly that you have no sense. We ask until to-morrow to make up our minds. They consulted together; they never march without doing so. Next morning M. de Beaujeu left his fort with the few troops he had, and asked the Indians the result of their deliberations. They answered him; They could not march. M. de Beaujeu, who was kind and affable, and possessed sense, said to them: I am determined to go and meet the enemy. What! will you allow us to go alone? I am sure of conquering them. The Indians, thereupon, decided to follow him. This detachment was composed of 72 Regulars, 146 Canadians and 637 Indians. The engagement took place within four leagues of the fort, on the 9th day of July, at one o'clock in the afternoon, and continued until five. M. de Beaujeu was killed at the first fire. The Indians, who greatly loved him, avenged his death with all the bravery imaginable. They forced the enemy to fly with a considerable loss, which is not at all extraordinary. The Indian mode of fighting is entirely different from that of us Europeans, which is good for nothing in this country. The enemy formed themselves into battle array, presented a front to men concealed behind trees, who at each shot brought down one or two, and thus defeated almost the whole of the English, who were for the most part veteran troops that had come over the last winter. The loss of the enemy is computed at 1500 men. M. de Brandolk, their General, and a number of officers have been killed. 13 pieces of artillery, a great quantity of balls and shells, cartridge boxes, powder and flour have been taken; 100 beeves, 400 horses, killed or captured, all their wagons taken or broken. Had not our Indians amused themselves plundering, not a man would have escaped. It is very probable that the English will not make any further attempt in that direction, inasmuch as, in retiring, they have burnt a fort they had erected for their retreat. We have lost three officers, whereof M. de Beaujeu is one, 25 soldiers, Canadians or Indians; about as many wounded. We have not been so fortunate on this side. Let us return to our own operations.

Instead of going up the River St Lawrence we have ascended the River St John, on the north bank of which stands Fort St Frederic, about 45 leagues from Montreal. All had reached there on the first of 7ber. Our army was composed of the Regiments of La Reine and Languedoc, amounting to about 720 men, 1500 Canadians and 760 Indians, Iroquois, Hurons, Abenaquis and Nipissings. Never was there seen so considerable an army in this Colony. They numbered, in all, three thousand and some odd men, all in the best dispositions to treat the English as well as they had been treated at Fort du

Quesne; which would have been the case had not our General been deceived.

As it is very difficult to obtain any news of the enemy, owing to the difficulty of the country, we were ignorant of his strength; for all those who had been sent to scout did not report themselves. We were impatiently expecting a trustworthy man, who finally returned and reported that he had seen a somewhat considerable force building a fort, which, in fact, was true. It was resolved, in consequence, that we should go and occupy the carrying place and passes; that, in fine, we should remain on the defensive; we set out with that view on the 3d to go to a place called Carillon, on the shore of Lake Champlain, quite near the carrying place which is between Lake St Sacrament and that lake. Whilst proceeding thither, and within six leagues of the fort, there arrived a canoe of our Indians which had been, likewise, sent on the scout, with orders to take a prisoner; this was accordingly done, bringing, also, back the scalp of another man that had been killed. This prisoner was examined and threatened to be handed over to the Indians to be put to the most cruel death, should he conceal the truth. He may be said to have sacrificed his life for his country. He has deceived M. de Dieskau and assured him that there remained but 500 men at the fort, and that the remainder had returned to Orange. He stated that the camp was left standing to deceive us; that the fort was not finished; in fine, that all the artillery for the siege of St Frederic, as well as everything that was necessary, had arrived. On the deposition of this prisoner, our General changed the defensive into offensive. It was resolved that the camp of the enemy could be easily overwhelmed and their fort taken with a detachment of 1500 men. There was ordered out, in consequence, from the regiment of Languedoc, which had been augmented to the number of 35 men, two pickets of an equal number, and a like quantity from the regiment of La Reyne, making 216 for the two battalions, 600 Canadians and all the Indians. They left on the 5th. The Indians told M. de Diescaut that it was better to go up Lake Champlain to turn the enemy; that it would be easier to conceal our march from them thus than by going by Lake St. Sacrament by which they were to come, as they had erected their establishment at the head of the latter, and had cut roads for the passage of their artillery. That route was, therefore, decided on, and the men landed after having proceeded about ten leagues on Lake Champlain; left one hundred men of our infantry to guard the bateaux; this was ordered after the departure of the detachment, on reflection that these bateaux might be necessary; they marched during the night to reach them.

The detachment landed on the 6th within 8 leagues of the enemy; each man, officer and others, then shouldered his knapsack. On the 7th marched nine leagues, always through woods and over mountains.

On the 8th made six leagues and arrived quite near the enemy. Our Indians began by killing an officer belonging to the enemy who was going in full speed, on horseback, to notify, of his own accord, the Commandant of our arrival, and that we were to attack him. His despatches were opened and it was then discovered that the prisoner had deceived us; that, exclusive of the 500 men of the fort, the camp was well guarded and intrenched. But instead of following the original plan, which was so much the more natural, since the fort had not been alarmed, it was determined to attack the camp with the remark, that the more there were of them the more will we kill and the men set out.

The 2nd adventure was one of the most damaging for a detachment of 400 of the enemy, which was on its way from the camp to reinforce the fort; it was hacked and cut to pieces; scarcely one-third of the party escaped. We continued our route, and met the enemy drawn up in order of battle, outside their fort; marched within musket shot of them without their fire. A sharp volley made them reënter their camp in double quick time. The firing thus continued from noon until three o'clock. They discharged their cannon frequently, but without any effect. The report astonished our Indians, to whom it was unexpected; and, as they do not like it, they retired. A portion of the Canadians, though good soldiers behind trees, followed their example. We were thus left alone with the other portion of the Canadians. M. de Dieskau, who had always continued at the head of the Canadians, came shortly before to us. He calculated and presumed on the good disposition of his remaining two hundred men, to enable him to force the intrenchment and two thousand men behind it. He drew his sword and cried, "March! Let us force the place." We had marched as well as possible, and it may be said that our detachments have done wonders. M. Dieskau retired to the left to allow us full scope, and was wounded an instant after by two musket balls. Our right, it was discovered, was exposed, and the enemy were sending people past that point. M. Maron, Second Captain, commanding the grenadiers of La Reine, took upon himself to march against those who would cut him off. They fired a long time whilst retreating; our Indians came, very luckily, to their relief, and forced the enemy to retire; otherwise, they would have been all killed. The remainder of the retreat was accomplished without any interruption; some in one, others in another direction, and so they gained their bateaux. M. de Dieskau remained on the field of battle. Chevalier de Montreuil, who found himself in command, repaired to him before the retreat, with some grenadiers and his servants, for the purpose of removing him, but he would never consent, and said that he was unable to return, and therefore that the bed on which he then lay, was as good a death-bed as the one they would procure him; that it

was useless. The loss of two grenadiers, who were killed at his side, made him repeat that they may go; that he should not alter his resolution, and he forced M. de Montreuil to retire and abandon him on the field of battle.

Of our Regulars, we have lost Chevalier de la Furjoniére, who was in command of a picket of the regiment of Languedoc; he has been killed, on the field of battle; M. de Parfoura, who commanded the 2nd picket of that regiment, has been wounded; also an officer of the regiment of La Reine; 26 grenadiers or soldiers killed; 43 wounded. We have lost 120 men, Canadians or Indians, and at least as many wounded. M. Bernier, M. de Dieskau's Aid de Camp, and two Captains of the Colony and one Ensign killed and five wounded.

After this unfortunate adventure, our troops returned, worn out and dying of hunger. We had then got back within five leagues of Carillon. On the twelfth we started to come down to Fort St. Frederic, where we have left four hundred Canadians. We fortified ourselves strongly at both places. The two battalions of Béarn and Guienne are quiet in the camp at Frontenac.

FINIS.

STATEMENT OF TWO CANADIANS TAKEN ON THE OHIO AND CARRIED TO LONDON.

8th October, 1755.

The men named Jean Baptiste Berger and Joachim Parent, natives and inhabitants of Montreal, in Canada, were taken prisoners by the Indian allies of the English, on the 28th of the Month of May, 1754, on the River Oyo, in the affair of Sieur de Jumainville, and carried to Virginia, where they were stripped of everything and imprisoned; fed on Indian corn with two pounds of meat, which were given them for 21 men of their party.

They remained thus in Virginia, until the 31st of March, 1755, when they were put on shipboard with a single blanket; they do not recollect the name of the vessel. The voyage continued 40 days, during which time they each received one biscuit and a herring a day.

On their arrival in London they were detained on board the same vessel in which they arrived, and at the end of six weeks were removed to another ship, on board which they have remained two months.

On board these two vessels they received the same rations as the crew.

During their sojourn they were told that they must wait the return of the King of England, who would decide their fate, and in fact, a few days after the King's return, they were told that they should be sent to France. They were furnished with a sailor's jacket, vest and blue shirt, and embarked on the 27th of 7ber, on board the Calais packet.

They confirmed all the circumstances of Sieur de Jumainville's assassination by the English.

Say, that when the news of General Braddock's defeat reached London, their rations were stopped for 4 days, but that a French Catholic brought them food at night.

They are ignorant of what has become of their comrades.

M. BIGOT TO M. DE MACHAULT.

QUEBEC, *23d October, 1755.*

MY LORD: A farmer placed in my hands, a few days ago, a stitched book or register, written in English, which he had found on the field of battle, after the action at Fort Duquesne. It contained nothing of interest except two Minutes of Instructions which General Braddock had given to Colonel Johnson and Colonel Shirley. I have had them translated by M. Perthuis, of the Superior Council, and have the honor to address you copies thereof hereunto annexed.

Colonel Shirley's instructions fully confirm the design of the English to seize Niagara and the entire district bordering on the South of Lake Ontario, on pretext of protecting the Five Nations and putting them again into possession of their ancient territory, of which, the English pretend, that we have stripped them. You will remark therein, my Lord, that this Colonel is authorized to draw on the treasury of the King of England for the sums necessary for these operations, which proves that that Prince incurs the greatest portion of the expenses for the execution of the plans he has formed against Canada.

I have the honor to be, with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble, etc.,

BIGOT.

M. DE LOTHBINIERE TO COUNT D'ARGENSON.

CAMP AT CARILLON, *24th 8ber, 1755.*

MY LORD: I announced to you, last year, a continuation of the Memoir that I sent you, and at the moment I was preparing to perform my promise I have been detached to the place I am at present stationed at, and so occupied that I employ the night to detail to you whatever of the greatest interest has occurred in this country since the spring.

Last fall, as I had the honor to observe to you, the English began a fort at the foot of the Aliganai mountains, which they called Fort Cumberland. It is 110 miles from ours on the Beautiful river, according to their calculation. They have dispatched, from Europe, in the winter, two regiments of Regulars, of 500 men each, under the command of Mr Braddock, who arrived at Alexandria, in Virginia, on the 24th of February. The King had conferred on him the commission of General of all the forces of North America, and he was to superintend the operations prepared at the Court of London whilst it was amusing the Court of France with a thousand proposals of peace, so as to be in a condition the more securely to invade the country. General Braddock, on his arrival at Virginia, prepared to take the field early in April. He reserved unto himself the capture of the fort on the Ohio, and seemed to have adopted all his precautions to secure success. Notwithstanding, as he had not been seconded by the Provinces of New England, agreeably to his wishes, and had been obliged to wait an exceeding long time for wagons and other necessaries which the Provinces were to supply, he could not leave Fort Cumberland before the first days of June. Our Indians had reported to us, in the winter, that the English were making great preperations; but Monsr Duquesne, to whom that intelligence was repeatedly brought, treated it as an empty boast, and said it was only a fire of straw. He, consequently did not adopt any precautions necessary against so general a movement. In the month of June M. de Vaudreuil arrived, who was told that the government was in a marvellous condition. In the latter part of June, arrived M. Duquesne, who repeated to his successor what he had already written, and, two days after, news was received of the capture of Beausejour. M. Duquesne, who knew that his fort was menaced, had sent a reinforcement thither, totally neglecting the other quarters. The reinforcement arrived at the aforesaid point, and, on the 9th of July, knowing that the enemy was no more than three leagues from Fort Duquesne, 891 men were dispatched, 250 of whom were French and the remainder Indians, under the command of M. de Beaujeu, Captain of our troops, who found him-

self in front of the enemy at 11 o'clock of the forenoon. He attacked them with great vigor, and after a contest of 5 hours, our detachment succeeded in totally routing a van-guard of 13 hundred and some men, exclusive of wagoners, under general Braddock, whose rear guard of 700 men was about eight leagues distant, and not attacked. That van guard included Halket's regiment, raised to 700 men since its arrival in Virginia; 3 independent companies of 100 men each; the rest, Provincials. 600 remained dead on the field; a very great number wounded—since dead, by the returns. The general himself was wounded on the occasion, and died some leagues from the field of battle.

In a word, of these 1300 men, only about 300 returned; of these, 11 were officers, out of more than 150, their original number. We lost only the Commandant and two other Officers, 30 and some Canadians and Indians, and nearly about the same number of wounded. The entire of the enemy's artillery, his carriages and all his equipments remained on the field of battle, and caused such a considerable booty, that it stopped our troops. General Braddock's papers were found, containing the King's instructions to him, written with reserve, and which were more amplified by a despatch of Colonel Napier, Adjutant-General, written by order of the Duke of Cumberland, to serve as a guide in all his operations, whereby it appeared that General Braddock had orders from the Court of London to prepare, 1st material for the reduction of the fort on the Ohio; 2nd, for the reduction of Niagara, under the command of Colonel Shirley, Governor of Boston; 3d, of Fort St. Frederic, under Colonel Johnson's orders; 4th, for the capture of Beausejour, which was proposed by Colonel L'aurence, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. It was ascertained by General Braddock's letters to the Minister, that he was marching at the head of 2000 men for the Ohio; that he had designed Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments, of 1000 men each, for Niagara, and that 4400 Provincials were to attack Fort St. Frederic; that when the Fort on the Ohio would be taken, General Braddock was to unite his forces with those of Choüaguen, where we were to be attacked by a body of 4 thousand 3 or 4 hundred men.

The battalions of Guienne and Béarn accordingly defiled complete for Fort Frontenac, our general rendezvous; those of La Reine and Languedoc, each of which lacked 4 companies that were captured by the English on board *le Lys* at the entrance of the Gulf, marched also for the place of rendezvous; but as we learned, at the same time, by some of our scouts, that the English were cutting roads to attack Fort St. Frederic, the two latter regiments were countermanded before they reached La Présentation and were ordered to Fort St. Frederic. 200 of our troops, 1700 to 1800 Canadians, and 6 to 700 Indians were adjoined to them, carrying that

army up to about 3 thousand 3 hundred men, under the command of M. de Dieskau, Brigadier-General, who had come to command the troops which had been sent out to us this year.

The General dispatched divers scouts, the 1st of which did not succeed. Finally, one of them informed him that the English had attempted two roads, one by Wood creek, the other by Lake St. Sacrament. *These two routes terminate, by water, at Carillon, where I am at present, and which is 5 leagues south of Fort St. Frederic.* He notified M. de Vaudreuil of the circumstance, and informed him that he designed dividing his army in 2, in order to attack by both routes. M. de Vaudreuil wrote him that it would be much better to unite all his forces and thereby profit by the advantage the enemy were giving us by dividing their troops, whom we could, thereby, hope to defeat in detail, as we should be more numerous at either of the two places they might present themselves. This did not prevent him marching a few days after to attack a fort only 6 leagues from Lake St. Sacrament, on the ground that the defence of that fort was weakened by sending back 600 men in consequence of sickness, and the fatigue they endured in cutting roads from their new fort to Lake St. Sacrament. He thought, or appeared to be under the impression, that all the English army had been dismissed, leaving only the guard of Fort Lydius. He formed a detachment of 1500; 200 Regulars and the remainder Canadians and Indians, and took the route by land to attack them. Within 1 league of the fort he captured a courier whom Johnson had detached with word to the Commander of the fort that he was about to be attacked; to be careful to bury his guns which were without the inclosure, and prepare with his men, for a brave defence. He learned from others that Johnson was at Lake St. Sacrament with about 3000 men, including 400 Indians of the 5 Nations, and proceeded to attack that body of troops. The Indians, 'tis true, preferred this attack to that of the fort. He pushed his men briskly forward, who began already to be much fatigued, and at $\frac{3}{4}$ of a league from the English camp encountered a sortie of 4 or 500 men, who were overthrown in an instant, with with considerable loss.

M. de Dieskau, thinking that he could enter, pell-mell, with the fugitives, followed close on their heels, and found himself under the fire of the intrenchment before he was aware of it. He was treated to so continuous a volley of musketry that his troops could not proceed any farther. He threw himself on the left, where the Canadians were stationed, to make an attack on that side; but being quite close to the enemy, was struck by a ball in the bone of the leg, which prevented him going any farther, and as he persisted in remaining on the same spot, he received a 2nd ball in the knees which broke them both; an attempt was made to remove him, but he opposed it; two

Canadians were brought to him, one of whom was killed outright; the other, who wanted to carry him on his back, was not accepted; several others were sent to him for the same purpose, but they succeeded no better in persuading him; our detachment remained sometime longer, and seeing that it was idle to think of carrying that post, retired after having lost more than 130 men, and a greater number of wounded.

The intrenchment consisted of bateaux turned upside down and of wagons; in a word, it announced men who had been advised, but a short time previously, of our march.

That defeat somewhat discouraged our Canadians and Indians, who seldom approve being thus exposed without any hope of success, whilst, had he taken all his men with him; had he, even with the force he had, contented himself with occupying the road communicating between Lydius and Lake St. Sacrament, the distance between them being 6 leagues, he would have certainly obliged the enemy, who were as yet without provisions at their new camp, to come out, when he might have attacked them more advantageously; but it must be acknowledged that he felt very jealous of the action on the Beautiful river, and was anxious to efface it by something more brilliant.

M. de Vaudreuil, who saw this frontier more exposed than ever, detached me to erect a fort beyond that of St. Frederic, whereby the enemy might be stopped in the next campaign. For that purpose I have selected the sight of Carillon, which is at the junction of the waters of the Two Rocks with the outlet of Lake St. Sacrament. The 2 Rocks is a very advantageous outpost to this one, as I am informed. It receives the waters of the Wood creek of the South Bay and of the Drowned Lands, whereby the enemy could approach with more difficulty than by Lake St. Sacrament.

The battalions of Guienne and of Béarn have remained at Fort Frontenac to keep the English of Chouaguen in check, and M. de Vaudreuil has sent [that of] Guienne to Niagara, with orders, I believe, to fortify that place.

If I can succeed in erecting at Carillon the fort I have projected, we shall be able to stop the enemy in the next campaign. I commenced it too late to expect to finish it this year. I shall continue to prepare everything, so as to place myself in a position to finish it next spring; we are within ½ a league of the little portage of Lake St. Sacrament, and if men are kept here, advantage can be taken of a league of a defile, where we should have greatly the advantage of the enemy.

We are under tents *(la toile)*, which is rather severe for the season in this country. I alone am replacing the three Engineers sent us this year. They were infinitely better paid than I am, and I hope, my Lord, that you will be pleased to feel for my interests. I flatter

myself that the Court will grant me my promotion and a better salary than the one I have. My pay is 600f. and no more. I'm urged to conclude, and the opportunity leaves this instant. Had I had a little time, I might have endeavored to connect better the facts I have detailed, and would not be obliged to send you a letter so full of erasures and so illegible. I am persuaded that the interest you take in the country would induce you to overlook all these things, provided you were informed of all that occurs.

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

LOBINIERE.

Should the enemy attack us by sea, and on all the sides he has began to do this year, I do not well know how we shall be able to extricate ourselves, which circumstance demands considerable attention on the part of the Court. He is strengthening Chouaguen.

The battle of Lake St. Sacrament was fought on the 8th of 7ber.

ABSTRACT OF M. DE VAUDRUIL'S DESPATCHES.

December, 1755.

The frigate *Sirenne*, which arrived at Brest on the 10th of this month, set sail from Quebec on the 8th of November, but her day of sailing is not to be reckoned until the 12th, because contrary winds up to that date prevented her making any headway, except such as the tide enabled her to make.

The letters brought by *la Sirenne* from M. de Vaudreuil, the Governor-General, bear date from the 17th of September to the 2d of November, and are all written from Montreal, where that Governor still was. The details they contain of all that occurred up to that time, relate to,

1st *The affair of M. de Dieskau.* M. de Vaudreuil transmits a detailed account thereof. According to the list annexed, we have had only 95 or 96 men killed and 130 wounded in that affair. And the English have lost in it, by their own acknowledgment, more than 500 men. Our troops retired after the action towards Fort St. Frederic, without having been pursued. And M. de Vaudreuil has had a sort of intrenched camp constructed some leagues in advance of that fort.

The English, on their side, have remained in their posts, but they did not attempt to execute the project of attacking Fort St. Frederic.

2d *What occurred in the direction of Acadia.* Since the capture of Forts Beausejour and Gaspareau, the English, being desirous of forcing the Acadians to take up arms against France, have had recourse to all sorts of violence and cruelty against those people, a large number of whom have retired to various places in the interior of the Continent, whither relief has been sent to them from Canada. Although the Commandant of the River St. John had concluded on burning the fort, in order to prevent its falling into the hands of the English, he, however, maintained his ground on that river, and M. de Vaudreuil has adopted measures to secure its possession.

3d *What occurred in the direction of the Lakes.* In consequence of the troops which M. de Vaudreuil had concentrated at Fort Frontenac with a view to lay siege to Chouaguen, Governor Schirley, who had repaired to the latter post with a considerable body of troops to attack all our forts on the lakes, has not dared to attack any of them. And M. de Vaudreuil was informed that he had returned with his entire army, except the garrison he had left at Chouaguen. But M. de Dieskau's ill success has prevented M. de Vaudreuil attacking the last mentioned post. He proposes to make that attack at the opening of the next spring, unless insurmountable obstacles arise.

4th *What occurred in the direction of the Beautiful river.* Since General Braddock's defeat, divers parties of Indians have penetrated the English settlements and taken several scalps. But notwithstanding the consternation created by that circumstance throughout the English Colonies, the news M. de Vaudreuil has received from that quarter announce that preparations are making there for a new expedition next year against Fort Duquesne; and he is adopting measures, on his side, to defend that fort. He transmits 3 very authentic copies of General Braddock's papers, amongst which are the King of England's Instructions to that General; a private Instruction which had also been giving him by the Duke of Cumberland; several letters written by that General to the English Ministers, Messrs de Newcastle, Robinson, Fox and Halifax, and many other documents, proving, very manifestly, the projects of the British Government.

5th *The dispositions of the Indians.* In general M. de Vaudreuil appears much satisfied with them. He does not despair of even prevailing on the 5 Iroquois Nations to remain neutral.

But despite the little success the English have had this year in the direction of Fort St. Frederic, the lakes and the Beautiful river, he expects new efforts on their part next year, and demands considerable assistance in troops, artillery, arms, ammunition and provisions.

AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAS OCCURRED THIS YEAR IN CANADA.

The King's frigate, *la Syrenne*, which left Quebec on the 8th of November and arrived at Brest on the 10th of December, has brought letters containing the details of what occurred this year in Canada relative to the operations of the English against that Colony.

Independent of the Naval forces which the English have sent at the opening of the spring into the seas of North America to intercept the French ships destined for Canada and Isle Royale, they had collected together in their Colonies divers corps of troops to attack Canada simultaneously by the frontiers of Acadia, Lake Champlain, Lake Ontario, and towards the Beautiful river.

The troops destined to operate against the frontiers towards Acadia, and consisting of about eighteen hundred men, repaired, in the beginning of June, with a considerable train of artillery of every description, to the head of the Bay of Fundy, and immediately attacked Fort Beausejour, which, in the course of a few days, was rendered incapable of any defence by the effects of the shot and the shell. The garrison, amounting to only two companies of fifty men each, was obliged to capitulate on condition that it should march out with arms and baggage, and with drums beating; that it should be transported to Louisbourg, and that it should not serve in America for the term of six months. The English immediately summoned the French officer in command at Gaspareau, a post situated a few leagues from Beausejour, in which there was only a detachment of twenty men, who surrendered on the same terms as those contained in the capitulation of Beausejour. The English, after that expedition, marched towards the River Saint John, where there was only a very old fort. The officer in command there, and who had but a few soldiers, concluded on burning it and retiring to some settlers who live in that district, where he maintained his ground; only a few skirmishes have occurred in that quarter, in which the English have always been defeated by the French and Indians, who have joined that officer.

The army which had been raised to operate in the direction of the Beautiful river was composed of some regiments of Regulars sent from England to Virginia, and some regiments of Provincials, raised in that and the adjoining Colonies. It amounted to three thousand men at the time General Braddock assumed its command, to march against Fort Duquesne. Sieur de Contrecœur, Captain in the Canadian troops, who was in command of that fort, had been informed that preparations were making in Virginia, but did not expect that he was to be attacked by such a considerable force. Having sent different scouting parties on the route of the English,

he learned on the 8th of July that they were only six leagues from the fort, and were advancing in three columns. He immediately formed all he could spare from the fort into a party, to go forward and meet them, which was composed of two hundred and fifty French and of six hundred and fifty Indians. Sieur de Beaujeu, who was in command of it, had with him Captains Dumas and Ligneris, and some subaltern officers. He set out at eight o'clock in the morning, and at half an hour after noon found himself in front of the enemy, about three leagues from the fort. He forthwith attacked them very vigorously, His little troop were somewhat staggered by the first rounds from the enemy's artillery, but on the third, when M. de Beaujeu had the misfortune to be killed, Sieur Dumas, who assumed the command, Sieur de Ligneris and the other officers, followed by the French and Indians, fell so impetuously on the English, as to force them to retire in turn. The latter continued defending themselves sometime longer, showing a very bold front, but at length, after four hours' sharp firing, they broke up, and the route became general. They were pursued for some time, but Sieur Dumas, having learned that General Braddock had left a body of seven hundred men under the command of Colonel Dunbar, some leagues in the rear, ordered the pursuit to cease. The English have lost in this affair nearly seventeen hundred men. Almost all their officers have been killed, and General Braddock died of his wounds a few days after. All their equipments, which were very considerable, their provisions, artillery, consisting of eight pieces of cannon, seven mortars and furniture of all sorts, a vast quantity of arms and ammunition, their military chest and generally all their stores, have been captured, together with the Instructions given to General Braddock in England; also numerous letters written to the Ministers of the King of Great Britain, containing reports of the dispositions he was making for the execution of the plans entrusted to him in his capacity of Commander-in-Chief of all his Britannic Majesty's forces in North America. Sieur de Contrecœur remained afterwards on the defensive in his fort, after having been assured of the retreat of Colonel Dunbar's reserve. But some Indian detachments have made incursions into the frontiers of the English Colonies.

The other two corps of English troops were likewise ordered to march; one, composed of about five thousand men, towards Lake Ontario to attack Fort Niagara and Fort Frontenac; the other, still more considerable, towards Lake Champlain to lay siege to Fort Saint Frederic. Sieur de Vaudreuil, Governor and Lieutenant-General of New France, having learned that General Shirley had already repaired with a portion of the first of those two divisions to Choueguen, an English post established some years ago south of Lake Ontario, determined on dispatching a detachment of Regulars

and Canadian Militia, the four battalions of La Reine, Languedoc, Guyenne and Béarn, which the King had this year ordered to Quebec, and a certain number of Indians, to cover Forts Niagara and Frontenac, and gave the command of the whole to Brigadier-General, the Baron de Dieskaw. But learning, a few days after, that Colonel Johnson was in full march at the head of another body of men to attack Fort Saint Frederic, and that he had already established several depôts on the route, M. de Vaudreuil sent a courier to communicate this intelligence to Baron de Dieskaw, and the resolution which had been adopted to send, without delay, a detachment of Regulars and Militia, with some Indians, to reinforce Fort Saint Frederic. Baron de Dieskaw proceeded thither in person, and was accompanied by the battalions of La Reine and the Languedoc, which consisted of only nine companies each. On arriving at Fort St. Frederic, he thought proper to go and meet the English, and found himself, on the 1st of September, eight leagues from that fort at a place called Carillon; he halted there, and having sent out scouts in different directions learned that the English were busy erecting a fort some leagues off; that a garrison of five hundred men was already in that fort, which was much advanced; that a considerable reinforcement of troops was expected, and that Colonel Johnson was with his main body at the head of Lake St. Sacrament. On this report, and hoping to surprise that fort, Baron de Dieskaw resolved to march without delay at the head of fifteen hundred men, to wit: six hundred Indians under the command of Sieur de Saint Pierre; six hundred Canadians under Sieur de Repentigny, and three hundred Regulars, including the two companies of grenadiers of La Reine and Languedoc battalions, with three pickets of the artillery company belonging to the Colony. He sent the remainder of those two battalions, under the orders of Sieur de Roquemaure, commanding La Reine, to the place called the Two Rocks, in order to fall back on him in case of being forced to retreat, and sent Major de Celoron, commanding the Regulars and Militia of the Colony, with the remainder of his forces towards the falls of Lake Saint Sacrament to prevent the English attempting anything in that direction. In consequence of these arrangements he marched from the 4th to the 7th of September, when he found himself within a league of the English fort. As night was falling he halted and sent forward a scouting party of Indians under the orders of M. de Saint Pierre to reconnoitre the ground. The Indians killed a courier whom Colonel Johnson was sending to notify the Commandant of the fort, of the march of the French. They captured, also, some wagons which were carrying artillery and ammunition thither; but some of the drivers escaped. As there was no longer any doubt of the English fort being alarmed, Baron de Dieskaw gave the Indians the option of either adhering to the plan of proceeding to attack

that fort or of marching against the camp of Colonel Johnson, who, according to all accounts, was only five or six leagues off with a force of three thousand men. The Indians all approved of the latter course. Early in the morning of the 8th he marched, in five columns, in the following order: The French troops and gunners in the centre; a column of Canadians and one of Indians on the right, and two other similar columns on the left, and arrived at ten o'clock in the forenoon within one league of the camp. Prisoners taken by the Indians declared that some wagons which the English were sending to their fort, were approaching along the road the army was marching, and that these wagons were escorted by a considerable detachment. Baron de Dieskaw ordered the Canadians and Indians to the left of the road, with instructions to let the English attack, and not to fire on them until the Regulars, who would continue their march on the highway, should have commenced the fight. A few minutes afterwards some musket shots were heard and the fire became animated between the Indians in front and the English. The Canadians immediately ran to their support, and the English fled, who were pursued to within sight of their tents, and that detachment, which consisted of eight or nine hundred men, was almost entirely destroyed. Very few of them returned to the camp, and it was in this fight that Sieur de Saint Pierre was killed. Baron de Dieskaw continued to occupy the road whilst the enemy were beating a retreat. Though the Canadians and Indians were greatly fatigued, he believed that the best plan to induce them to follow him was to hasten his march in order to profit by the confusion which the defeat of that detachment would create among the troops in Colonel Johnson's camp. It was not long before he reached it. Word having been sent him that his right was not supported by any column, a small body of Canadians proceeded in that direction and opened a very sharp fire on the English. But the camp being intrenched with bateaux, wagons and large trees, the French infantry in front were exposed to so hot a fire from the artillery and musketry that they were obliged to fall back behind some trees, where they remained during two hours discharging their pieces with the rest of the troops, which, consisted only of five hundred men in that attack, because a portion merely of the Canadians followed, and the Indians had come to a halt. It was then that Baron Dieskaw was wounded first in the leg, and he shortly afterwards received a ball that went through his right knee and entered the flesh of his left hip, obliging him to suffer himself to be removed some paces off, to sit down. He ordered Chevalier de Montreuil, Major-General, and second in command, to leave him there and to proceed to find out whether there was any chance of getting into camp. Chevalier de Montreuil perceived the impossibility of effecting that objent; the troops were too much fatigued; in too small a

number and too much cut up by the fire to which they had been exposed. He concluded on retreating. At first there was some confusion, but the troop repaired in good order to the place where the bateaux had been left. The loss of the English has exceeded seven hundred men in the detachment that has been attacked by the Indians and Canadians, exclusive of the wounded who reached the camp, and the loss they experienced in the intrenchments is not known. That of the French has been only ninety-five men killed, including officers, soldiers, Canadians and Indians, and one hundred and thirty wounded, of all arms. Baron de Dieskaw has been made prisoner and carried to Orange with Sieur Bernier, his Aid de Camp, and two officers of militia, all three wounded like himself.

Nothing has since occurred in that direction. Colonel Johnson's loss, and the presence of the French troops, who afterwards intrenched themselves in the neighborhood of Fort Saint Frederic, have caused him to abandon the execution of his design against that fort.

The reinforcements which Sieur de Vaudreuil had forwarded to Forts Frontenac and Niagara, have imposed also on Governor Shirley, who retired with his troops, except a strong garrison which he left at Choüeguen, with a considerable train of artillery. General Braddock's defeat and the ill success of Colonel Johnson, must have contributed to induce him to adopt that step, for all the different expeditions had been combined together.

GENERAL SHIRLEY TO SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

NEW YORK *Dec 7th 1755.*

SIR: You already know I have the honor to be appointed Command^r^ in Cheif of all his Majestys forces in North America, with the same Powers as the late General Braddock had the command.

Inclosed is the 8^th^ article of His Majestys Instructions to me concerning Indian affairs, which is a copy of that, and the only Instruction which the late Gen^ll^ Braddock had relative to that matter, you will find it refers to some appointment of you to the service therein mentioned, supposed to be made by His Majesty before Gen^ll^ Braddock left England, if you have received such a commission—you will act in pursuance of it, according to the Instructions you have may have received with it, and such further Instructions as I do now or shall hereafter send you. In case you have received no such commission, you will then act in pursuance to the Commission which I send you herewith, by virtue of the Power given me by His

Majesty and founded upon the words and intent of his Royal Instructions, looking upon the Indians called there the Northern Indians, to be intended of those of the Six Nations, and whatever allies they may have to the Northward.

Inclosed are general Instructions for your Guidance and Directions in the execution of your Trust and some calculated for this occasion to which I refer you, and to the enclosed papers containing an account of Governor Morris's Intelligence and Proceedings relative to the Shawanese, Delawares, & other Indians therein mentioned and of his Messages to several Tribes of the Six Nations, which last mentioned papers will throw light upon the Service, I propose now by directing you to proceed to these Castles

You will let me know by the return of this express whether you have received any other Commission than that from the late General Braddock relative to the care of the Indians and how far I may depend upon your acting under the inclosed Commission and proceeding in the Service I now direct you to go upon, that in case you may decline it, I may otherwise provide against His Majestys Service being disappointed by that means.

If the advanced Season of the year, or your state of health will not suffer you to go as far as the Onondaga Castle you will then transmit the business by proper Messages to such of them as you cannot personally go to.

As the effectual execution of the trust reposed in you, will on many accounts require my having an interview with you as soon as the business I now direct you to do will admit, I must desire you to let me see you at Boston this Winter some time before the month of March at furthest.

I am

Sir

Your most humble Servt

Wm SHIRLEY.

To Majr Genll JOHNSON.

GENERAL SHIRLEY'S INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

Instructions to Wm Johnson Esqre

1 You are on the receipt hereof to send Messengers to the principal Castles of the Indians of the Six Nations and endeavour if possible to have a general meeting of their Cheif Sachems and Warriors at their antient Council Place at Onondaga as soon as may be

after you shall receive these Instructions and the Commission therewith.

2. You are then to acquaint them that I succeed the late General Braddock in his Command and that I have thought fit for his Majestys Service to commit to your care the cultivating a Friendship between them and the Northern Nations of Indians depending upon them and His Majestys Subjects and engageing them in a firm alliance with His Majesty against the French and the Indians in their Interest, in the present expedition for recovering His Majestys just rights, and the country out of the hands of the French.

3 You are then to acquaint them that your calling them together at this time, is occasioned by the late behavior of the Shawanese and Delawares Indians in the Province of Pensilvania.

4 You are then to deliver them my speech delivered to you herewith which you are to enforce by all arguments in your power and with such presents as you shall judge necessary and you are to endeavor to prevail on them to send some of their Warriors to forbid the Delaware and Shawanese Indians to commit any hostilities against the English and in case these Indians shall not comply with such Orders to chastize them for their Behaviour as it bids defiance to that Authority which the Six Nations always maintained against those Indians and to make them sensible that unless they do that, they will not only infallibly loose that authority forever, but with it the Character of the Six Nations have always sustained of being Masters of those Indians

5 You are also to assure them in the strongest Terms that I shall do all in my power to protect them and their Allies from any danger they may apprehend from the French, and particularly the Oneidas, that agreeably to my promise to them I have ordered Justice Petri to engage a sufficient number of men to build them a Fort of such size and in such place in their country as is most convenient to them and that I will if they chuse to have them this Winter send an officer with 30 men to reside among them as soon as their Barracks in their New Fort are ready to receive them

6 You are to use every expedient in your power to cultivate and improve a good correspondence with the Indians of the Six Nations and their Allies and endeavour to prevail on them to declare themselves, and to take up the Hatchet against the French & their Indians as well as to act immediately against those who have lately invested the borders of Pensilvania, Maryland & Virginia, as to be ready to take part & act with His Majestys Forces in such operations as I shall think most expedient

7 You are from time to time to inform me of your proceedings herein, and particularly to inform me as soon as may be, the answer of those Indians to my speech now sent and to inform me of the state of the new Fort now building for the Oneidas and when you

judge the Barracks in it will be in a condition to receive a Garrison of His Majestys Troops and whether it will be absolutely necessary to send Troops to Garrison it this Winter, or whether the Indians will not be content to be without that Garrison until the Spring

8 And whereas I have great reason to expect that a number of the Sachems and Warriors of the Messagues, Cheppewes, and Outawas will meet me next Spring at Oswego & as the Cheif Sachems of the Oneidas and Cayougas have promised also to meet me also then there, and as it will be necessary that as general a meeting as possible be had there with the Indians of the Six Nations you are therefore to use your best endeavours to engage some of the Cheif Sachems and Warriors of the Six Nations to meet me at Oswego early in the Spring to concert such measures as may be for the mutual benefit of them and us

Given under my hand at New York this tenth day of Dec^{r} Annoq, 1755

W SHIRLEY

By His Excellencys Command

W^{m} ALEXANDER, *Secry.*

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO GENERAL SHIRLEY.

FORT JOHNSON *Dec 16. 1755*

SIR: You Excellencys Paquet I received this instant together with a Commission or Warrant from you for the Management of Indian Affairs, also a Letter and other Papers from Gov^{r} Morris of Philadelphia concerning the Hostilities committed and still committing by the Indians on the Frontiers of that and the Neighbouring Provinces, desiring I would us my utmost endeavors to put a stop to it.

On my return from Lake George I received an account of the cruel proceedings of the Indians in them parts by an express from Sir Charles Hardy and as soon as I got home, despatched Messages to all the six Nations, and also to the Susquehanna Indians, Delawares and Shawanese acquainting the former of the Behavior of those Indians and insisted on their immediate Interposition to the latter who are the people concerned; I sent a very smart reprimand for their unnatural and unjustifiable Behaviour to their Brethren and Neighbours the English; giving them a strong and warm Invitation to join us, and turn their arms this way against the French and their allies. What effect it will now have upon them I can't pretend to say with any certainty, but this much I make bold to say, that if I had not been so much employed otherwise this Time

past and for some other Reasons I shall defer mention[g] now Indian affairs would be in a much more favorable and prosperous way, and this perhaps not have happened ;

I have this long time been told there was a Commission from His Majesty for me, and that it was sent by the late General Braddock, but I never received any, nor pay for the one I had of him, alltho' I have neglected all my own business, on account of it and suffered much thereby

I shall soon write your Excellency more fully and let you know my inclinations regarding the Commission

I proposed ere I received yours to have a meeting of all the Nations I could assemble at this Season of the year, in order to settle matters with them in the best manner possible, & prepare them for Service in the Spring it will take some time to get them together, so that I may go to New York for a Fortnight, and settle affairs & be back ere they are assembled

I am

Your Excellencys

Most obedient & mo

humble Servant

WM JOHNSON.

REMARKS OF THE BRITISH MINISTRY ON THE LETTER OF THE KING OF FRANCE.

January, 1756.

Whatever may have been or are now the sentiments of the most Christian King, with regard to the differences concerning North America, it is unfortunate that the conduct of the Court of Versailles towards Great Britain should so ill correspond to the dispositions which M. Rouillé's Memoir ascribes to his Majesty, and to the professions of good faith and unreserved confidence with which, it was pretended, the negotiation on the affairs of America was, on his part, carried on.

If it be from the course of this negotiation that the authentic proofs are to be drawn by which the most Christian King is able to demonstrate to the whole world that it is not owing to him that the difference in question have not been amicably arranged, it will not be improper to touch briefly upon some parts thereof. All the facts will bear witness in favor of his Britannic Majesty's moderation.

In the month of January, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-

five, the French Ambassador returned to London and made great protestations of the sincere desire felt by his Court to adjust all disputes between the two Crowns, concerning America, in a final and prompt manner, and, nothwithstanding the extraordinary preparations which were at that time and are at present making in the ports of France, her Ambassador proposed:

"That before the ground and circumstances of the quarrel be in-
"quired into, positive orders should be immediately sent to our
"respective governments, forbidding them thereafter to undertake
"any new enterprise or to proceed to any act of hostility; enjoining
"them, on the contrary, to put things without delay, with regard
"the lands on the Ohio, on the same footing that they were, or
"ought to have been, before the last war; and that the respective
"claims be amicably referred to the Commission established at
"Paris, so that the two courts might terminate the differences by
"a speedy accommodation."

England at once declared its readiness to the proposed cessation of hostillities, and that *all the points* in dispute might be discussed and terminated *by the Ministers of the two Crowns*, but on condition that all the possessions in America shall previously be put on the footing of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Wherefore his Majesty proposed:

"That the possession of the lands on the Ohio, or Beautiful river,
"should be restored to the footing it was on at the conclusion of
"the Treaty of Utrecht, and agreeably to the stipulations of the
"said treaty, which was renewed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle; and
"moreover, that the other possessions in North America should be
"restored to the same condition in which they actually were, at the
"signing of the said Treaty of Utrecht, and agreeably to the ces-
"sions and stipulations therein expressed; and then the method of
"instructing the respective Governors and forbidding them to
"undertake thenceforth any new enterprises and acts of hostillity
"might be treated of, and the claims of both parties reserved to be
"speedily and finally discussed and adjusted in an amicable manner
"between the two Courts, that is to say, France should repair the in-
"jury done by open force before the parties should enter into treaty,
"even about that right, after which the possessions of both parties
"might be settled on the footing of a definitive treaty."

The French Ambassader thereupon drew up a kind of reply which at bottom was only a repetition of his first proposal. But to soften the matter, he produced, at the same time, full powers from his Court, couched in very specious and polite terms.

The effect was, however, as little correspondent thereto as before, and France soon after delivered a draft of a preliminary convention, which was nothing more than the first proposal somewhat enlarged. This, added to what was doing in the ports of France, was too plain

to deceive, and England took care not to lend herself to a convention that would leave to France the fruits of her violences and usurpations, which constituted precisely the grievances England was complaining of; for after its expiration all would have to be begun over again.

A draft of a counter convention was afterwards delivered to the Ambassador, containing an offer of the most moderate terms, confined simply to those points which were an indispensable right, and essential to the security of the King's Colonies.

To this France did not vouchsafe any answer, and her Ambassador was authorized thereupon *only to hear, but not to make any propositions.*

In fine, after a long series of singular evasions, in which the cessation of hostilities continually recurred, the Ambassador, instead of receiving instructions to enter into negotiations upon the counter convention above mentioned, was ordered to demand, as a previous condition, that England should desist from three points which formed a large portion of the matter in dispute.

I. The south part of the River S^{t} Lawrence and the lakes whose waters flow into that river.

II. The twenty leagues of country demanded along the Bay of Fundy.

III. The territory between the Ohio and the Ouabache.

The discussions by which this extraordinary piece was followed, and during which France tergiversated at every step, concluded with a Memoir presented by the Ambassador wherein were treated the affairs of the Islands as well as those of North America. This also was answered by a very ample piece which refuted the Ambassador's Memoir article, by article and fully justified the terms of the English counter convention. In consequence of the Ambasador's unexpected retreat, this piece has remained without any reply.

The assurances France received of his Majesty's pacific disposition were as honest and sincere as they were formal and precise; but he should have reproached himself had he carried them so far as to endanger the possessions of his Crown and the safety of his people.

It is to no purpose that the French applies the epithet of *hostile* to the orders given to General Braddock and Admiral Boscawen. She would be very glad to draw a veil over all the hostilities committed on her part in America since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the date of those orders. From the very instant, as it were, of the signing that treaty, and even at the opening of the commission which, in consequence of it, was established at Paris for the affairs of America, France, distrusting beforehand her right. and setting herself up as judge and party in her own case, caused the Province of Nova Scotia to be invaded, and after a series of open hostilities

against the inhabitants, the King's subjects had erected three forts in the heart of that Province, and had she not been prevented, was on her way to destroy the new settlement of Halifax. Like hostilities were committed, at the same time, against his Majesty's territories and subjects on the Ohio and the Indian lakes, where France, without any shaddow of right, forbid the English to trade, seized them by force and sent them prisoners to France, invaded the territories of Virginia, attacked a fort which covered its frontier, and to secure these usurpations, erected, with an armed force, a chain of forts on the lands she had invaded. If his Majesty could have supposed that the Governors of Canada had so acted by orders from their Court, he would have been justified to repel these hostilities at once with the vigor which the case deserved.

He confined himself to complaining thereof to the Court of France, but with so little effect that that Court, not content with not vouchsafing any answer, gave, on this occasion, a very singular instance of its honesty; for, in despite of these complaints made by the late Earl of Albemarle, in consequence of an order from the King, particularly by a Memoir delivered in the month of February, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two, on those usurpations in America, France had, afterwards, the modesty to allege, that England had never complained of those prodeedings, and consequently had nothing to find fault with.

At last, the King's patience being worn out by the continuance of these violences, he found himself obliged to provide for the security and defence of his subjects. Yet notwithstanding the just reasons he had for proceeding to extremities, he added to his many years' forbearance a signal proof of his moderation in the very smallness of the succors he sent to America, which consisted only of two battalions of 500 men each, escorted by two frigates, and in the orders given to the commanding officer, which were to dislodge the invaders of the King's territories. In these facts there is nothing irreconcilable with the assurances given of his Majesty's pacific dispositions. It is the invasion on the part of France and all the violences which have attended it, that are hostile, and it can never be unlawful to repel an aggresssor.

In order to make out the pretended insult to the flag of the most Christian King, France is obliged to invert the order of things. She affects to take the consequence and effect for the cause, and, pretexting the small succors General Braddock carried to America, alleges, as the principal affair, what are only its result and accessory, as if the sending of that succor had given rise to the troubles. France equips a fleet of a very alarming force, and the King is, in consequence, obliged to make proportionable armaments. France dispatches that fleet to America with three times the number of troops carried to the same continent by General Braddock, intend-

ing, thereby, to support her previous acts of violence and to superadd new ones.

Now, the same law, the same principal of defence which authorizes the resistance of an invader, authorizes equally the preventing him overwhelming the party attacked by so formidable a reinforcement. It was, therefore, very natural to expect that the King would provide eventually for the protection of his subjects, by preventing the landing of so powerful an armament in America, and by endeavouring to preserve his American Provinces from total ruin.

For the rest, it is hard to imagin why an English fort and English Provinces in America should be less entitled to respect by an aggressor, than a ship of war on the Banks of Newfoundland, by an officer acting under the authority of a Prince, who defends himself and protects his subjects.

The same motive of defence hath forced the King to seize the ships and sailors belonging to the French Nation, in order to deprive the Court of France of the means of making a descent, with which her Ministers in all the Courts of Europe have incessantly threatened England. Menaces, the more significative to England, inasmuch as they have been preceded or accompanied by the precipitate recal of the Ministers of France from London and Hanover; by the march and cantonment of large bodies of troops on the coasts of Flanders and of the Channel, and by the publicly avowed reëstablishment of the port of Dunkirk.

For the rest, it cannot be conceived why the French should imagine that the King ought to disavow the conduct of his officers, who have acted by his orders, or why they should wonder at his Majesty's demanding of his subjects the supplies necessary to enable him to frustrate the views equally ambitious and violent of France.

How can that Court pretend to be surprised at the acts of violence it complains of, after the Court of Great Britain had, during the whole course of the negotiation, constantly rejected the proposal made by France for a suspension of hostilities, unless it were preceded by the restitution of the possessions taken by open force from England; a condition to which the Court of Versailles would never agree. This was a broad hint to that Court, of the course the King proposed to follow in the prosecution of his just rights.

It was for such just and valid reasons that the King has rejected the peremptory demand contained in the Memoir signed by M. Rouillé. To avoid all occasion of taking notice of the terms made use of in that paper, which shock common decency, his Majesty caused M^r^ Fox, his Secretary of State, to write a brief and negative answer to it, in the form of a letter. And he is the more determined not to admit what France demands, as a preliminary condition, prior to any negotiation, as it appears from that very Memoir

that, after granting it, the King would be as far as ever from obtaining an equitable and solid accommodation with respect to the injuries he has to complain of for several years. And it does not appear how his Majesty's resolution to defend his American dominions and hinder France from insulting his Kingdoms, can be construed into a denial of justice, and a design formed by the King to disturb the repose of Europe.

INSTRUCTIONS TO ENSIGN DOUVILLE.

FORT DUQUESNE, *23d March, 1756.*

Dumas, Captain of Infantry, Commandant of the Beautiful river and its dependencies.

Sieur Douville, Ensign *en second*, is ordered to march at the head of a detachment of fifty Indians to observe the enemy's movements back of Fort Cumberland.

He shall make it his business to harass their convoys and endeavor to burn their magazines at Canagiechuie, if possible.

He shall spare no pains to make prisoners who may be able to confirm to us what we already know of the enemy's designs.

Sieur Douville will employ all his talents and influence to prevent the Indians exercising any cruelty on those who will fall into their hands. Honor and humanity ought to be our guides in that regard.

DUMAS.

ABSTRACT OF OCCURRENCES IN CANADA; 1755, 1756.

Detail of Occurrences in Canada, from the debarkation of the Regular troops in the month of June, 1755, to the 1st of May, 1756.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil learns, a few days after his arrival at Quebec, that the English have taken Forts Beausejour and St. John, in Acadia.

Orders all the preparations to be made for the siege of Chouaguen.

Learns that the enemy are advancing towards Fort St. Frederic.

Sends thither Baron de Dieskaw, at the head of 3000 men, with orders to attack them, and postpones the attack on Chouaguen until his return.

M. de Dieskaw learns, at Fort St. Frederic, that the enemy, num-

bering 4000 men, are constructing a fort at the Lidius house, on the River of Orange, six leagues from Lake St. Sacrament.

September 2d. He marches with his army to attack them.

Learns, on the way, from a prisoner, that the enemy have retreated towards Orange, and that five hundred men are encamped under the fort.

He alters all his arrangements; leaves half his army at the falls of Lake St. Sacrament and at the entrance of the Twelve mile marsh *(Grand Marais)*, to secure his return.

4th Proceeds at the head of 600 Indians, 680 Canadians and 220 Regulars, to destroy that fort.

7th Arrives there in the evening; our Indians, at the moment he was making his arrangements to attack, bring him in two prisoners, who inform him that 4000 men are encamped six leagues in his rear, near Lake St. Sacrament.

8th In the morning determines to march against them in preference to the fort, calculating that they were not so numerous as was reported.

Falls in, at half-past eleven o'clock, with 1000 men who were coming to meet him.

Drives these back with success to their camp, which he attacks right and left, without losing any time, in order not to afford the enemy an opportunity of reconnoitring.

The firing continued an hour; half the detachment, abandoned by the remainder, was obliged to fall back; a general and precipitate retreat ensued without orders from any person.

M. de Dieskaw and Chevalier de Montreuil were left by themselves during the affair near the camp, between the two fires.

When the former received four gunshot wounds and was made prisoner of war.

Chevalier de Montreüil was wounded in the arm and received a contusion in the side.

The detachment was a day and a half in returning to its camp, across the woods, without provisions, and carrying one hundred wounded.

The French have lost in that affair 200 men killed, wounded and missing, and the English 400, many of whom are officers of distinction.

The remainder of the season passed on both sides in constructing a fort near Lake St. Sacrament.

Eight hundred Indians and 200 hundred Canadians have killed, in the month of July, 1200 Englishmen and General Bradoc, near Fort Duquesne, on the River Ohio.

During the winter the Indians have burned several English settlements, made a number of prisoners and taken a great many scalps in every direction.

Four hundred Frenchmen or Indians have burnt, on the 25th of March, twenty-five leagues from Chouaguen, a small English fort filled with provisions and munitions of war, guarded by 40 men, whom they put to the sword. The English are collecting 6000 men at Lake St. Sacrament, and 4000 at Chouaguen.

Prisoners assert that their design is to attack Forts Niagara and Cataracoui, on Lake Ontario, and St. Frederic, on Lake Champlain.

M. de Vaudreuil expects to put seven thousand men on foot; the English, 'tis believed, will not make any attempt in the direction of the Beautiful river.

If the Five Nations remain neuter, as is hoped, the French will have on their side about 1200 hundred Indians, and the English 400.

The fate of the operations of this campaign will be decided, according to all appearances, towards the end of July; everything appears to assume a favorable turn for Canada.

I augur that the enemy will keep on the defensive, having heard of the reinforcement which arrived from France in the course of May.

The battalions of La Reine and Languedoc are encamped under Fort Carillon, situate on Lake Champlain, five leagues beyond Fort St. Frederic.

The Guienne battalion is on the way to Fort Cataracoui, and that of Béarn to Niagara.

Eight hundred Canadians or Indians are encamped near Niaouré Bay to harass the enemy, who are about to rendezvous immediately before Chouaguen.

Divers considerable parties of Canadians and Indians are out in the direction of Fort Lydius, on the River of Orange, to watch the movements of the enemy, who, 'tis reported, are preparing to come and attack Fort Carillon.

The battalion of La Sarre is to proceed immediately to Cataracoui or Niagara.

That of Royal Rousillon is destined for Carillon.

The nine companies of the battalion of La Reine number 327 men.

The battalion of La Sarre, 515.

That of Royal Roussillon, 519.

The nine companies of the battalion of Languedoc, 326.

The battalion of Guienne, 492.

That of Béarn, 598.

M. de Nau, first fractionnary of Guienne, died in the month of February.

Sieur de la Furjonniere, Lieutenant in the Regiment of Languedoc, was killed in the affair of Lake St. Sacrament.

M. de Sudria, Lieutenant in the Guienne, returns to France on account of sickness.

Four officers and two soldiers have married.

The Artois battalion, which is at Louisburg, amounts to 547 men, including the recruits arrived from France, who are attached to it whilst waiting for instructions from Court on this subject.

That of Burgundy numbers 543, including the recruits.

M. Delpriel, Sub-Lieutenant of Grenadiers in the Burgundy regiment, died at Louisburg on the 9th of April, 1755.

Total of vacancies by death, three.

M. DE MONTCALM TO COUNT D'ARGENSON.

QUEBEC, *21 May, 1756.*

MY LORD: Although I have reason to believe that this letter, which I am dispatching by way of Louisburg, will not reach you before the one I shall have the honor to write you from this place, at all events, I have the pleasure of informing you of my arrival on the 13th. *Le Heros* is here since the 12th, and of the nine companies of the Regiment of Lasarre on board that vessel, only one man died on the passage; twenty-three were sick; of these, only one dangerously. I flatter myself that it will be the same on board the two other ships and the other two frigates which we may consider arrived, as *le Leopard* and *la Sirenne* are at anchor nine leagues below, and the remainder were at Bic island on the fifteenth. The first wind from the northeast will bring them all up. Our Staff, Engineers and troops are therefore all arrived. We have also four other ships in port, with stores and recruits on board, and a fifth is at anchor with our men of war. M. de Bourlamaque and N. Desandroüins, Engineer, are already here, having come up by land from Cape Torment, as I likewise did. I heard from Chevalier de Levis the 15th. He was at Bic island in very good health, awaiting a favorable wind.

The day following my arrival, I sent a courier to the Marquis de Vaurdreuil, and to-morrow I proceed to join him. Everything is in movement for the opening of the campaign. The winter has been less severe than usual. I found it impossible to repair sooner to Montreal, as the rain had rendered the roads impassable, and the winds were contrary. The same reasons have retarded M. Doriel's arrival, who is coming to receive the troops, and with whom I expect to confer on the way. During my eight days' sojourn, I have taken information respecting a country and a war, in which everything is different to what obtains in Europe, and acquired a knowledge of Quebec and its environs. I shall be in Montreal on Tues-

day morning, although I have to travel sixty leagues, partly in a cart, in canoe and in a vehicle peculiar to the country, which seems to have served as a model to the cabriolets of Paris.

The winter operations consisted merely of some forays of Indians, who have really laid waste Pensylvania and Virginia.

M. de Levis, a Colonial officer, carried on the 27th of March, sword in hand, a small fort near Chouaguen, in which the English had a depôt of provisions and forty-five thousand weight of powder. This detachment was to consist, at first, only of Canadians and Indians, under the apprehension that our Regulars were enable to bear the fatigue which, according to their avowal, far exceeded that of Bohemia, and could not travel on snow shoes. But, to satisfy their zeal and request, it became necessary to adjoin to it sixty volunteers from the four battalions, who have distinguished themselves to the great satisfaction of that officer. This action cost only two or three men. Two young English officers have been brought in here lately, whom the Indians had taken on a scout.

It appears to me that the Iroquois are expected to remain, at least, neutral.

I write by this opportunity to M. de St. Julien, Commandant of our two battalions at Louisburg, directing him to be very exact in writing to you, and to inform me likewise of any particulars respecting those two battalions.

The attention and politeness of the gentlemen officers of the ships to the troops, cannot be mentioned in too high terms.

I shall have the honor to enter into fuller detail when I write to you directly.

I have the honor to be respectfully,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

M. KERLEREC TO M. DE MACHAULT.

NEW ORLEANS, *1 June, 1756.*

MY LORD: By the last letters of the 16th of March, which I have received from M. de Mackarty, Commandant at the Illinois, he informs me that he has not received any order from M. de Vaudreuil, and appears ignorant of the different events passing in Canada. He adds, that Captain de Chation, commanding at St Joseph, a dependency of Canada, writes that he received a letter from M. de Vaudreuil, recommending him to labor in keeping the Nations

quiet in existing circumstances, and that he will soon send him packets for M. de Mackarty, which he will be hardly able to receive before this month. Therefore, my Lord, I cannot give you any news of what is passing in the North and on the Beautiful river. As regards the domiciliated Indian Nations, and others in the neighborhood of Illinois, they appear pretty quiet.

M. de Makarty in accordance with the letter of M. Dumas, Commandant at Fort Duquesne, copy whereof I annex hereunto, complied as far as he was able with the requisition for flour and salted provisions, but not to near the quantity that was desired. As soon as I shall be better informed, my Lord, of what will take place both at the Illinois and the Beautiful river, I shall not fail to send you an account thereof.

The only information I have from different Indians of that quarter is, that those of the North are incessantly, and most successfully, ravaging and laying waste all the settlements belonging to the Provinces of New-York, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia and Potomac. Several have even quite recently been discovered with all their baggage within 5 days' journey of the Kaouitas, going in quest of an asylum between St. Augustine and New Georgia. This is what I have learned pending my voyage to Mobille.

I am with the most profound respect, My Lord, your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

KERLEREC.

Copy of the letter written to M. de Makarty, Commandant at the Illinois, on the 10th of 9ber, 1755, by M. Dumas, Commandant of Fort Du Quesne.

Sir: The critical condition of Canada last summer; attacked on all sides by numerous armies, whose movements M. Du Quesne, at the time our general, was unwilling to foresee; with posts defenceless and without supplies; Lake Ontario closed by Chaouaguin during the entire of the fine season; all this, Sir, has placed this post in the most sad want of provisions.

The enemy having cut off our communication, as I have had the honor to inform you, Sir, it is a long time since I have received any news from M. de Vaudreuil; I have reason to believe he is busy clearing the roads, but the greatest success cannot at present provide so many indispensable necessaries; therefore I have to look elsewhere.

In this so delicate a conjuncture, I take upon myself, Sir, to send to you for provisions, and if they can reach us in season, they will afford us the opportunity of being provided with other necessaries by facilitating the carriage of wnatever comes to us from below.

Wherefore, I send you Sieur Ducharme, a skilful voyageur who formerly came up the Beautiful river as far as the falls, and who expects to be able to ascend it again as far as this place, with carts loaded with 10 thousand weight under a guard of six men.

I have had the honor to advise M. de Vaudreuil of all this, and I flatter myself that you will give all your support to an undertaking on the success of which depends perhaps the fate of our settlement.

I furnish M. Ducharme with 18 men; he proposes to engage some at the Illinois, but I foresee that it will be difficult for him to find people sufficient to convey 120 thousand weight of flour and 40 thousand weight of pork. It is on you, Sir, that I rest the confidence with which I enter on this project.

You, Sir, can easily furnish Sieur Ducharme with a detachment under the command of an officer. It will march as an escort, and the soldiers will be paid as laborers by the contractor for working in the convoy.

I have heard of one Delisle undertaking formerly to convey provisions to the Ouyatonons. I suppose, Sir, you have orders to protect him. I demand the same assistance for Sieur Ducharme, and that you will add thereto whatever will be in your power.

In laboring for the good of the service your reward and mine are assured, since we have performed our duty.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

(Signed), DUMAS.

ABSTRACT OF DESPATCHES RECEIVED FROM CANADA.

4th June 1756.

The despatches just received from M. de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of the Colony, dated the 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8th of February, contain the following particulars.

That Governor remained at Montreal, in order to be in a more convenient position to harass the English during the winter, and to make preparations for the next campaign.

With this double object, he directed his efforts principally to gaining the Indians, and flatters himself that he has generally succeeded.

All the Nations of the Beautifnl river have taken up the hatchet against the English.

The first party that was formed in that quarter, since the last report M. de Vaudreuil had sent in the month of October, ultimo, was composed of two hundred and fifty Indians, to whom the Com-

mandant of Fort Duquesne adjoined some Frenchmen at the request of those Indians.

This party divided themselves into small squads, at the height of land, and fell on the settlements beyond Fort Cumberland; defeated a detachment of 20 regulars under the command of two officers. After these different squads had destroyed or carried away several families, pillaged and burnt several houses, they came again together with the design of surprising Fort Cumberland, and accordingly lay in ambush during some time; but the Commandant of the fort, who no doubt was on his guard, dared not show himself. This party returned to Fort Duquesne with sixty prisoners and a great number of scalps.

The second detachment, which consisted of a military Cadet, a Canadian and 4 Chaouanons, took two prisoners under the guns of Fort Cumberland, whither the party had been sent by the commandant of Fort Duquesne, to find out what was going on there.

The third, made up of a Canadian and several Chaouanons, destroyed eleven families, burned sixteen houses and one mill, and killed a prodigious number of cattle. The Indians returned on horseback.

The fourth party was composed of one hundred and twelve Delawares *(Loups)*. They struck in separate divisions. Thirteen returned, first, with twenty-one scalps and six prisoners. The remainder of the party took such a considerable number of scalps and prisoners that these Indians sent some to all the nations to replace their dead.

M. de Vaudreuil reports only what these four parties did. A number of others had marched with equal success. Some have actually been on the war path as far even as Virginia.

The Commandant of Fort Duquesne has informed M. de Vaudreuil that the Delawares settled beyond the mountains which separate us from the English, had, on his invitation, just removed their villages so as to unite with their brethren, our allies; that the old men, the women and children, had already gone with the baggage, and that the warriors were to form the rear guard and, on quitting, to attack the English.

M. de Vaudreuil observes, on this migration, that it will be of so much the more advantage to us, as the Delawares will become respectable in the estimation of all the other nations, and the Beautiful river will acquire new settlers who are sworn enemies of the English.

All the Indians towards Acadia and New England are, in spite of the various attempts which the English have made to seduce them, more hostile to these than ever; but, unfortunately, they have not as yet been able to go on the war path, having been afflicted by the small-pox in all their villages.

This disease has committed ravages also among the Canadians, and prevented M. de Vaudreuil executing the movements and incursions he had projected during the winter.

Another and a most extraordinary event, in that country, had equally prevented that project; namely, since the twentieth of January, there has not been a particle of snow on the ground; this is the case ordinarily only towards the end of April or even the beginning of May. The roads were thus rendered impassable. He was impatiently waiting for the return of the cold weather to send out some expeditions. (Letters from Ile Royale, of the month of April, state that the frost has been quite severe there at the close of February.)

Some parties have been out, but have only taken a few scalps, as the English were always distrustful and dared not appear except in numbers.

Among the number of scalps is one which is represented to be that of the English Engineer at Lake St. Sacrament.

In regard to the Iroquois, they have sent word to M. de Vaudreuil, by a French officer resident among them, that their deputies will come to see him this spring.

They have disavowed all those of their people who were with the English in M. Dieskau's affair. They have likewise said that it was their intention to follow their former system of neutrality, and M. de Vaudreuil had them notified that if any of their Nation was found among the English he would regard them as enemies, and would let all the Upper Nations loose on them. He will be better able to judge of their true disposition in the course of their proposed visit.

In respect to the operations of the campaign, M. de Vaudreuil foresaw that he should be constrained to confine himself to the defensive. He did not consider himself in a condition to risk the Choüaguen expedition. The English have constructed their forts there, which are provided with cannon and a garrison of six hundred men continually on its guard. M. de Vaudreuil was, however, not losing sight of that expedition; he was making every preparation that depended on him in order that there should be no delay, if circumstances permitted him to undertake it on the arrival of reinforcements from France.

According to intelligence received from the English Colonies, they were preparing to make the greatest efforts for attacking Canada again this year on the Acadia side, by Lake St. Sacrament, Niagara and the Beautiful river; but their dispositions for these four campaigns are different from those of last year. They are to direct their principal strength against Fort St. Frederic and Forts Niagara and Frontenac.

The troops from Old England are to be employed in the army that

is destined against the two last mentioned forts; after having reduced these, they are to proceed towards the Beautiful river at the same time that fifteen hundred men will be dispatched to that quarter from Virginia.

Whatever these plans may amount to, M. de Vaudreuil is preparing to face them all. He does not transmit the distribution he proposes to make of his forces to effect that object, because it will depend on circumstances and events.

He merely remarks that at the opening of the navigation he will dispatch the men and provisions he will consider necessary for the defence of each part; but that he will be careful to form a corps of reserve of Canadians, either to forward assistance to the most exposed points or to serve in the expedition against Choüaguin, should it take place.

Meanwhile the following are the measures he has adopted.

Towards Acadia and New England: He has sent orders to Captain Boishebert, who commands on those frontiers, to maintain, to the last extremity, the post on the River St. John so as to prevent the progess of the English in that quarter. And he hopes that officer will succeed therein with the aid of the French and Indians, whose confidence he fully possesses. The Missionaries will second him, and, possibly, he will likewise be assisted by some Acadians who have retired thither in order to be safe from the cruelties which their fellow countrymen experience at the hands of the English.

For the defence of Fort St. Frederic: M. de Vaudreuil has set about fortifying Carillon, which post he had caused to be occupied between the above mentioned fort and Lake St. Sacrament, after M. Dieskau's affair.

Twelve guns and eight peteraroes had already been placed in battery with four small mortars for throwing grenades, and M. de Vaudreuil was to send thither, at the opening of the navigation, eight other pieces of artillery, two of which are eighteen, and the remainder twelve, eight and four-pounders. The fort is, moreover, well supplied with powder, balls and grape shot *(mitraille)*, &ª.

M. de Vaudreuil had left a garrison of only four hundred men there, but was to send a considerable detachment thither and to establish a flying camp at the Little Carrying place of Lake St. Sacramant, which is an important post some leagues beyond Carillon, and he flatters himself that he will be able to stop the English in that direction. He has been, moreover, informed that the English have made a new fort constructed on this side of Lake St. Sacrament since M. Dieskaw's affair.

The works which have been considered necessary to put Niagara in a state of defence, were much advanced, and they would, it was expected, be completed this spring. A garrison of three hundred men is actively at work there. Niagara will, thus, be capable of re-

sisting the enemy; its position is, moreover, very advantageous. M. de Vaudreuil remarks that, meanwhile, he will be obliged to send thither, early in the season, a considerable force with provisions, and that he will hasten do so the rather as the navigation of the English in that quarter is open earlier than with us.

He will provide at the same time for the security of Fort Frontenac. He has caused two sloops to be built on Lake Ontario, which are to be equipped as war cruizers on that lake, where they will be capable of doing good service.

Respecting the Beautiful river: The commandant of Fort Duquesne has advised M. de Vaudreuil that that fort will not be in a condition to resist an attack with artillery. That Commandant is Captain Dumas; the same that happened to be in command at the affair against General Braddock after Sieur de Beaujeu's death.

He has observed to M. de Vaudreuil, that to go out to meet the enemy and give him battle appeared inevitable. M. de Vaudreuil had not yet given any positive orders on that point; they were to be transmitted after mature reflection. He was to send him also, very early in the season, all the assistance he had demanded, both in men, provisions, &c[a].

In order that M. Dumas may not be straitened in any of his operations, M. de Vaudreuil has issued his commands to all the posts convenient to the Beautiful river, to forward some Indians and Frenchmen to Fort Duquesne.

M. Dumas will find himself in a condition to continually send out some considerable parties to meet the enemy, and M. de Vaudreuil expects that before the English have reached our territory, they will have lost more people than they will possibly kill of ours in a decisive action.

"*'Twill probably depend,*" *he adds in one of his letters,* "*on who* "*will do best; the enemy or I. I will offer them everywhere the most* "*active resistance.*

"*I shall be prepared to take advantage of every circumstance that* "*chance will throw in my way.*

"*I am confident they will not make any progress, and that they will* "*lose men; but it is easily seen that all those movements cannot be made* "*without immense expense, and this is what causes me most uneasiness.*"

M. DE VAUDREUIL TO M. DE MACHAULT.

MONTREAL, *8th of June, 1756.*

MY LORD: I have received the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 15th of March, with the King's instruction respect-

ing the conduct I was to observe towards the English, whereunto I shall exactly conform.

In truth, there must be no longer any question of managing the English. Their enterprises are carried to excess, and you see, my Lord, by the reports I have the honor of rendering you, that they are making new and greater efforts against this Colony; that I am making use of the reinforcements the King has granted me to oppose them, and that I neglect nothing to enable me to carry the war into their country. But before undertaking any enterprise, I occupy myself in making all the dispositions necessary to assure the defence of my government and it will be always on this principle that I shall regulate my operations as his Majesty has prescribed in my instructions.

I apply myself particularly, my Lord, to sending parties of Indians into the English Colonies. I also do my best to multiply them as much as circumstances permit. Nothing is more calculated to disgust the people of those Colonies and to make them desire the return of peace. My labor in this regard has not been in vain. None of the New England Countries but feels the incursions of our Indians, and I can say, without exaggeration, that the English have lost one hundred men for our one. I should greatly wish to discover some means to make that people more and more sensible how much it would be to their advantage not to countenance such odious views, the consequences whereof may be so fatal to themselves. But the matter is not so easy, and I shall have recourse to it only so far as I shall be sure of not compromising anything.

I am, with most profound respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

EXTRACTS FROM M. DE MONTCALM'S LETTER TO COUNT D'ARGENSON.

MONTREAL, *12th of June, 1756.*

* * * * * * * * *

The winter operations have been confined to forays of the Upper country Indians, who have really laid waste Virginia and Pennsylvania; to negotiations with the Five Nations who have, as yet, promised only neutrality, and to an expedition of which I have had the honor to speak to you in my letter of the 21st of May.

The soldier is very well off here, as he has rations as well as his

pay and is employed in works for which he is remunerated. He has, as it were, too much money, wherefore the greatest attention has to be paid to discipline. The climate, the manner in which he sees the Militia of the country and the Indians do service, inspire him with a spirit of independence, for much patience and management are necessary when Canadians and Indians are led to battle. Since coming to Montreal, I spend my time among the latter in receiving and returning compliments according to M. de Vaudreuil's instructions. The Iroquois of the Sault St. Louis have done me the honor of coming to present me with a Belt, and in all their speeches, speak with respect and veneration of the power and protection of Ononthio Goa, as they style the King.

* * * * * * * * *

The latest news from Fort du Quesne is to the 9th of May. No English movements of any importance yet in that quarter. Our Indians, together with some of our detachments, made many successful forays. Thirty scalps have been sent us, and the commissions of three officers of the English regiments raised in the country, who have been killed. The Upper country Indians carry off entire families, which obliges the English to construct several pretended forts; that is to say, to inclose a number of dwellings with stockades. Our Upper Indians appear well disposed towards us, notwithstanding the presents and solicitations of the English. M. Dumas, an officer of great distinction in the Colony, commands at Fort Duquesne and on the River Ohio. We have lost, in one detachment, Ensign Douville, of the Colonial troops.

* * * * * * * * *

Fort Duquesne is not worth a straw. A freshet nearly carried it off a short time ago. Chevalier de Levy and M. de Bourlamaque may exchange; but one will be always at the Camp of Fort Frontenac; the other at that on the Island of St. John.

ABSTRACT OF DESPATCHES FROM CANADA.

Fort Duquesne.

Letters of the 23d March assure us that the French and Indians have, since Admiral Braddock's defeat, disposed of more than 700 people in the Provinces of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Carolina, including those killed and those taken prisoners.

The Delawares and Chouanons, Indian Nations of the Beautiful river, some of whose chiefs have been put to a cruel death by the English, to whom they had gone on an embassy, are enraged to an

extraordinary degree, and would not make any prisoners were it not for the continual recommendations of the Commandants to commit as few murders as possible. Independent of this, those two Nations have not ceased sending Belts among all the Nations since the close of summer and of the fall, inviting them to come and avenge the insult done them by the English; this invitation has been accepted, and caused all those Nations to chant the war during the whole of the winter.

In April, there had been in those parts twenty detachments of Delawares and Chouanons; these were joined by more than sixty Indians of the Five Iroquois Nations who have committed frightful ravages. The only resource remaining to the inhabitants was to abandon their houses, and to remove to the seacoast. Three forts have been burnt, among the rest one containing a garrison of forty-seven men, which was besieged by a party of 40 Indians under the command of M. Douville, a Colonial cadet. The garrison was summoned to surrender, but having refused, the fort was set on fire in the night; the garrison then attempted to escape, and the Indians gave no quarter. M. Douville lost his life on that occasion.[1]

We have now on the Continent one thousand French, seven hundred Delawares and Chouanons, besides a number of Illinois, as many as three hundred French and Indians, under the command of Sieur de Villiers, about 250 Miamis and Outaganons, under M. de Belestre, 300 from Detroit and 700 from Michilimakinac, commanded by Chevalier de Repentigny, d'Anglede and Hebert, Junior, amounting to 3,250 men. [We are] expecting to hear whether M. Beaubassin, Commandant at the Point, will have brought the Sauteurs belonging to his post; we shall soon learn the exploits of these Nations.

M. Dumas, a Colonial Captain, and Commandant of Fort Duquesne, had his eye on Fort Cumberland, which is a vast depôt belonging to the English to enable them to reach the Beautiful river; it is situate at the foot of the mountains, about 70 leagues from the sea and 80 from Fort Duquesne.

Letters received from Canada by the frigate *la Sauvage*, and dated the first days of June, contain the following details respecting what occurred in the different parts of the Colony since the last despatches from M. de Vaudreuil, Governor-General, dated last February.

Detachments have been continually in the field, in all directions, against the English Colonies.

M. de Vaudreuil had stated that the mildness of the winter, in the heart of the Colony, had prevented those parties being as numerous as they might have been, had there been snow and ice, as usual, in the country.

[1] Ensign Douville was killed in an attack on a small fort on the North branch of the Cacapehon or Cacapon, in Hampshire county, Virginia.

Beautiful River.

Quite an untoward revolution has been experienced in the direction of the Beautiful river. The winter there is always very mild; this year it has been exceedingly cold; and as the Indians of that quarter are not in the habit of walking on snow shoes, and still less of going to the enemy when the latter can track them in the snow, Captain Dumas, Commandant at Fort Duquesne, has not been able to have them out as frequently as he desired. Nevertheless, he has continually kept parties in the field, both in Virginia and Pennsylvania, and has placed officers and cadets at the head of some of them.

M. de Vaudreuil does not enumerate the scalps they have brought in, nor the prisoners they have taken, but it appears that the number of the one and the other has been considerable; that they have destroyed whole families; that several villages on the frontiers of the two Colonies have been abandoned by their inhabitants, who have removed into the towns; that a great many houses and a number of barns filled with grain have been burnt in the country; that a considerable amount of cattle has been killed; that some of the little forts, whereof the English have formed, as it were, a chain along the frontiers, have been attacked and burnt, and that a great many people had perished in the flames, and that we have not, so to speak, experienced any losses in all those forays.

Ensign Douville is the only officer killed; he fell in an attack on a little fort which he was on the point of carrying.

From what Sieur Dumas had written him, and from what M. de V. had heard of the enemy's plans from other quarters, it does not appear that they designed marching, this year, in that direction. M. de Vaudreuil adopted all possible measures to enable M. Dumas to make a good defence. He has sent him an abundant supply of all sorts of ammunition, by a detachment of three hundred Canadians who, with the garrison and the Detroit Militia that will be near enough to go to his assistance, will compose a force of twelve to fifteen hundred men, exclusive of the Indians, who are quite numerous. M. Dumas proposes to harass the enemy by trying to oblige them to keep on the defensive. But whenever advised of their marching against him, he is to call his forces together again in order to proceed to meet them, as, in the present state of the fort, it would be impossible to make any resistance for any length of time, were he to allow himself to be besieged in it.

But in case he will succeed in keeping the enemy at home, he is to send a party of his Indians to reinforce the posts of Niagara and Frontenac. He will always have enough of them to keep detachments in the field. On the one hand, the village of Delaware, domiciliated among the English, who, according to M. de Vaudreuil's despatches of February, were to remove over to us, has executed

that project, and made a vigorous attack on the English when leaving them; on the other hand M. de Vaudreuil has entered into a negotiation with the Flatheads, a numerous Nation, in alliance with the English, who promised to abandon the latter, provided peace were established between themselves and our Nations in the Upper countries. M. de Vaudreuil expects to accomplish this at an early day.

M. Dumas has, meanwhile, advised him, that some Indians of the Beautiful river appeared to be relaxing in their zeal, but M. de Vaudreuil has no doubt of their soon resuming their original ardor.

As for the rest quite a considerable quantity of shell, shot and bullets has been again discovered this winter, which had been secreted in the woods on General Braddock's defeat. The whole has been removed to Fort Duquesne.

The Lakes.

It is in the direction of the Lakes that the enemy apparently are to move all their forces for the purpose of attacking Forts Niagara and Frontenac on Lake Ontaria, and Fort St. Frederic on Lake Champlain.

And by a letter dated Quebec, the twenty-third of June, which is later than those written by M. de Vaudreuil from Montreal, the Intendant of the Colony states, in substance, that he had just learned that M. de Vaudreuil had been informed of the march of an army of 10 m. English to attack Fort St. Frederic.

M. de Vaudreuil has written, in February, that in order to defend that fort, he was busy fortifying the post of Carillon, between it and Lake St. Sacrament, whereof he had caused occupation to be taken after M. Dieskaw's affair, and that already twelve pieces of cannon of various calibre, and eight swivels, have been placed in battery there, with four small grenade mortars. Since then he had had conveyed thither eight other guns, two of which were eighteens and the remainder twelves, eights and fours That post is, moreover, supplied with all sorts of provisions.

Since the close of May, two thousand men were stationed there; to wit: La Reine and Languedoc battalions, and the remainder Colonial troops, Cannadians and Indians. And the Intendent advises, that M. de Vaudreuil had, on hearing of the enemy's march, sent thither the Royal Rousillon battallion, some companies of Colonials, and some Militia detachments.

In order to render the attempt of the enemy against Fort St. Frederic still more difficult, M. de Vaudreuil had taken possession of the Little Carrying place on Lake St Sacrament, an important post, which he has secured by a strong intrenchment, very well situated, and flanked by two bastions, and containing six hundred and seventy men. He has, moreover, established a post between

Fort Carillon and this intrenchment, to facilitate, in case of necessiey, the retreat of the camp of the Carrying place, and to keep it open for the transportation of stores.

M. de Vaudreuil was attending at the same time to keeping parties in the field, so as to be informed of all the enemy's manœuvres, and he had even sent out some pretty considerable detachments to intercept their convoys.

Previous to the news mentioned by the Intendent, Chevalier de Levis was to be sent to Carrillon. But according to what M. de Vaudreuil and M. Moncalm have written, it is probable the latter will, on that intelligence, have been to take the command of that canton.

In regard to Forts Niagara and Frontenac, M. de Vaudreuil had reported that they were in a bad condition.

People had been to work at Niagara since last fall, and had erected a fort there with which M. de Montcalm, who has seen the plan, is well satisfied.

It consists of a hornwork with ravelins, a covert way, and lunettes at the places of arms reëntering from the covert-way.

Men were employed on the works deemed necessary at Frontenac.

M. de Vaudreuil had sent the Béarn battalion to Niagara; this, added to the garrison already there, made a corps of six hundred men, which is sufficient for a respectable resistance.

For Frontenac he had designed the Guyenne battalion, which had arrived there at the end of May, and the battalion of La Sarre, which had set out in the beginning of June. And the Government had adopted measures for the conveyance of succors to these two posts according to circumstances.

He was in addition, occupied during the winter in harassing the enemy in that direction also; and, according to his report a great many of the English have been killed, both in New-York and even in the vicinity of Chouaguen.

In order to profit by the advantage which the detachment commanded by Sieur de Léry had had in the month of March, when it destroyed Fort Bull with the stores the enemy had erected there, he dispatched another party of nine hundred men, consisting of Collonial troops, Canadians and Indians, under the command of Captain de Villiers, towards Chouaguen. This officer has orders to post himself wherever he shall consider most advantageous, so as to be in a position to attack the English either at that carrying place, or on the river by which they pass on their way to Chouëguen. He is authorized to make such manœuvres and expeditions as circumstances and the enemy's situation will permit, provided they tend to weaken Chouëguen and to destroy the enemy's preparations against Niagara and Frontenac.

The Commandants of these two posts, and of others in the neigh

borhood, have orders to communicate with him, and even to send him some Indians.

He is not to retire from the enemy's territory as long as it shall be possible for him to maintain himself there, and if, notwithstanding all the obstacles it will be in his power to offer to the arrangements of the English, they succeed in collecting their forces together, to march against one or the other of those forts, he is to proceed with his detachment to that which will be menaced, and establish a camp of observation at such place as will seem to him best adapted to prevent their landing.

The four vessels that have been constructed on Lake Ontario are all armed and afloat; they will be able to face those the English have built at Chouëguen, which had not as yet made their appearance.

M. de Vaudreuil observes that all those precautions which tend to the defence of Niagara and Frontenac will also contribute to the attack on Chouëguen.

He does not lose sight of that object; he will be in a condition to undertake it whenever an opportunity presents, unless he find means to reduce it by famine; for which he has also projected his arrangements.

Acadia and New England.

Since the report rendered by M. de Vaudreuil in the month of February last of the movements which took place on the frontiers of Acadia and New England, our Indians have surprised and captured an English schooner, whilst riding at anchor in the Bay of Fundy, carrying six guns and a crew of ten men, and freighted with provisions for Port Royal.

Sieur de Boishébert, Commandant of the River St. John, had burnt in Bay Verte a vessel of two hundred tons burthen, which the English were building there, and a schooner at anchor in the same place.

Seven Englishmen were killed and one taken prisoner in that expedition.

On the eighth of February an English vessel entered the mouth of the River St. John; she showed French signals and sent her boat ashore for a pilot, saying that she was returning from Louisbourg with provisions.

An Acadian was foolish enough to go on board; but he had no sooner put his foot on deck than the captain hoisted his colors, and discharged his guns on the Acadians who were on the shore, after which he entered the harbor, but the Acadians lay in ambush and kept up such a brisk fire of musketry as to oblige him to return to Port Royal.

The English having taken, and forcibly embarked, thirty-six Aca-

dian families at Port Royal, numbering two hundred and twenty-six persons, to carry them to Carolina, these Canadians revolted, and having rendered themselves masters of the ship, carried her into the River St. John, on the twelfth of February.

A special report will be made of this exploit, because the Captain of the vessel pretends that he is a Portuguese.

The Indians have made incursions, also, into New England, where they have taken a considerable number of scalps, burned barns filled with grain, plundered the inhabitants and killed a large quantity of cattle.

The settlers on these frontiers have been so intimidated that a party of Indians who returned thence on the eleventh of June, have reported that they had not yet dared to begin their sowing.

The English, on their side, have had several parties in the field against us.

They have burned three barns in the neighborhood of Fort St. Frederick; killed a Sergeant of La Reine near Fort Carillon and a militiaman; captured a Cadet belonging to the regulars and a farmer. To this is reduced all their success.

M. de Vaudreuil states, in general, that all the Indian Nations continue well disposed towards us, notwithstanding all the manœuvres of the English.

The five Iroquois Nations also continue their friendly demonstrations, but the English have partizans among them.

M. de Vaudreuil is of opinion that they will remain neutral. He announced to them that he would leave them at liberty to declare for the English, but if contrary to the protestations they had made him, any Iroquois should be found in their ranks, he will let loose all the other Indians on them.

He has, in fact, ordered Sieur de Villiers to act so, should there be any Iroquois among the enemy's detachments that he will fall in with.

M. DE VAUDREUIL TO M. DE MACHAULT.

MONTREAL, *8th of August, 1756.*

MY LORD: I have the honor to report to you what has occurred at Fort Du Quesne since my despatch of the 10th of June.

Five deserters from Fort Cumberland arrived at Fort du Quesne.

A detachment under the command of Sieur de Celoron de Blainville, fell in with some of the enemy's scouts at this side of Fort Cumberland. These two parties met unexpectedly and fired point

blank; the enemy immediately fell back; we killed three of them whose scalps have been carried off by the Indians, but we lost Sieur de Blainville, one Huron, one Delaware and one Onondaga.

5 Chaouanons had had a similar adventure a little nearer Fort Cumberland. They scalped 3 English. One of their men was killed.

A party from different tribes having divided, returned in squads with a number of scalps.

Sieur de Rocheblave with another Cadet, a corporal, a militiaman and 20 Chaouanons, knocked at the gate of a small fort, 3 leagues beyond Fort Cumberland, where there remained some families and 30 Militia. He killed 4 Englishmen, whom the Indians scalped, wounded 3, who dragged themselves into the fort, and took 3 prisoners.

M. de Montisambert could not approach Fort George's Crown as near as had been recommended to him, because he had only 7 Frenchmen and 20 Indians. He attacked the settlements, after which he mastered a little fort, burnt it, and returned with 18 prisoners and 5 scalps.

Some Indian parties have taken 11 prisoners and scalps in the rear of that fort, and in Pensilvania have destroyed a great many cattle and burnt many settlements.

The domiciliated Mississagués of Presqu'isle have been out to the number of 10 against the English. They have taken one prisoner and two scalps, and gave them to cover the death of M. de St. Pierre.

Another party that had been out to avenge said M. de St. Pierre's death, has returned with two scalps and 5 prisoners.

A detachment under the command of M. de Celeron had a fight near Cresap's fort, in the rear of Cumberland; killed 8 Englishmen whose scalps the Indians were not able to secure, finding themselves in the dusk of the evening under the musketry of the fort. We have had two Indians killed and one wounded.

Finally, M. Dumas writes me that he has been occupied for more than eight days merely in receiving scalps; that there is not an English party but loses some men, and that it was out of his power to render me an exact report of all the attacks our Indians made.

M. Duplaissis, Commandant at Niagara, has sent M. Dumas the message he had received from the Delawares who are settled near the Five Nations. M. Dumas advises me that such of these Delawares as are in his vicinity give him daily assurances that all their villages will remove this fall. This will make an addition of more than 500 new inhabitants to the Beautiful river, exclusive of those who will go from the neighborhood of Niagara.

All the *Loups* who have withdrawn from the English, are located near M. de la Chauvignerie; those farthest off are only 10 leagues from him.

That officer has informed them of the massacre committed by the English on 3 villages of their brethren settled near Orange. They told him it was very true, but that the English would pay dearly for it.

In regard to the Flatheads, M. Dumas follows, point by point, everything I had prescribed to him. He has profited by the sojourn of the Upper Nations to speak to them on my part. He has treated this affair with the policy necessary to determine the chiefs to conform to my intentions, but those tribes have made answer to him that having left their village with my axe, every other matter must surcease; and that they could think only of making war on the English. M. Dumas has sent a Belt to the Chaouanons, to be given in my name to the Flatheads, whom they are expecting to see, to induce them to come to Fort Duquesne. If that message succeed, I do not despair of entire success.

The Iroquois of the vicinity of Fort Duquesne have almost all retired to M. de la Chauvignerie, at the mouth of the River au Bœuf, on a Belt from the Five Nations. M. Dumas is very glad to be rid of them. His affairs will only improve as soon as he thoroughly understands the dispositions of the Delawares and Chaouanons towards them. He will render me an account thereof; the former appear to think as I desire, but the one and the other require to be better sounded.

Those of Kanaouagon have altered their minds; a dispute among themselves has determined them to remain at their old village, rather than to go settle near M. de la Chauvignerie.

M. Dumas had received the provisions which he had demanded from the Illinois; they were not in as great a quantity as I should have desired.

I knew that the route from the Illinois to Fort Duquesne was as fine as could be desired. Chevalier de Villiers, who commanded the escort of those provisions, came up as far as Fort Duquesne with a bateau of 18 thousand weight. This little convoy makes known to this Colony a sure communication with the Illinois, whence I can derive succor in provisions and men, sooner and more easily than from the heart of this Colony.

M. de Villiers's report shows more strongly than ever the necessity of erecting a fort at the Fall, to secure that communication. In my opinion, my Lord, that work ought not be deferred and ought to be of solid masonry. Our neighbors are going to work in such a manner as to make us bethink ourselves of it; we require only some good posts. I made, in 1746, the like representations to the Court, which authorized me to have that fort erected; but its execution was neglected owing to circumstances, and since then there has not been any further question of it.

M. de Villiers has brought with him one Illinois chief and four

warriors; he made them smoke with the Chaouanons. The peace between these two nations will be lasting; the Chaouanons appear disposed to send one of their chiefs with M. de Villiers to completely cement it.

These Illinois returned home much displeased at having made about 20 days' journey, with M. de Villiers, without having met with any opportunity of striking a blow. I doubt not but they will invite the Missouris, next spring, to join them in an expedition against the enemy.

M. Dumas has likewise caused peace to be concluded between the Illinois, the Nations of the Bay, the Salteux and Pouteouatamis.

He has sent me two young warriors, Chaouanons, who are attached to him. They have assured me, on the part of their chiefs and their entire Nation, of the pleasure they experienced at seeing me; that from the first moment they had learned my arrival, they had wholly declared for the French; that they have given me proofs thereof in the battle we gave the army of General Braddock; that they were resolved never to quit the French, and to die with them. I have warmly received these Chaouanons. The welcome I have given them will not fail to excite the envy of the other Indians of the Beautiful river to follow the same route. I am sending them back.

According to certain prisoners and deserters, and also our scouts:

The enemy is not announcing any early movement on the Beautiful river. Our continual incursions have placed it out of the power of Virginia not only to undertake anything without, but even to construct any fort to protect herself.

The garrison of Fort Cumberland is not paid; it is greatly diminished by sickness, which has prevailed there all winter and still continues.

On the 8th of June the grass was growing in the roads communicating with Cumberland. Expresses no longer came any farther than Winchester, on account of our Indians, who are always in the field.

Not a grain of Indian corn has been planted between that post and Kanéghuigik, 25 leagues distant from it towards the sea.

The entire frontier of the three Provinces is in the like condition.

It was thought that Fort Cumberland would be soon abandoned, more than three months have elapsed since a wagon or bateau had come there.

The English are in daily dread of being attacked. They have scouts out to be informed of our march; have dug a ditch to bury their cannon, and propose blowing up Fort Cumberland and retiring. This news is of the close of June.

Other scouts and prisoners have reported to me:

That the provinces of Pensylvania and Mariland were reassembling and uniting their forces.

That first, 3000 men, under the command of General Loudoun, were to march, after the Harvest, to attack Fort Duquesne. This report is contradicted by the last prisoners taken on Lake St. Sacrament, who unanimously state that Lord Loudoun is to command the army designed to besiege Carillon.

Although the greatest portion of the Upper Nations have returned, through fear of the small-pox that prevailed at Niagara and subsequently Prequ'Isle, which they have been equally apprehensive of catching at Fort Duquesne, M. Dumas' force consists, nevertheless, of 810 men; and if the enemy was really marching against him, he could soon have raised the Indians of the Beautiful river, who are better disposed, by means of whom he would be enabled to prevent the former making and progress.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

M. DE VAUDREUIL TO M. DE MACHAULT.

MONTREAL, *13 August, 1756.*

MY LORD: I have had the honor to report to you the pains I had taken to secure the Five Nations.

The Senecas came to Niagara to receive my answer to the message they had entrusted to M. Duplaissis. He has postponed speaking to them, having no news of the Cayugas, Onondagas and Oneidas. These Senecas have told him that the Iroquois would join them, and that they had not yet decided what side they should take. They have hesitated to receive my answers, saying that they were at Niagara only under the auspices of the Cayugas. Finally, the Cayugas arrived. M. Duplaissis answered them agreeably to my orders. They knew not what to say.

They disapproved of the Onondagas and Oneidas; said that the former had promised to open a road by Oneida to the English, to enable the latter to ride their supplies to the forts they had erected. They allowed him to perceive that the Onondagas, Oneidas and Tuscarorins had accepted the hatchet from the English.

They likewise told M. Duplessis that Colonel Johnson was refusing the Indians nothing, not even money, in order to gain them over.

These Senecas and Cayugas have assured M. Duplaissis that they would remain perfectly neutral. The Cayugas have added, that they would never consent that the English should construct forts in their country; that they will be always attached to the French and will not trouble themselves except with good business.

M. Duplessis presses them warmly to revenge the blows which the English struck on their nephews, the Delawares.

I never flattered myself with determining the mass of the 5 Nations to make war on the English. I endeavored to divide them and to seize every opportunity to make them strike the others.

A party of Senecas, sent by M. Duplessis to the River Chouaguen, remaining their three days waiting for its opportunity; saw a number of loaded bateaux pass; attacked one that was astern, defeated it and returned with 3 scalps.

The Senecas have made several attacks; they even have some English prisoners in their village, whom they have made use of to replace their dead.

M. de la Chauvignerie has formed a party of 29 Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas, among whom are some belonging to the Grand village. He has sent them to M. Dumas who will not fail to make them strike.

The Onondagas and Oneidas have sent me 80 deputies, who arrived here whilst the Marquis of Montcalm was on his way with the expedition against Chouaguen; they expressed to me the pleasure they, and the 5 Nations in general, felt in receiving my message; that they had even anticipated my intentions in retaining all their warriors in their villages, in order that none of them should be with the English. They have promised me to do their best, in remembrance of my father and out of regard for me, so as to afford me proofs of their attachment to the French. They have communicated many arguments to me, all which lead me to think that they will remain neutral for the present.

I spoke to them with great kindness, but have not left them in ignorance that I was perfectly aware of their conduct. I even showed them the messages and Belts they had introduced, from the English, among the Nations of the Upper countries. I made the most of the zeal of two of their chiefs who had rejected the medal of the English and gave it up to me.

An Onondaga chief, particularly attached to me since last year, told me in the presence of those deputies, that he would have nothing more to do with the affairs of his nation, because it had not received his advice with sufficient cordiality; that he wished to die with the French; that he should not discontinue to make war on the English, and that those of his Nation who had sense, would follow his example. I have appointed this Onondaga a chief, and have decorated him with the King's medal, in consideration of the proofs

he has afforded me of his fidelity in the different embassies in which I have employed him. He has attacked the English and even brought me some prisoners. He has assured me he should always labor to promote good business.

I have learned from some Iroquois of the Sault and the Lake that those deputies had presented them some Belts, to induce them to remain quiet on their lands and not to meddle with the war between the French and English. They have invited them at the same time to come into their village to confer on business. Our domiciliated (Indians) have answered in my presence, that they never would have any will but mine; that they had heard my sentiments and exhorted the 5 Nations to conform thereto, for their own sakes.

I have, my Lord, accomplished my principal object, as regards the Five Nations. I proposed sending them a great distance from their villages during my expedition against Chouaguen. I have succeeded therein, for whilst M. de Montcalm lays siege to that place, the Senecas and Cayugas who have been at Niagara, have not yet returned home, and I have in my power 80 Onondaga and Seneca deputies. In consequence of this foresight, I am certain that none of the Five Nations will be found among the English, whatever effort Colonel Johnson may make to induce them to join him.

I have the honor to be, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

CONFERENCE BETWEEN M. DE VAUDREUIL AND THE FIVE NATIONS.

CANADA.

In the year One thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, and on the twenty-eight day of July, at three o'clock in the afternoon, before us, Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Governor, Lieutenant-General, for the King throughout the whole of New France, the territory and countries of Louisiana, in our Castle at Montreal, appeared one hundred and fifty Indians, assisted by Sieur Toussaint le Cavelier, Interpreter of the Iroquois language, who has told us that the Indians at whose head he came, are Onondagas and Oneidias, and are a deputation on the part of the Five Nations; whereupon, we having notice sent to M. Bigot, Councillor of the King in his councils, Intendant of Justice, Police, Finance and Marine throughout the

whole of New France, the territory and countries of Louisiana, and having summoned M. Daillebоust, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, Lieutenant of the King over the town and government of Montreal, M. Denoyau, likewise, Knight of St. Louis, Lieutenant of the King over the town and government of Three Rivers, at present in this town, Captain de Boucherville, of the troops of the detachment of Marine, M. Douville, seconded Lieutenant in the said troops, who understands and speaks the Iroquois language; who, being immediately come into our Castle, after having explained to them the subject for which we had invited them, and having at the same time taken their seats in the Council chamber according to their rank, Chekouariné, an Onondaga Indian Chief, arose and spoke, according the explanation given us by said Sieur de Cavelier, the Interpreter, as follows:

On laying down a Belt.

Father. We present ourselves before you authorized by the Belt which you have sent us last fall; we have come in virtue of that Belt, to hear your word.

On laying down two Belts.

Father. Here are two Belts which we Oneidas and we Onondagas have received on your part this spring; these, again, are the same Belts which bring us hither to hear your word.

By two Strings of Wampum.

We are come and we are ready to hear you. (On presenting a Belt.) This Belt which we present you has been given us in your name to prevail on us to remove to a distance from our villages, lest the blows you aim at the English may fall on us.

By three Strings.

We answer to that Belt, that we find it almost impossible for us to change a village which has been, since so long a time, inhabited by the Five Nations. The bones of our ancestors repose their and we cannot abandon them.

By eight Strings.

Father. We dry your tears. We have participated in the losses you have experienced.

By six Belts.

We again behold the blood of your warriors flowing on your mat. By these Strings of Wampum we wipe it up, in order that your mat may be no longer stained with blood, and that you may employ yourself in good business.

And said Sieur Perthius hath signed with us. Done the day and year above written. Thus signed in the original.

And on the eight of August, One thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, at eight o'clock in the forenoon, we, the Governor afore-

said, assisted by said Sieur Le Cavelier, their Interpreter, being in the aforesaid Council chamber, have explained, through Sieur Le Cavelier, the Interpreter to the said Indians, our answers to their speech and our address to said Indians, as follows:

Children. I feel a sincere pleasure at seeing you present before me with the Belt I sent you last autumn; you are come to hear my word; you do hear it and you will see that I speak to you with the sincerity I have always felt when I have addressed my Children.

Children, Oneidas and Onondagas. I am charmed to see you present before me with the two Belts I sent you this spring, and that you are likewise disposed to hear my word. I wish that you may not forget it.

By two Strings of Wampum.

I have received your two Strings whereby you assure me that you are ready to listen to me. Receive the two Strings I present to you, to give you light and to open your ears, in order that none of my words be lost to you.

By three Strings.

In these three Strings I reassure you, and exhort you to remain quiet on your mats. Your village is that of your ancestors; you could not have a better asylum; their bones repose their, and I am delighted that you would not abandom them.

I assure you, likewise, that I have never thought of making the blows I direct against the English recoil on you; when I shall have developed my sentiments, you will see that I seek only your good.

By eight Strings.

Children. You wipe away my tears; by these eight Strings, I, myself, wipe away yours.

By six Strings.

Children. You perceive, you say, the blood of my warroirs flowing on my mat; you dry it up in order that my mat may be bloody no more, and that I may labor in safety at good work.

By these six Strings, I thank you for the interest you take in what concerns me.

Children of the Five Nations, namely, Onondagas and Oneidas here present. I repeat to you the pleasure I feel at seeing you on my mat; we can look on each other in peace; it is the Master of Life who favors us with this interview and procures for us the opportunity of opening our hearts and of concealing nothing.

By three Strings.

Children. Listen to what I am about to say to you:

I have heard your answers to the messages I have sent you by my children, on divers occasions; I am very glad that you have returned them to me these days past.

Many of the points are different from what I had stated them, owing either to their having been badly explained or to your not having understood them correctly.

By a Belt of 2000 beads.

Children. I present you with this Belt to reassure and to confirm to you what I had intended should have been said to you. All the reasonings which have been communicated to you are reducible to what I am about to say to you.

I tell you, then, by this Message that I never thought of driving you from the lands you inhabit, nor of giving you an axe to strike your brothers, the English. I engage you, on the contrary, to remain quiet. Pay particular attention that your warriors be not, on any pretence whatsoever, with my enemies. I advise you beforehand that my love for my Children, the Five Nations, is so great, that I should be sorry that any accident would befall them. It would be very unfortunate for them and for me; remember well what I tell you; you will not have it in your power to reproach me that I have not forwarned you, like a good father. I have an infinite number of children who, in these troublesome times are not accustomed to see you: they might commit a mistake in taking one for the other; did they begin striking you, it would be no longer possible for me to restrain them, as I have done since last year.

By a Belt of 2000 beads.

Children. You are right in saying that it is I who have invited you here. 'Tis true. Could I act otherwise and have the bowels of a father? The joy I felt on beholding Nations whom the King has confided to me, and the memory I retain of the friendship my father felt for you, whereof he has so often afforded unquestionable proofs to your ancestors, who, on their side, formed only one heart with him, must convince you that I tell you the truth. Will you say, 'tis false? Can you forget how deeply your ancestors regretted a father who was so dear to them, and the troubles you have experienced at different times since his death? This is enough on this point.

Ought I to expect so long a silence on your part, and that you should forget me; me, who have been born on the same soil with yourselves? I have not ceased to behold you with pleasure, and during my absence I felt no greater desire than that of returning to you. I supposed that the Five Nations would feel a pleasure in seeing me, but I was mistaken, and I have experienced nothing but ingratitude from you. This makes me regret your ancients, who had sense; I cannot sufficiently recall them to my mind. This is not the only fault you have committed to the knowledge of all the Nations. You have omitted to come and bewail the death of your son, M. de Longueuil, Senior, who was so attached to you; your ancestors would not have failed to do so. All that shows me, I

repeat to you, that you no longer possess any head to resist the poisoned speeches of the English.

I cannot doubt the attachment many among you, children of the Five Nations, feel for the English. You have afforded me but too many proofs of it, inasmuch as you have been the bearers of their Messages to all my children, the Chaouanons, Delawares, Outaouas, Saulteux, Poulx, Ouias, Missisagues, Hurons, and other Nations, who, especially the Chaouanons, to prove to me their attachment in sending me these Belts, joined thereto a number of English scalps.

Many persons of the Five Nations, who have discovered the falsehood of the English, have even sent me the Medals received from them. You see them. I wish these persons may give sense to those who havn't any. I know not whether you will be always attached to the English when I shall have told you the reasons which oblige me to strike them. You are aware that the French have been true from all time, and never sought any quarrel with the English. Such has not been the case with the latter. A number of their ships captured two of ours under pretence of speaking them. My brother, De Rigaud, who happened to be on board, was taken prisoner and has suffered all sorts of hardships at the hands of the English.

Can you, Children, deny that the English are deceivers? Why have they built vessels; do they require them to go to Orange? If you desire to speak the truth, you will say that you know they wish to take this country, and because I am defending myself, will you say that I am seeking a quarrel with the English? I am well aware that they make you think so, and that you are simple enough to believe them. None of your nation dare say a word to the English. Colonel Johnson's word makes all your villages tremble.

By six Strings.

Children. Be persuaded that I keep nothing on my mind and that I tell you all I think.

I cannot conceal from you that I know that the majority of my children of the Five Nations would be delighted, were their brother the English our conqueror, and if you speak otherwise 'tis contrary to your true sentiments. You pretend to be friends of the French and of the English, in order to obtain what you want from both sides, which makes you invent lies that an upright man would never think of.

Could you suppose that my children of the Sault and of the Lake, who are incorruptible, would have been capable of abandoning their religion, their father and their lands, to become the slaves of Englishmen? Is that common sense? Yet you have given them a Belt to induce them to do so.

That is not all. By a Message which I have seen, you also invite

four of the Chiefs of the Sault and Lake whom you have named, to go with you and sit on your mat to speak of business. You must readily believe that I see that these are tricks which your brother the Englishman has dictated to you. I am too well assured of the attachment of my children of the Sault and Lake to apprehend their following your advice.

You fear being the victim of the English or French. You have indisputable proofs that I have never betrayed you. The King who loves you has no other view as regards you than to place you among the number of the Christians. This is not the case of the English who have built two forts in your villages and seek to aggrandize themselves only for the purpose of becoming your masters and making you their slaves.

And said Sieur Cavelier, the Interpreter, hath signed with me. Done on the above day and year. Thus signed in the original.

At three o'clock in the afternoon of the twelfth of the said month of August, One thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, we, the Governor aforesaid, being accompanied as before mentioned, the said one hundred and fifty Onondagas and Oneidas, assisted by the said Sieur Le Cavelier, their Interperter being in the said Council Chamber, have applied to answer our speech, and immediately said Sieur Cavelier, the Interperter, explained to us their answers, as follows:

We come to answer your speech and to explain to you our determination ; in order not to forget any part of what you have said to us, we have caused the Interpreter to repeat it to us.

By three Strings.

We have been so pleased to hear your sentiments that we have lost none of the words which you have uttered. We thank you, and though we are but two nations here, yet we shall answer you in the name of the Five Nations.

By three Strings.

We have received your Belt with pleasure ; we are going to communicate to you our reflections on your words.

By a Belt.

You have told us that you did not propose obliging us to abandon our villages. You recommend us not to mingle with the English, as many of our young people did last year ; we thank you for your speech.

What we say to you by this Belt was agreed to between us, the Five Nations, before leaving our villages. Our Chiefs have fulfilled your intentions. They, themselves, have given Belts to our young men recommending them to remain in our villages. We in our turn confirm this word. We shall always retain our warriors and we assure you that none of our people will be found among the English ; but as we cannot answer of ourselves, and as some foolish

fellows may happen to be with the English, we advise you beforehand that such will be without the consent of the Nation.

By a Belt.

We admit the truth of all you have said to us, and that there are no longer any people of sense in our villages.

We pray you to hold this Belt by one end and we shall hold it by the other; we shall never let it go, and shall occupy ourselves only with good business. You, Father, and the English are the cause of our not having been to see you. You likewise are, one and the other, the cause of the troubles. We have been obliged to make a road to reach our villages. A hatchet of yours has made its appearance in our parts; 'twas small, 'tis true; we have concealed it under our armpit.

You told us that Colonel Johnson made us tremble in our villages; we assure you that We, the Five Nations, fear no man on the face of the earth; especially when the point in question will be to labor in good affairs from which we shall never depart; and a proof of that is that we have come in spite of Colonel Johnson, who has done his best to retain us in our villages, and in spite of all the opposition that was offered.

By two Strings.

You told us that we no longer had any people of sense. We present you Tekanesoren, who is the son of a great man; we request you to make him a chief, that he may labor at good affairs.

By two Strings.

Again. You told us that we had not covered the death of M. de Longueuil. We have lost two of our great chiefs, whom you, neither, have covered. By these two strings we cover M. de Longueuil. We would wish to resuscitate, in him whom we present to you, those two chiefs to labor at good business.

By two Strings.

After having arranged our affairs we are content, and desire to return home.

By two other Strings.

We have been told that we do not run any risk, that you will cause us to be conducted to our own country; we thank you for your attention and request you to furnish us canoes and the same persons who came in search of us, to carry us back; also, to give us guns for our protection, being resolved to make use of all our strength to prevent the English encroaching on the lands on which the Master of Life has placed us.

Father. We have no other children than M. de Longueuil, Noyan, Joncaire and La Chauvignerie; we request them to be always aiding unto us near you. We shall regard them always as our chil-

dren. We expect that you will employ them, on the first occasion, to bring us your orders.

An Onondaga by a Belt.

Father. You know my sentiments. The Master of Life has opened my eyes. I have performed what I formerly promised you; I no longer meddle with the affairs of my village. I have declared to my nation that I would not belong any longer to it, because it has not acted fairly by me. I acknowledge that it is the Master of Life who has prompted me to act thus, in order to be able to occupy myself with Prayer. By this Belt, I enroll myself among the number of Ononthio's children. I wish to die with him, and with this view I fix my residence at La Galette, where I hope to become a good Christian.

And the said Sieur La Cavelier, Interpreter, hath signed with us. Done the day and year above written. Thus signed in the original.

And at nine o'clock in the forenoon of the fourteenth of the said month of August, One thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, We, the Governor aforesaid, accompanied as before mentioned, the said one hundred and fifty Onondagas and Oneidas, assisted by the said Sieur Le Cavelier, Interpreter, being in the said Council chamber, have caused said Sieur Le Cavelier, Interpreter, to explain to the Indians our reply to their answer, as follows:

Children, Five Nations. I am pleased with the care your chief have taken to restrain your young people in your villages; you will do well to pay attention on your return that none of them be found among the English.

I shall always hold one end of your Belt with both hands; be careful to keep it; hold it fast and do not occupy yourself except with good affairs.

It is not I who am the cause of your not coming to see me; confess, yourselves, that it is the English who have kept you back; they also are the authors of the troubles of which you speak, as I have already told you; nothing, my Children, must prevent you coming to see me, whenever you think proper; you have found a very clear path on my lands; it will be always so, and you will be always welcome.

'Tis true you have received a hatchet from me; I had no other design than your own security, and to deliver you from the bondage with which you are menaced; keep it concealed and make use of it whenever occasion will require. Be assured I shall aid you whensoever you will need assistance.

Children, continue not to fear Colonel Johnson; but do not listen to his evil counsels; labor only at a good business; you will be always quiet on your mats.

By two Strings.

Children, Onandagas. I cannot but approve the choice you have made of one of the descendants of Tekanesoren to replace that great chief; he was much attached to my father whom he greatly loved; they had but one heart and one will. I recommend to his successor to work like him, only at good affairs; and in order that he may not go astray, let him not listen to the evil minded. I flatter myself that he will prove to me that he has the same sentiments and the same talents as his predecessor.

By two Strings.

Here are two Strings of Wampum whereby I cover the death of your chiefs; meanwhile let us, one and the other, acquit ourselves better of a like ceremony.

By a Belt of 2500 beads.

You have correctly comprehended my words; you know my sentiments; nothing remains for me, Children of the Five Nations, than to confirm your minds and to engage you by this word to do, on your side, your best, always to keep up your union as well as that with your brethren, my children. I ask that we may be united in order that we may have but one mind, one heart, in every respect the same as existed between your ancients and my father. I assure you that I will occupy myself only for your advantage so far as you will deserve it.

Hearken not to the Evil Spirit which oftentimes divorces the best friends. That Evil Spirit is always near us; place not your trust in him; so soon as you will hear anything, come to me; conceal nothing from me; have recourse to this Belt which will always tell truth and afford you consolation at all times; come confidently to explain yourselves; you will find no ambush in your path; the end of your village is at La Galette; the road is always good; fear nothing; it is the same path our ancients traced for the one and the other of us: 'tis shorter than it was at that time. The Master of Life has pity on you; he wishes to draw you closer to Prayer in order to place you among the number of his children, and to render you happy. Many of your brethren have profited thereby; it depends on yourselves only to imitate them; therefore, my children, the Five Nations, have only one and the same heart, and one and the same mind, and always follow the counsels I, as a good father, shall give you.

I grant you the canoes you ask of me; I expect those who have brought you here will convey you back to your villages, so much the more safely as there is nothing to fear, either for you or for them.

I give you some presents and some guns, as a testimony of my friendship, whilst waiting to do better, if your guns be not in order I shall have them repaired.

Children, I was correct in thinking that you would not have forgotten Messrs de Longueuil, Noyan, Joncaire and La Chauvignerie; they sincerely love you; they will be always ready to go and to come to you whenever occasion requires, for the purpose of bearing my words to you, and I am well assured that in time of war, as well as in seasons of peace, they will have nothing to fear in going to your country; such was the custom among your ancients.

By a Belt of 2000 beads.

I see, my Son, that you are honest; you have performed by me all you have promised. I can only testify to you the joy which I, as well as all your Praying brethren, experienced therefrom. I enroll you among the number of my cherished children, and I am delighted to see you attached to the Religion and to the Service of the King. By this Belt I exhort you to be firm in your sentiments. I assure you that on all occasions I shall prove to you that I am a good father. You have afforded me sufficient proofs of your fidelity that I will bestow on you a mark of distinction. I constitute you a Chief, and decorate you with the Royal Medal. I hope it will assist you not a little to labor successfully in good affairs.

And said Sieur Le Cavelier, Interpreter, hath signed with us. Done the day and year above mentioned. Thus signed in original.

At three o'clock in the afternoon of the twentieth of the said month of August, One thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, We, the Governor aforesaid, accompanied as already mentioned, the said one hundred and fifty Onondagas and Oneidas, assisted by the said Sieur Le Cavelier, Interpreter, being in the Council Chamber, have caused said Sieur Le Cavelier, Interpreter, to explain to said Indians our words, as follows:

Children. You have expressed to us the joy you feel at the victory I have gained over the English; I think that joy is sincere and thank you for it. The Master of Life has given me that advantage over his enemies and ours.

How many a time have the English not told you that, compared with their power, the French were no better than ciphers. The Master of Life has permitted me to pull down their pride; He wished to humble them and make them acknowledge that the French will be always Victors so long as He will protect their arms.

By a Belt of 2000 beads.

Children, and especially you others here present. I saw with pain the difficulty you experienced in finding a path to return to your villages. He who rules all the Earth blesses my labors, and I have cleared for you a fine road; I have long been desirous of making it smooth.

You will now no longer doubt that the walls of Chouaguen have

been unable to resist the intrepidity of the Warriors whom the King has sent into this Colony; they have not left one stone upon another. Not a vestige remains of that fort, nor of any of those establishments which were the source of all the bad affairs. I began at the very commencement of this winter to clear that path for you, but you did not second my efforts; I exhort you not to do the like with this new path.

Children. According to the representation of the English, they had purchased from you the lands on which they were settled at Chouaguen. What a foolish notion! In fine, these lands are no longer either your property nor that of the English. The King, my master, has conquered them. I have had them replaced in the same state that they were in when you or your ancestors were inhabiting them.

I have had no other intention in becoming master of them than to have you use them as did your ancients in the time of my father.

Children. I expect that the fine path I have just leveled for you will afford us, reciprocally, the pleasure of seeing each other oftener than we have done. You will learn the custom of your ancestors who never failed to come and see their father.

Children. I recommend you not to allow yourselves to be corrupted as heretofore, by your bretheren, the English. Remember that under pretence of setting a little trap for beaver, at Chouaguen, they insensibly built forts and sloops which have caused so much trouble, as your ancients had wisely forseen.

I warn you beforehand, that if you suffer the English to make the smallest establishment at Chouaguen, or on the lands you occupy in the vicinity of Lake Ontario, I will go forthwith and drive them thence. You can no more beseech me as formerly, not to stain those lands with blood. I will not listen to you.

Children. Forget not what I say to you as a kind father. Be firm; encourage your warriors to be firm, for your and my peace sake.

By two Strings.

You are at liberty to leave whenever you please. I recommend you not to carry along with you any of the English who are here our prisoners, nor any of those belonging to the Indians. Children, do not take charge, either, of any of their letters. If they given you any, take them and hand them to me. If they be not suspicious, I will return them to you in order that you may deliver them according to the address.

And said Sieur La Cavelier, Interpreter, hath signed with us. Done the day and year aforesaid. Thus signed in the original.

We, Pierre Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, Commander of the Royal and Military Order of S^{t} Louis, Governor and Lieutenant-

General for the King throughout the entire of New France, the territories and countries of Louisana,

Do certify that the foregoing copy is conformable with the original remaining in our Secretary's office. In testimony whereof We have signed these presents, caused the Seal of our Arms to be affixed thereto and had them countersigned by our Secretary.

Done at Montreal, the 15th February, 1758.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

By my Lord:

(Signed), SAINT SAUVEUR.

CAMPAIGN OF 1756 IN CANADA.

Particulars of the Campaign of 1756 in New France, transmitted on the 28th of August of the same year.

The Marquis de Montcalm having safely arrived at Quebec in the month of May, with the convoy of troops and munitions sent from France, found the forces of the Colony already very judiciously distributed for its defence, viz: the battalions of La Reine and Languedoc, with a number of Canadians and Indians, forming a camp at Carillon, the most distant of our frontier forts in the direction of Lake St. Sacrament; Guienne at Frontenac and Bearn at Niagara. M. Dumas, Commandant at Fort du Quesne, had collected six or seven hundred Indians; M. de Villiers, with four hundred Indians, was posted at the Bay de Niaouré and seriously harrassed the enemy's convoys to Chouagen, an important post, the reduction of which was meditated, and, finally, M. de Boishebert had gathered the few Acadians the English could not entrap and disperse in their Colonies like the rest, after the capture of Fort Beauséjour, and was maintaining himself with the Indians in the woods and making frequent incursions against the enemy.

On news that the enemy were making extensive preparations at Albany and at Forts Lydius and William Henry, the last of which places is situated at the head of Lake St. Sacrament, and that they were concentrating the greatest part of their forces, it was apprehended that they designed making an attempt on our frontier at Lake Champlain, for which reason the battalion of the Royal Rousillon, together with a reinforcement of Canadians and Regulars, was sent to the Camp at Carillon shortly after our arrival, and Chevalier de Levis, Brigadier, proceeded to take command of that army, which amounted to three thousand and some hundred men.

From the other point, intelligence had been received that the

enemy were building sloops at Chouaguen, in sufficient number to assume a decided superiority in Lake Ontario; that they were collecting a prodigious quantity of provisions there, and that, in fine, the strong garrison they had at that place could, in a short time, become an army capable of attacking Frontenac or Niagara, whenever they should think fit. La Sarre proceeded, in consequence, to join Guienne at Frontenac, under the orders of M. Bourlamaque, and the two French Engineers were likewise sent thither to fortify them there. Béarn received orders, at the same time, to complete the fortifications of Niagara, which were commenced last year by Sieur Pouchot, one of the fourth Captains *(premiers factionnaires)* of that regiment.

These measures being adopted, the Marquis de Montcalm repaired to the camp at Carillon in the month of June, and after assuring himself of the dispositions of the enemy, who might number eight thousand men, arranged with Chevalier de Levis the principal manœuvres of an effective defence, and immediately left for Montreal with the design of trying to cut off the enemy in the direction of Chouaguen, unless they opposed some too serious obstacles thereto, by reducing their army at Lake St. Sacrament, in order to counteract our undertaking; this they could not effect without relieving Chevalier de Levis from uneasiness and embarrassment.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil highly approved of the Chouaguen expedition, which he and the Colony had much at heart, in consequence of the importance of that post, by means whereof the English were trading in every direction with the Indians, whom they atttracted by rum, and the high price they have always paid for peltries. In addition to this, its situation at the mouth of the Odondaga river afforded them an easy communication with the Five Nations and with New-York, by means of the Hudson river, and placed them in a position to attack Frontenac and Niagara by Lake Ontario.

The Intendant, coinciding with the Marquis de Vaudreuil's views and the Marquis de Montcalm's designs, issued effectual orders for supplying munitions of war and provisions. M. de Rigaud brought a reinforcement of seven to eight hundred Canadians to M. de Villiers' camp, the command of which he assumed. This officer had, some days before, thrown in great disorder a convoy of five hundred of the enemy's bateaux, which were returning from Chouaguen to Fort Bull, killed between fifty and sixty of their men, wounded a great number and took some prisoners, without any loss than one officer and three militiamen. He had been several times even under their cannon to kill their people and to make some prisoners, and afforded the means of reconnoitring them quite near.

The regiment of Bearn was ordered to return from Niagara, to leave only one picket there and to repair to Frontenac, where the

Marquis de Montcalm, who arrived at that post on the 29th July, had just given the finishing stroke to the expeditious dispatch of provisions and warlike stores. At length, all being in readiness for the 5th of August, when the first division of the army took its departure with four pieces of cannon, the rest of the artillery, provisions and stores remained for the second division, which, escorted by Bearn, departed on the 7th. The two largest of our sloops were sent on the lake to protect our expedition.

The first division arrived before Chouaguen on the night of the 10th and 11th of August, without having been discovered by the enemy, owing to the precaution taken to advance only by night and to retire into the woods by day, drawing the bateaux ashore and covering them with thick foliage.

That very night the Marquis de Montcalm had his four pieces of cannon posted on the bank; they served, in fact, the next day, to keep off the sloops which the enemy sent to reconnoitre. At the dawn of day Fort Ontario, situated on this side of the river, was examined to determine the attack thereon. This reconnoissance cost the life of Sieur Lombard de Combes, chief of the two French Engineers. The whole of the army was deeply affected by this loss, in consequence of the confidence reposed in his capacity. Sieur de Pouchot received orders, next day, to act as Engineer.

12th Bearn arrived in the morning with its convoy. It was calculated that the army then amounted to 3,100 men; namely, 1,350 regular infantry; 1,500 Canadians or Colonial troops, and 250 Indians.

On the night of the 12th, everything being ready for opening the trench, 300 pioneers were detailed for that duty, and a parallel of 100 toises long was made, during the night, within 90 toises of Fort Ontario. This was a star fort of eight angles, which was certainly protected from all surprise by a grooved and tongued palisade composed of posts eighteen inches thick, a good ditch, cannon and a garrison of two or three hundred men, but the slope of the elevated plateau, in the middle of which it stood, afforded the facility of approaching it unseen to within 90 toises. At five o'clock of the evening of the 13th the enemy abandoned it and retired to Fort Chouaguen, on the other side of the river, whilst we were engaged in erecting a battery of six guns.

The night of the 13th and 14th was employed in extending the lines [to the river side] and in constructing a barbet battery of nine guns, which was erected on the edge of the declivity at this side of the river; it commanded with considerable advantage, and took *de revers*, all the enemy's retrenchments around Fort Chouaguen. They had no idea of being thus taken in the rear and had not dreamed or traversing themselves, nor of changing their platforms which were turned in a contrary direction. Therefore, as soon as

they discovered, on the morning on the 14th, that M. de Rigaud had crossed the river with the Canadians and Indians in order to surround them, and that there was no part of their camp where they were not exposed, even to the buckle of their shoe, they hoisted the white flag and surrendered prisoners of war. They had abandoned, during the morning, a miserable little fort called Fort George, which they had on a hill beyond Chouaguen.

This siege has not cost us more than thirty men killed or wounded. They lost about one hundred and fifty men, among whom was Colonel Mercer, their Commander, who was killed by a cannon ball three hours before the capitulation.

The French troops served at this siege with so much zeal, and dispatched so much business in a brief space of time, that the enemy judged us to exceed six thousand men. The Canadians, likewise, evinced much good will and applied themselves with ardor to whatever was ordered them.

We found, in Chouagen, 1,658 prisoners, 7 brass cannon, 48 of iron, 14 mortars, 5 howitzers, 47 swivels, a quantity of warlike stores, provisions for two or three years, and in the port a bark of 18 guns, a brigantine of 14, a schooner of 8 guns, a sloop of 10, another of 4, and a boat of 12 swivels.

As soon as the enemy had left, we proceeded to evacuate the place, to raze its fortifications, to burn its stores and houses. The whole was finished by the 21st of August, when the three battalions took their departure. Guienne and Bearn had orders to proceed, with dispatch to the camp at Carillon, where they arrived, as well as the Marquis de Montcalm, in the beginning of 7ber. La Sarre remained behind until the entire evacuation of the Bay of Niaouré, the principal depôt of the effects captured at Chouaguen; the Canadians went to save their harvests and the Indians returned to their villages, as is their custom when they have struck a blow.

The Marquis de Montcalm found things in a very good condition at the camp at Carillon; the English did not make even a show of coming to attack Chevalier de Levis, and operations were confined, on the one side and the other, to some Indian forays. We had just recently lost Messrs Biville and de Torsac, a Lieutenant in the regiment of La Reine, whom the Mohawks, an Indian Nation, had scalped whilst hunting, in fancied security, within a quarter of a league of the camp. We had ample revenge a few days afterwards; a large party of Canadians and Indians going to see whether the enemy was not forming a post in the islands of St. Sacrament, a hundred or a hundred and ten of the best and most alert among them were detached to strike a blow in the neighborhood of the enemy's camp. They met a detachment of fifty men, all of whom they either took or killed, with the exception of one or two who are supposed to have escaped. We lost two Indians on that occasion.

The season is now too far advanced for anything to occur for the remainder of the campaign except some unimportant forays. Besides, it appears that the number of enemies on one side and the other, the dread they entertain of us and our good arrangement, form obstacles to all expeditions whatsoever. It therefore remains for both sides to make, for the next campaign, the utmost efforts to gain advantage of each other's opponents.

The news from Fort Duquesne and Beautiful river are very favorable. M. Dumas has laid waste, with his Indians, a good part of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland. In vain did these Provinces, which have no Indians to aid them, levy and pay a thousand men, at the opening of this campaign, who dressed and painted themselves in the Indian fashion; in vain did they send these to scour the woods; they have not been the less constrained to abandon more than sixty leagues of country together with the crops and cattle. The English have not abandoned Fort Cumberland, but communication with it has been attended with a thousand difficulties, and Chevalier Villiers, on the 2d of August, has been very successful in burning another Fort called Fort Grandville, sixty miles from Philadelphia.

Letters from that quarter of the 13th, mention that the prisoners state that the Province of Pennsylvania is making a levy of two thousand men, and Virginia and Maryland another of three thousand, to facilitate the saving of the harvest by the settlers. General Hauke is expected to command them. These preparations have not deterred the Delawares (*Loups*), Chanousanons and Ilinois going in a body to burn the grain. M. Dumas, the same letters add, has formed the design of going to set fire to Fort Cumberland, with which view he has sent to have it reconnoitred. Finally, it does not appear that this news, whether true or false, excites much uneasiness at Fort Duquesne, and we learn, from all points, that the suffering throughout the whole of the English Colonies cannot be greater. The immense subsidies they have been forced to pay to maintain a force much more numerous than ours, far from having enabled them, up to the present time, to make any attack on us, has not even saved them from all the horrors of a cruel war, and the oss of the *Port Mahon* of North America; I mean Chouagen.

One observation on the position of the camp of Carillon, five leagues above Fort St. Frederic or Crown Point, on the left shore of Lake Champlain. Our army is encamped on a Point called Carillon, at the junction of the two bays from which Lake Champlain derives its source. The largest of the two, which flows towards the southeast, is about seven to eight leagues deep. It was by this bay that Mr. Dieskaw passed last year, in going to the enemy. It receives Wood creek, with which the English can communicate from Fort Lydius by a road of three leagues.

The smallest of the two bays is only three-quarters of a league in depth towards the southwest. It receives at its head the Fall of Lake St. Sacrament. This fall is full half a league in length, and it is a very easy portage. Lake St. Sacrament lies nearly north and south, and is about twelve to thirteen leagues in length, by one at its widest part.

At the head of this Lake the English have a fort called Williams Henry, or Fort George, where their army has been encamped up to the present time. Another fort, called Lydius, is situated six or seven leagues from Williams Henry, and about ten from the head of the large bay. M. Dieskaw was proceeding against the latter fort, which he supposed to be still open on one side, but having learned from some prisoners that it was beyond insult, and that Colonel Johnson was beginning another at the head of Lake St. Sacrament, he altered his plan and marched against the latter, where he found the enemy in force and fortified. There is a highway between Fort Lydius and Fort Williams Henry, and the communication between Lydius and Albany is by way of the River Orange or Hudson, on which still stands Fort Sarasto.

The enemy was content, this year, with employing his army in perfecting Fort Williams Henry, having merely some strong guards and advanced posts along the shores and in the adjoining islands of Lake St. Sacrament. Our men have likewise been occupied, under the superintendence of our Engineer belonging to the country, in completing a fort commenced at Carillon last year, after the affair of M. Dieskaw, and in advancing two little intrenched camps at the head of the portage, and another camp, also intrenched, beyond the other two. These camps had strong guards and bivouacks in advance, in order to be seasonably advised of the enemy's march. Our design was to give them battle or to stop them at the portage of the Fall. The immense quantity of timber with which the whole of this country is covered, affords the Canadians and Indians the means of fighting with advantage. This circumstance would allow us to hazard a general engagement with the enemy, although in greater strength, had they come against us.

ABSTRACT OF DESPATCHES FROM AMERICA— AUG. 1756.

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From Fort Duquesne.

Letters of the 23rd March assure us that the French and Indians have, since Admiral Braddock's defeat, put *hors du combat* more than seven hundred persons, including the killed and prisoners, in the Provinces of Pennsilvania, Virginia and Carolina.

The Delawares and Chaouanons, Indian Nation on the Beautiful river, are in exceeding great rage, some of their Chiefs, who went on a sort of Embassy to the English, having been cruelly put to death by the latter. Were it not that the Commandants keep continually recommending them to commit as few murders as possible, not a prisoner would they take. Besides this, these two nations have not discontinued, since the close of the summer and since autumn, sending Belts to all the Tribes, inviting them to come and assist them in avenging the insult committed by the English. This invitation has been accepted, and occasioned the War song to be sung by all those nations during the entire of last winter. There were in April, throughout those territories, twenty parties of Delaware and Chaouanons, among whom were sixty Indians belonging to the Five Nations of Iroquois. Horrible ravages have been committed by these parties. As a last resource, the settlers have abandoned their dwellings and retired to the sea coast. Three forts have been burnt; among the rest, one with a garrison of forty-seven men, to which a party of forty Indians, commanded by M^r^ Douville, a Colonial Cadet, laid siege. The garrison was summoned to surrender, and on refusing, the fort was fired during the night, and the garrison, attempting to escape, received no quarter form the Indians. Sieur Douville lost his life on this occasion.

We have at present on the continent one thousand French, seven hundred Delawares and Chaouanons; besides that, a number of Illinois, as many as three hundred French and Indians, under the command of Chevalier de Villiers; about two hundred and fifty Miamis and Ouatanons, under the command of M^r^ de Bellestre; three hundred from Detroit and seven hundred from Michelimakina, commanded by Chevalier de Repentigny, Danglade and Hébert, Junior, all amounting to three thousand two hundred and fifty men. People are waiting to learn whether M^r^ Beaubassin, Commandant at La Pointe, will have brought the Sauteurs of his post; we shall learn before long the exploits of these Nations.

M. Dumas, a Colonial Captain, and Commandant of Fort Duquesne, was entertaining views against Fort Cumberland, which is a large entrepôt of the English to facilitate their approach to the Beautiful river; it lies at the foot of the mountains, about seventy leagues from the coast and eighty from Fort Duquesne.

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By letters of the 29^th^ April, from M. Bellaître, at the Beautiful river, we have learned that, having gone into the interior one hundred and fifty leagues below Fort Duquesne, with twenty Frenchmen, one hundred and fifty Miamas, Ouïas and some Chaouanons as guides, he arrived at Carolina and marched about sixty leagues through settlements that have been abandoned, at the end of which time he fell in with a village of thirty or forty houses, which were

taken and burnt; close by was a small wooden fort, that was summoned to surrender; on its refusing to comply, it was carried by assault and the garrison put to the sword. The killed and prisoners amounted to about three hundred; all the oxen and cows having been collected together were killed; a hundred and twenty horses, which they found, served to carry the large quantity of plunder the Indians got, and in returning they set fire to all the settlements they had left.

M^r^ de Bellaître has been slightly wounded in one arm and in the shoulder. We have lost five men and had five or six wounded.

The Flatheads, to the number of seventy villages, inhabiting Carolina and New Georgia, are coming, with the consent of all the interior tribes, to settle on the beautiful river, on condition that they will make war on the English, which they have accepted and promised to do this fall after saving their harvests.

Several other parties of the Beautiful river, who have returned with English prisoners and a quantity of scalps, assure that, for sixty leagues below Fort Cumberland, towards the sea coast, the settlements have been abandoned and burnt, and that the greater part of the country remains unsown.

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15^th^ September. Chevalier de Celoron, an officer, has arrived with a letter from Captain Dumas, commanding at Fort Duquesne, informing us that Captain de Villiers, of the Illinois, having left Fort Duquesne with 23 Frenchmen and thirty Indians, had, on the 15^th^ of August, attacked a fort on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, in which were two pieces of cannon, thirty-three persons, including some women and children, the Commandant having left some days before with forty men as an escort, for a port near the sea, distant about thirty leagues; he had this fort summoned, and as it refused to surrender, he kept up a fire of musketry during two days, whilst one-half his men were making fagots of dry wood with which he set fire to that fort. An hour before day one part of the garrison was put to the sword and the other taken prisoners. This fort contained six months' provisions for one hundred men.

Two hundred Indians and French left Fort Duquesne to set fire to four hundred houses in a part of Pennsylvania. That Province has suffered but little in consequence of the intrigues of the Five Nations with the Taskarosins, a tribe on the lands of that Province and in alliance with the Five Nations. But, now, they have declared that they will assist their brethren, the Delawares and Chouanons, and consequently several have sided with them, so that the above Province will be laid waste the same as Virginia and Carolina.

This extract contains many clerical errors, both of diction and orthography; but he who sent it me, he assured me, in his letter which accompanied it, that it was substantially very correct.

Many accounts differ so much the one from the other, that 'tis impossible to determine which to credit. The main facts cannot be questioned, because all the officers who were in the various actions that have taken place, agree therein.

M. DE MONTCALM TO COUNT D'ARGENSON.

CAMP AT CARILLON, *26th 7ber 1756.*

MY LORD: I had the honor to write you on the 22nd, reporting my arrival at Carillon with the regiments of Guienne, Bearn, and one hundred men of La Sarre. The remainder of this regiment has remained in the vicinity of Frontenac, to bring away the artillery and prisoners, and will conclude its campaign by working at the road between Laprairie and St. John—a road in our rear, of the greatest consequence for our communications. In the same dispatch I had the honor to report to you the deaths of Lieutenants de Bivelle and de Torsac of the regiment of La Reine, who have been killed before my arrival by the Indians attached to the English, in consequence of having gone out to hunt, notwithstanding Chevalier de Levis' reiterated prohibitions. I had likewise the honor of informing you of a strong detachment of Canadians and Indians which I had formed a few days after my arrival, for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy's position and intimidating his outposts.

On this movement he abandoned the islands in Lake St. Sacrament, where he seemed desirous to take up a position, and a detachment of fifty-two men, including three officers sent to reconnoitre us, has been entirely defeated. One man only will have carried the news to my Lord Loudon. And I do not believe that this General will expose himself at the end of the campaign with us, although able to concentrate ten thousand men in twenty-four hours. I calculate to keep the field fully a month yet.

From letters written at Fort Duquesne the 13th of August, [I learn] that we continue to lay waste Pennsylvania and Virginia. The Chaouanons and Delawares have forced all the settlements to be abandoned. To make any forays they must go thirty leagues into the interior. Chevalier de Villiers, Lieutenant of the Colonial troops, with a detachment of 55 men, captured Fort Granville, within 60 miles of Philadelphia. It was garrisoned by 35 men and provisioned for six months, and had two swivels. All had been burnt, killed or taken prisoners.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil and M. Bigot have communicated to me an order they have received from the Keeper of the Seals,

whereby all the allowances granted to the officers for subsistence, even the wine, is to be cut off in the next campaign, and they are to be reduced, the same as the soldier, to the simple ration, leaving them at liberty to provide themselves with the surplus as they think proper. This article interests equally the officers of the Line and of the Marine. It is possible that they received too much last year, and that too much is to be deducted for the next. I have transmitted to the Marquis de Vaudreuil and the Intendent a Memoir on this subject, and shall consert with them respecting the representations they will consider it their duty to make to the Keeper of the Seals, and I shall act with as much circumspection as zeal for the King's interests.

You perceive, my Lord, that I have nothing very important to communicate in this letter; but I wish to inform you of everything relative to the troops, the command of which you have confided to me, and not allow a ship to sail without having the honor to write to you.

I am, with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

DUKE DE BELLEISLE TO M. DE MORAS.

VERSAILLES, *the 13th February, 1757.*

I have two correspondents in England, one of whom is most thoroughly informed. Both of them confirm the resolution adopted by the new Ministry to put forth their main efforts in America. Mr. Pitt wishes, at any price, to regain the superiority there and to gratify the English faction interested in the American trade, which is to-day the most powerful, both in the city of London and the House of Commons. Consequently, there is to be dispatched thither, exclusive of the two regiments of Scotch Highlanders, each 1,800 men strong, nine regiments of infantry, the list whereof has been sent me, viz^{t}: Five from the Irish establishment, not counting the three regiments which sailed two months ago for New England. All these will form a body of more than 8 (*a*). 10,000 Regulars. A large park of artillery is also sent forward at the same time, and every description of arms and munitions of war. Mr. Pitt has declared that if this considerable reinforcement be not sufficient, he will double and triple it.

Under these circumstances, I think that, as America is the principal and true cause of the war, our attention ought to be directed to that quarter of the globe. It is the good or bad condition wherein we shall happen to be, that will sooner or later determine the English Minister to make peace, and to render it either ruinous or of advantage to us. We shall never conclude a solid one if we cannot have Acadia.

I am, for several months, insisting that we should forward to America, independent of the necessary recruits to complete our Colonial troops and French regiments, Sieur Fischer's corps of 4,000 men, which is so composed as to form six large battalions, or to be divided into brigades or even companies. It has a distinguished set of officers, almost all gentlemen, the majority of whom, as well as their soldiers, propose never to return to Europe; they would greatly strengthen now and hereafter, those parts of these Colonies for which those troops will be designed.

The Keeper of the Seals has informed me that M. de Vaudreuil demanded of him only 15 or 1,800 recruits; with these, he considered America sufficiently protected; but I answer that M. de Vaudreuil cannot have any knowledge of Mr. Pitt's project nor of the resolution to send thither such a large body of Regulars, a thing England has never done before. I think I cannot insist too strongly hereupon, so that we may not lose the opportunity of dispatching the 4,000 men to America. If it be neglected, 'twill be repented of perhaps too late, when a remedy no longer exists. I admit that the expense of transportation is excessively high, but I think 'twould be much better to have some vessels of the line less, and to secure ourselves in the preservation of our Colonies; and as we are approaching the time when those transports sail, and those troops have a great many days' march to make before they reach their places of embarkation, I represent to M. de Moras that not a moment is to be lost in coming to a conclusion. That object has appeared to me so important for the King's service and so decisive for the good and success of the new administration confided to him, that I have considered it my duty to submit this Memoir to him, requesting him to be pleased to pay that attention to it which the matter in question merits.

(Signed), THE MARSHAL DUKE DE BELLEISLE.

REVEREND CLAUDE GODFROY COCQUARD TO HIS BROTHER.

My Dear Brother: I communicated to you last fall the news from this country much abridged. I could have enlarged more on the victory we gained on the Ohio over General Bradok's army, but suffice it for you to know, that with his life he has lost more than 1,800 men and an immense booty with scarcely any loss on our side, except the Commander of our detachment, named M. de Beaujeu, an officer generally regretted.

General Jonckson's army on Lake St. Sacrament, which is called by our enemies Georges as well as the fort they have built near that we call Carillon, and which serves to defend Fort St. Frederic, otherwise called La Pointe à la Chevelure, amounting last fall to 4,500, is now reduced to 3,000 by desertion and the shock it received in the affair in which Baron de Dieskaw was wounded and taken prisoner. We lost on that occasion a brave officer, M. de St. Pierre, and had his advice as well as that of several other Canadian officers been followed, Jonckson was irretrievably destroyed, and we should have been spared the trouble we have had this year. If you were in a place where letters might reach you without risk and expense, I should send you my news in detail. Content yourself with what I am about to communicate of the occurrences since last fall.

You will learn, first, that our Indians have waged the most cruel war against the English; that they continued it throughout the spring and are still so exasperated as to be beyond control; Georgia, Carolina, Marrelande, Pensilvania, are wholly laid waste. The farmers have been forced to quit their abodes and to retire into the town. They have neither ploughed nor planted, and on their complaining of the circumstance to the Governor of Boston, he answered them, that people were ploughing and planting for them in Canada. The Indians do not make any prisoners; they kill all they meet, men, women and children. Every day they have some in their kettle, and after having abused the women and maidens, they slaughter or burn them.

On the 29th January, we received letters from M. Dumas, Commandant of Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio, stating that the Indians in December had more than 500 English scalps, and he more than 200 prisoners; that he learns that a great part[y] is forming in New England, which he is awaiting without fear; that his fort is well fortified, and that 2,000 Indians in cabins around that fort, were a strong defence which the English would not readily approach. In the month of February, 50 Acadian families being embarked aboard of an English vessel to be transported to Virginia, revolted and repaired to M. de Boishébert, who commands in Acadia, which the

English call Nova Scotia; having removed whatever was best in the ship, they set it on fire. Sometime afterwards the Mikmak Indians, who are in Acadia, seized an English schooner, on her way from Boston, loaded with provisions and clothing for the garrison of Port Royal. In that vessel were found a quantity of papers, English gazettes, and among the rest a letter from Colonel Jonckson, wherein he states that General Bradok has been imprudent to go and attack the fort on the River Oyo; that he had lost 1,500 and 600 dead, and that he, Jonkson, was ordered to attack Fort St. Frederic with 4,500; that he had lost 900 men in the battle with the French in the month of October last; that the expenses of their campaign had amounted to more than 120 millions; that as for his part, he was resolved to ask for his discharge; that there were no means of fighting the Canadians; that the English were all panic-stricken which prevented them resisting, and in return for that expense, all they received was the unfortunate Baron de Dieskau, whom they would give for four *sous*. One of their gazettes says, they have taken an East India Company's ship, and two slavers with 400 negroes each.

Between the 15th of February and the end of April, all our Regulars, Militia and Indians had gone to Forts St. Frederic, Niagara and Frontenac, and as the English had built armed ships on Lake Ontario, between these two last forts, we did the like. Therefore, as I shall relate, Canada has seen, for the first time, a naval engagement on these lakes. In March, the Indians of the Five Nations who wished to observe neutrality, having gone to Philadelphia, the English proposed to them to take up the hatchet against the French. They answered, that they were neutral, and that if they raised the hatchet against the French, with whom all the Indians sided, they would all be soon destroyed. The Governor, dissatisfied with their answer, has ill treated them, who, on their return, fell on a small fort near that of Cumberland, killed the garrison, took 4 pieces of cannon, which they carried to Fort Duquesne.

26th of April. On being informed that the English had an entrepôt between Orange and Chouaguen, which is their strongest defence on Lake Ontario, our General detached M. de Lery, with 6 @ 700 men, to capture it. It was called Fort Bull. He was deceived by his Indian guides, who made him travel through the woods a greater distance than he ought; provisions became exhausted; they perceived the treachery, and having taken some Indians, belonging to the English, prisoners, induced them, on a promise of quarter, to conduct them to the fort and by the right road. He overtook ten wagons loaded with provisions, ten wagoners and one negro: This last man escaped and went to Colonel Jonkson, who, with 400 men, was within a days' journey of the place. M. de Lery, having left some people to guard the provisions and baggage, approached Fort

Bull, about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, where there was a redoubt, an oak palisade of 14 feet high and a garrison of 200 men. He rushed with his men against the gate, cut it and a palisaded bridge in pieces with hatchets, in spite of the continual fire of the English from grenades and muskets; killed 80 and took 70 prisoners, went to the store and flung into the lake 35 thousand weight of powder, the barrels of pork, flour, biscuit, which were innumerable; also, the shot, bullets and other ammunitions destined for Fort Chouaguen and for besieging our fort at Niagara; set fire to a magazine containing 10 thousand weight of powder, whither the rest of the garrison had retired, which was blown up with the building. A post, blown to the distance of two *arpents*, wounded one of our soldiers. All was over at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The report of the magazine was so loud as to be heard at Chouaguen, 30 leagues, and we lost only one Indian. M. de Lery marched, on the same day, to attack the second magazine, called Fort Ouillame, garrisoned by 200 men. He met Colonel Jonkson, with his 400 men, who quickly retreated into the fort, where it was deemed inadvisable to attack him, not having sufficient force to encounter a body of 600 within an intrenchment. I have learned these particulars from the second in command, who related them to me this spring at Quebec. The wife of the Commandant had remained in her room and had a very beautiful waist belt, with a rich buckle, which a soldier, on entering, wished to take from her. Supposing that he wanted to violate her person, she gave him a box. The soldier cut her throat with his bayonet.

On Easter Sunday there was a terrible squall at Quebec from the Northeast, which wrecked over 100 bateaux designed to convey our troops to the different camps. On the 19th of April was launched at Fort Frontenac, a schooner of 150 tons, 18 pieces of cannon and 30 swivels, to oppose the English Admiral of 24 guns, which was likewise built on Lake Ontario. Familiarize yourself with the names of our Indians. 40 Delawares cut off, in May, a large English detachment, not one of which was left alive.

These same Delawares, on returning from their expedition, met 80 English who, on the approach of the Indians, had fortified themselves in a house, to which the latter set fire, and thus roasted all the English. The Flatheads and Cheraquis have laid waste Virginia and Carolina; the Illinois are ravaging Georgia; the Five Nations which are composed of the Indians generally known under the name of Iroquois, have remained neutral, except some who have made war in our favour. The English have taken one Delaware, a village chief, whom they have gouged. M. Dumas, Commandant of Fort du Quesne, has taken advantage of that act of cruelty, to represent to the Indians of that Nation what they might expect from our enemies. It has so infuriated them, that not a person

falls into their hands who is not burnt. In Iroquois chief, attached to the English, has brought the medal he had received from them to our General and said to him: Henceforth be thou my Father; here's the medal of the English; I am going to work to deserve another from you.

The Iroquois of the Sault St. Louis being ashamed of having abandoned M. de Lery in the attack on Fort Bul, have been on a foray in the English territory, where they encountered a detachment, all the soldiers of which they have killed. They took prisoners only a Major and a Lieutenant, who were going to Lake George with three large packets, from which we have learned the designs of the English and their strength. We expect that they have about 9,000 men at Lake George. The English have erected two forts near the Oyo. Mr. Dumas sent thither Mess^{rs} Corbière and Douville, who have burnt the two forts, and the English within them, and killed the remainder. Our killed amounted to 15 French and Indians, Sieur Douville included. The wife of the Commandant of one of the forts has been taken by the Indians, who had her tied to a stake in order to burn her. A soldier ransomed her with his share of the plunder, amounting to about 400^{li}. This soldier writes to the General, that he has saved the most beautiful English woman ever seen; if he be returned his money, he will surrender her; otherwise he desires permission to marry her.

Our little fleet on Lake Ontario, in number about 5 vessels, having met the English fleet, amounting to 10, gave them battle. We have taken the English Admiral; afterwards put the others to flight, and obliged two to run ashore, with all sails set, near Fort Chouaguen. In the beginning of July, whilst M. de Villiers, a Canadian Captain, was lying in ambush, on the River Chouaguen, with a detachment of 800 men, our Indians fired too soon; the convoy amounted to 1,500, whom we have defeated, 800 were killed; about 500 bateaux and the provisions were taken and burned. The fight lasted about six hours. Our Canadians and Indians were so animated that the most of them flung themselves into the river in order to pursue the enemy. We lost 10 men, among whom is Chevalier de Ganne, who has died of his wounds. On the Lake George side, a small party of Iroquois, headed by a Canadian, stopped 16 English horsemen and have killed 9, taken 7 prisoners, and have brought horses and plunder to Corillon; 50 English have captured 2 French bateaux with 12 men on board; they were loaded with hay and oats; 4 killed, 8 prisoners. This is the sole advantage gained over us by the English up to the beginning of August. A Canadian officer having been on the scout near Fort George, at the end of July, met two English bateaux with 35 men; 30 killed, 5 prisoners. Six Cadets, belonging to our Regulars, fell in, on the 2d of August, with 15 English, killed 13, 2 prisoners.

5th August. *La Quesche*, of Dunkirk, has arrived with the packets from the Court, and the Declaration of War by the King of England. On the 11th of August news arrived at Quebec that our little army of 5 @. 6,000 men had arrived at Fort Frontenac, 30 leagues above Montreal, which is 60 from Quebec, and that preparations were completed to attack Chouaguen. This fort, the rampart of the English, was built about 35 years ago to the shame of the Canadians, who were obliged to pass under its guns in order to go to the Upper country posts; 'twas regarded as impregnable, and the English considered themselves so sure of that fortress that they were incessantly taunting us. Timid minds wished the attack to be postponed, but our General and the Intendant decided that everything must be risked. Therefore, the regiments of Bearn and Rousillon, which had arrived this year, and Guienne were commanded with 3,000 Canadians and Canadian troops. The execution [of the undertaking] was confided to the Marquis de Montcalm, Major-General *(Marechal de camp)*, Commander-in-Chief of the King's troops in this country, who had under him Colonel de Bourlamarc and some Indians.

Chouaguen is built on the shore of Lake Ontario, having, on the northeast, the river called Couaguen which serves it as a rampart. To the northeast of that river, the English had constructed a second fort which they called Fort Ontario. On the 5th of August our troops left Fort Frontenac in bateaux and sloops and after having sailed two nights, landed without any opposition on the part of the English, who dispatched at first three sloops to annoy us and to burn our bateaux, but four pieces of cannon that had been furnished to the van-guard obliged them to retire. They fired a great deal, but their guns not being of a sufficient calibre, did not carry as far as the land. All that country is wooded; 'twas necessary to cut a road to the place where the trench was to be opened. The enemy fired considerably from their fort without killing any one; our Indians continually harassed them and did not leave them time to breathe; an accident occurred, however, on the 11th. M. de Comble, Engineer-in-Chief, who had set out, at the break of day, to reconnoitre Fort Choueguen, was mistaken for an Englishman by one of our Indians, who knocked him down with a blow of his gun. Nothing equalled the desolation of this poor man and his tribe, and M. de Montcalm found it necessary to use considerable effort in order to pacify and retain them; for their grief was so great that they were desirous of returning to their village. The trench was opened on the night of the 12th to the 13th; the pioneers were assisted by the Canadians.

On the morning of the 13th we had a battery in position to bear. The English opened from Fort Ontario a terrible fire of musketry, shell and shot, which did no harm because the great labor of the

night afforded a cover. We had one commissary of stores killed by a cannon ball, and a grenadier received a slight wound in the head which did not prevent him continuing at his post. About three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, M. de Bourlamar received a ball which slightly wounded him in the head, but he did not abandon his post as Director of the siege. Shortly afterwards, the enemy's fire ceased; they were, 'twas thought, preparing to make a sortie, but information was received that they were crossing the river, abandoning tents and baggage and carrying with them only four mortars. Some Indians were sent out who reported the fort vacated. 15 Genadiers of Guienne, and subsequently the entire company, scaled the fort and took possession of it. They were 350. A drunken Englishman was all that was found, and he was granted quarter. The English rendered us an essential service by abandoning this fort to us, which was very substantial and in a condition to resist us and to kill many men. In addition to the trench which was continued, a new work [was commenced.] 'Twas necessary to to construct a road for the conveyance of the artillery to the abandoned fort; 450 men were employed on this service, and on the morning of the 14th a brisk cannonade was opened against Chouaguen which was also bombarded. On its side, it returned a very smart fire for some time. M. de Rigaud, our General's brother, who had by a ruse escaped last year from the prisons of England, placed himself at the head of 2,000 Canadians and Indians and crossed the river. They raised frightful yells, which the Indians call *Sa'aquois*. The English were so terribly panic-stricken that they hoisted the white flag. Firing ceased on both sides and a canoe was noticed making its appearance with some English officers on board, who came to propose a surrender provided a favorable capitulation was granted them; 1,800 belonging to the garrison, to be prisoners of war until exchanged. Six months' provisions for 4,000 men were found in the fort; 3 chests of gold and silver and 5 standards were taken; 121 pieces of artillery in the two forts, which have been razed. The English General is killed, and we have lost M. de Comble, one Canadian and a grenadier of Béarn, and 8 of our men, wounded. 3 sloops are captured, one of 24 guns, 10 small sloops of 25 tons, 200 bateaux and barges, and one vessel on the stocks, which the English carpenters are left to finish under a strong guard. When this advantage is taken in connection with the victory on the Oyo, 'tis the most remarkable affair that has happened since the founding of this Colony. Chouaguen fallen, or rather surrendered to the yells of the Canadians and Indians, recalls to my mind the fall of Jericho before the cries of the Israelities. The prisoners are to be sent to France.

The colors being arrived at Montreal, were loaned to the Indians, who made a sort of procession around the town, then went to the

church, where, of themselves, they sung the *Te Deum* in their language, and left the colors at the door under a strong guard, saying they ought not be admitted into the church because they were not Christian; they meant to say that they were not Blessed.

All being arranged at Chouaguen, our regiments are to march direct to Fort St. Frederic and Carillon, where M. de Montcalm proceeded immediately to attempt an attack on Fort George. During his absence he left the command of this place to the Marquis de Levy, Brigadier. We expect news every day from that quarter, which is only 40 leagues from Montreal, and a good road.

4th October. It appears that neither we nor the English feel any desire to undertake anything this year in the direction of Lake St. Sacrament; nevertheless, our troops will not return into quarters before the 15th of November.

Since the capture of Chouaguen, one of our officers named M. Marin, utterly defeated, at the head of a hundred Indians, a small party of 52 English near Lake St. Sacrament, and M. de Villiers, an officer of New Orleans, seeking in Carolina, at the head of some Illinois Indians, whereby to signalize himself, has been to attack a fort; he collected some faggots which were in the neighborhood, and set the fort on fire. A party made a sortie to extinguish the flames, and has been killed. The remainder have been roasted or blown up with powder.

6th of October. We learn that on the Oyo a party of 300 English horsemen went to surprise or burn a Delaware village. The Indians ran to place their women and children in safety, whilst five Canadians, one of whom was a Cadet, were firing at and arresting the progress of the horsemen. The Indians having returned, took possession of the roads. The horsemen fled into the woods; 25 remained dead on the field, and 2 prisoners left the horses to the Indians, who went in pursuit of the others.

Letters from Louisbourg informs us that an officer of that canton, who was with some French and Indians in a small fort on Isle Royale, weary and tired of beholding English ships cruizing at the mouth of their harbour, put four or five men in a little bateau. The wind was scant to go out; it was going broadside. The English detached 4 barges with 50 men, when the little vessel found herself pressed, she altered her tack and ran to a cape, according to orders. The barges pursued; when they were within a short gun-shot, the officer and his men fired and killed 30 of the enemy, wounded several, captured one barge and damaged two; the fourth, too happy at having escaped, took the two in tow, and returned to report its good luck to their people.

Robert Stobo and Vanban left eight days ago for Montreal, under an escort. I do not know what our General proposes to do with them. The English here say that if a Frenchmen had played in

their country the trick that Stobo has played here, he would have been hanged.

To the Air of——

I.

Celebrons tous du Grand Vaudreuil,
La sagesse et la glorie,
Toutte l'Angleterre est en Deüil.
Au bruit de sa victoire.
Chouaguen n'est plus . . . . nos soldats
L'ont forcés de se rendre,
Et ses murs ne sont plus qu'un tas
De poussière et de cendre.

II.

En vain Loudon de ses Guerries
Il rassemble l'elite,
Montcalm avide des lauriers
N'y vole que plus vite.
Bellone lui prete son char
Et sur de la fortune
Des trois choses que fit Cæsar
Il n'en omet aucun.

III.

Deja je vois de nos hero,
Une troupe intrepide,
S'avancer au travers des flots
D'un perilleux rapide.
Plein d'ardeur le fer a la main,
Rigaud marche a leur tete—
L'ennemy tremble et Chouaguen
Devient notre conquete.

IV.

Enfin les voila dans nos fers
Ces hommes redoutables,
Ces braves qui domptent les mers,
Sur terre sont traitables.
Leur bravoure imbecile
S'acharne et vient dans nos prison
Demander un azile
Des le premier coup de canon.

V.

A Carillion l'on dit pourtant
Qu'ils auront leur revanche,
Au tant en emporte le vent,
Ils soufflent dans la manche.
Les Canadiens leur front peur,
Et Loudon est trop sage
Pour oser contre leur valeur,
Mesurer son courage.

VI.

Mais de tous ces exploits brillantes
Qu'elle est l'ame secrette,
On la connoit par ses talents,
Faut it d'autre Intreprete?
Oui c'est elle qui des vainqueurs
Soutient le bras terrible
Et fait circuler dans les cœurs
Cette force invincible.

M. DE VAUDREUIL TO M. DE MACHAULT.

MONTREAL, *19th April, 1757.*

MY LORD: In the letter I had the honor to write you on the 11th of October of last year, to render you an account of the district of the Beautiful river, I did myself also the honor to observe that my negotiations with the Flatheads were more and more successful.

In effect, my Lord, a Canadian of Detroit who has since several years been adopted by that Nation, and to whom I had secretly transmitted a letter that he should endeavor, without too marked a zeal, to induce the Flatheads to unite with the French, wrote on the 20th of September to the Commandant of Fort Duquêne, that the Flatheads had received my message with pleasure; that four of them were setting out to convey the message of the chiefs to the Hurons and to advise the Commandant of Fort Duquêne of the intentions of their Nation. This Canadian added that he was himself going on the part of the Cherakis to carry their message to Mobile; that all the Indians were making arrangements to do well for the French; that the English were talking of attacking the Illinois; the chief who carried the messages wished to join the Hurons and other Nations to strike the English.

This letter was confided to the Chaouanon chief of Sonnioto by two Flatheads who were desirous of going to see the Commandant of Fort Duquêne, whilst the other Deputies would proceed on with a Chaouanon chief to convey to Detroit the Belt with which they were intrusted on the part of their chiefs.

Those of the Flatheads who were to go to Fort Duquêne, turned back and took the same route as the others, at the solicitation of a Huron whom they met on the way.

The Flathead Deputies arrived at Detroit and held a grand Council with M. de Muy on the 10th of January.

They commenced by asking me for peace and testified to all the Indian Nations the desire they felt to be admitted into the number

of the allies of the French; and so as soon as they should learn my sentiments more positively than by the messages which had been transmitted to them in my name, they would return in greater numbers and with stronger messages.

They asked pardon for all their past faults, and said:

That they held on to the English by almost nothing, and that their hand would slip from his the moment I should protect them, and that all the Nations were desirous of living in peace with them.

That if I would promise to supply their wants as I did those of the other Nations, they would entirely abandon and strike the English.

The Chaouanons, who accompanied the Flatheads to Detroit, told them they had obeyed my message and had forthwith struck the English.

The Flatheads continued and made all their customary ceremonies, and said:

That they were only paying a visit to level the road, so that they may easily see the French and all the Indian Nations whom they were desirous to join in order to strike the English.

That it was the smallest village which is called Tsotis that was speaking.

That the chief's son headed the deputation; they assured that the sentiments of nine villages, dependent on them, agreed with theirs, and that thirty other villages, also comprised under the name of Cherakis and Flatheads, were only waiting for their return to decide.

These Flatheads left a Belt with Mr. de Muy for the Outaouas and begged him to communicate it to them. By that Belt they engage them to let their tomahawk fall very heavily on the English and not to turn it against them (the Flatheads).

Mr. de Muy had this Council attended by a Huron chief, an Outaouas chief and two other influential members of that Nation, with some Pouteouatamis, and all seemed satisfied with the messages of the Flatheads.

M. de Muy received by these Deputies a letter dated the same day, 20 September, from a Canadian, who is also adopted in that tribe, wherein he informs him that the Cherakis and Flatheads are really desirous to wage war against the English.

I would have reason to believe that the Flatheads have already commenced hostilities, because the Acadians, who have deserted from Carolina, have assured me that the Cherakis and Chicachas, being gone to Virginia for their presents, had, on their return home, destroyed five hundred English habitations, which appears so little doubtful that these Acadians assert having seen some of those very English who had escaped from those Indians.

Mr. de Muy spoke to these Deputies agreeably to the orders I had

given him. He disgusted them with the English and neglected nothing to induce them to strike, and to communicate to us intelligence of the enemy's movements, as soon as understood.

These Flatheads and the Chaouanons who accompanied them, were much pleased with the manner they had been received and returned home.

My principal object is to prevent the Flatheads pronouncing against us; I observe towards them the same policy I have observed towards the Five Nations, because if these Flatheads attacked the Nations of the Beautiful river, that would throw a damp on their ardor, and I even think that our other Nations would not go willingly to wage war against the English in those parts.

I should dare flatter myself that I would succeed in getting these Flatheads to strike, had I wherewithal to supply their wants; this I could not do, so long as they will remain constantly in their villages, inasmuch as they will be always obliged to have recourse to the English, and 'tis not natural to suppose that they wish, by declaring war against those English, to expose themselves to want everything; therefore it is desirable that we could afford them an asylum. This is a matter of more urgency than supposed. The English employ all their resources to induce those Nations to unite with them, and it would be highly dangerous should they succeed, for they have projected the erection of forts and the building of large bateaux in the villages of those Indians for the purpose of going by the Ouabache to attack the Illinois, or at least to surprise the Louisiana convoys.

It would therefore be indispensable to establish a post at the Falls on the Beautiful river, to secure the communication of Canada with Louisiana. Although that post be not sufficiently near the Flatheads and Cherakis, nevertheless, the Traders whom I should send, might attract them thither or go with horses across the mountains into their villages.

The soil at these Falls invites settlements. If we could have some permanent ones, we should hold the Flatheads and Cherakis in check. These Nations bar the passage by the Mississippi and its tributaries; they facilitate parties that come down from different directions.

That post would be the principal key of Louisiana and Canada. All the rivers that fall into the Mississippi and the Beautiful river, both from the direction of the Missouris as well as from Canada, cannot descend to New Orleans without passing it.

I shall not lose any time in following up my negotiations with the Flatheads, and shall endeavor all in my power to gain some advantage therefrom.

I am, with most profound respect, My Lord,

Your most humble and Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

M. DE VAUDREUIL TO M. DE MACHAULT.

MONTREAL, *19th April, 1757.*

MY LORD: I had not expected New Jersey from the incursions of our Indians, but as that quarter is at a vast distance, I could employ only some Delawares who are at the other side of the mountains. They have carried out my intentions to the best of their ability; have burnt 40 English houses with the crops in their barns; have returned to Niagara with 6 scalps belonging to soldiers killed under a New Jersey fort, where they took a prisoner whom they left in their village to replace their chief.

As these Delawares speak English, they have themselves interrogated that prisoner, who told them that the English, were to blockade the river and take Quebec.

These Delawares have boasted greatly of this blow; indeed, the long and fatiguing journey they have been obliged to make, I look upon as a very evident proof of their good will.

It will be impossible for me to continue to make incursions into New Jersey; 'tis beyond the reach of our posts. But 'tis certain that the English of that country who learned the incursions of our Indians only from the newspapers, will not fail to be greatly frightened, when experiencing themselves what our Indians are capable of, which probably will have made considerable impression on the people.

I am, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

M. DE VAUDREUIL TO M. DE MORAS.

MONTREAL, *12th July, 1757.*

MY LORD: You will have seen, by the despatch I had the honor to write to the Keeper of the Seals on the 18th of April, whatever was of interest in the posts on the Beautiful river, and the measures I have adopted for the greater security of that quarter.

M. de Ligneris, in consequence of my orders, has had parties constantly out to harass the enemy.

He lost no time in obtaining satisfaction for the loss of the Canadian who was killed, and of the one who was taken near Fort

Duquêne; for a detachment commanded by M. de Niverville, came, after a campaign of thirty-three days, within reach of Fort Cumberland, and though it was impossible for him to approach it, in consequence of the dread our Indians had of being surrounded, there being considerable snow on the ground, he nevertheless, took four prisoners in the settlements bordering on the river called Potsmak, in Virginia, about fifteen leagues from Fort Cumberland; burned ten houses and the like number of barns full of wheat; killed twenty horses or cows. This trifling success ought to show the enemy that the severest season of the year does not protect them against our incursions.

Another party, headed by M. de Montmidy, returned with eight scalps and seven prisoners taken on the frontiers of Pennsylvania.

Mr. de Rocheblave returned, likewise, with a prisoner taken on the bank of the same River Potowmak, three days' march from Fort Cumberland.

M. De Verger St. Blin took two scalps and one prisoner near Fort Cumberland. A party of Indians of Kanaouagon, which was to join M. de St. Blin by another road to attack another fort, on returning overtook a party of English and Indians, of whom they killed one, wounded another, and took a third prisoner. These Indians had scalped several English and Catabas, but were obliged to abandon them, not being able to resist the superiority of the enemy's forces.

A party of eight Poutêoutamis and four Outaouas has returned with two scalps and one prisoner.

A party of Senecas attacked a fort beyond Cumberland, killed four men, two of whom only they could scalp, because they were surrounded by an English detachment.

Another party of the same Nation killed eight English, but on returning was overtaken by a hundred English or Indians; lost three men including the chief of the party.

As the Catabas, or at least a part of that Nation, joined the English, I sent several parties of the Five Nations to make war on them in the view of inducing them to abandon the English, which I would dare hope from the blows inflicted on them.

M. de Normenville, who was in the field since the 18th of April, arrived about a month afterwards at Fort Duquesne with three scalps, one of an Englishman and two of Indians or some other Nation. He met, a short distance on this side of the height of land, five men who appeared to him to be scouts, whom he pursued, killed three, and could not overtake the other two. He lost a Seneca who was killed on that occasion.

M. de Montisambert, who was at the head of a party of two hundred men of different Nations, did not meet the success that might be expected. His party divided itself before coming to Fort Cum-

berland. That officer was unable to continue his journey as he fell dangerously ill about the height of land, where he remained waiting for his Indians. He arrived at Fort Duquêne with three scalps, which a party of twenty men had brought him from the vicinity of Fort Cumberland; the other sections of the same party returned with two prisoners and one scalp.

Three Delawares were attacked fifteen leagues from Fort Duquêne by about fifteen English, three of whom they killed but brought away only one scalp, not having time to remove the others, one of these Indians having been wounded.

A party of Senecas and Cayugas struck a blow in the country of Northampton, in Pennsylvania, and brought back only one scalp; the reason they alleged for this was, that not being in the habit of going to war against the English, they had considerable recruiting to do; to effect which they had given three men and three women; that they had killed ten English, having repeated their attacks several times. They are highly pleased with their journey; they state that they have also killed an officer; that they have been obliged to go down very far into the cleared country to effect a blow; that they have burnt a number of houses and killed an infinity of cattle.

M. de Montcourt, a Cadet, returned, after eighty-five days absence, with two scalps taken in Pennsylvania.

Other parties who have been on forays in the same direction, have come back with five prisoners and four scalps.

Finally, the Delawares captured a fort in the winter, within four leagues of the one taken by Chevalier de Villiers. Last year they attacked a convoy, killed all the conductors, took away a considerable part of the provisions, and concealed the remainder.

A party of the same Nation carried a prisoner to M. de Ligneris.

Our losses in the other rencontres we have had with the English, consist of two Senecas, one Chaouanon, and three Delawares.

The English have not had any other advantages over us up to the 15th of June, when we lost Messrs de la Saussaye, St. Ours, and Bellêtre, the first an Ensign of foot in the troops of Isle Royale, and the two others seconded Ensigns in those of this Colony. These three officers were returning with three Canadians from Fort Cumberland, where they had no opportunity to strike, and were killed with the three Canadians a little on this side of the height of land, by twenty Englishmen or Indians who were lying in ambush there, and who shot them point blank.

M. de Ligneris sent a Belt to the Delawares of the other side of the mountains to engage them in my name to come immediately to join their brethren and to range themselves under our flag. The two Indians he entrusted this Belt to, belong to the same Nation and the same village; they saw the Delawares at the end of the

fall, and spent the winter at Chiningué. If we rely on what they told M. de Ligneris before their departure, there would be reason to believe that the whole of that Nation is firmly resolved to abandon the English forever, and to unite with us, but a prisoner has reported that these Delawares who have fought with the English, have gone, notwithstanding, to talk with them and make their peace. This merits confirmation.

The prisoners have reported to M. de Ligneris:

That the English have eleven forts to cover the settlements of Virginia; that there are other forts besides, the number of which is unknown to them; that there are about twenty Militia in each of those forts, except one which is only five leagues from Fort Cumberland.

That in the Province of Maryland there is a fort called Frederic garrisoned by five hundred men, whither considerable provisions have been conveyed.

That the English are fortifying themselves at Wenchester.

That the English were making every effort to conclude peace with the Nations on the Beautiful river and its environs, to whom they had sent messages everywhere to induce them to remain quiet. This report is true; it cost me no little trouble to acquire a knowledge of all these messages, and to withdraw them from the hands of our Indians.

M. de Ligneris took pains to have scouts abroad in every direction, and has learned by those who have been, since spring, in the direction of Pennsylvania and Maryland, that towards the height of land, the tracks of men and horses showed two main roads; this circumstance induces him to send scouts frequently in that direction, without, however, neglecting Fort Cumberland.

It might well be that the English were forming new establishments to serve them as intrepôts. I have recommended M. de Ligneris to do his best to ascertain what the real object may be.

Some Indians have also reported to M. de Ligneris that they have discovered some high roads, on which they have seen a number of the enemy.

He learned at the same time, from a prisoner that the English are making preparations, collecting provisions of all sorts and horses in the different Provinces, for an attack on Fort Duquêne; that they have three hundred Indians who are continually on the mountains; that four hundred men are at another post in Pennsylvania, and four hundred at Maryland; but this prisoner has added that he did not know where their rendezvous was; that he had seen only four pieces of cannon with twenty wagons in a small village of Pennsylvania; that the English have five hundred Regulars, one company of which are Grenadiers.

I do not think the English will attack M. de Ligneris; but though they make some movement this year, I have neglected nothing to place him in a condition to resist them, for, independent of his garrison, of the Militia and Nations inhabiting the Beautiful river, and of the Militia I have sent him from this Colony, he has actually, at his disposal, some Militia and some Indian Nations of Illinois; and, for greater security, I issued orders in the month of April to the Commandants of Niagara and of all the posts on the Beautiful river, to send their forces in rotation, from one post to the other, and to keep themselves always in readiness to afford each other mutual assistance. This gives me reason to hope that, should the English organize any expedition they will fail.

But for the preservation of the Beautiful river, on which depends the security of all the posts of the Upper countries, 'tis indespensable that we fortify Fort Duquêne in such a manner as to enable it to sustain a siege. There is no doubt but the English will attempt it especially if we defer placing ourselves in a position to resist the forces they may organize. 'Tis less difficult than ever for them to penetrate so far with an army. General Bradock opened the road for them in 1755; he came within three leagues of Fort Duquéne, and fortunately for us, his vast projects aborted there. Fort Duquêne, in its present condition, could not offer any resistance to the enemy; 'tis too small to lodge the garrison necessary on such an occasion. A single shell would be sufficient to get it so on fire, too that 'twould be impossible to extinguish it because the houses are close. The garrison would then find itself under the painful necessity of abandoning that fort. Besides, 'tis so near the confluence of the Beautiful river with the Malangaillée, that it is always exposed to be entirely submerged by the overflowing of the rivers. M. de Ligneris is having such repairs done to that fort as it is susceptible of, regard being had to its bad situation; but that will not enable us to dispense with the erection of a new fort. I have incontrovertibly established the necessity thereof, in my letters of 1755 and 1756.

I feel less apprehension for Fort Duquêne and the other posts on the Beautiful river, this compaign, than for the future. I have this year fortunately surmounted the impossibility of victualing that post from this Colony, through my foresight in supplying any deficiency in a great measure, by having provisions sent from Detroit and also from the post of the Illinois; and had I neglected these two resources, even so little, that is to say, had I not issued and repeated, during the winter, the most urgent orders to the Commandants of those two posts, the Beautiful river would be at present wholly unprovided with provisions, and consequently all our forts abandoned.

The extreme scarcity we are suffering, only too severely, in the interior of the Colony, will not fail to make itself felt but too sensibly

on the Beautiful river. 'Tis absolutely impossible for me to remedy it, otherwise than by the orders I gave M. de Ligneris to send off a detachment of one hundred and fifty or two hundred men to the Illinois, and to disperse the garrison of the forts under his command. This winter, perhaps, will he be obliged even to reduce them to a very small number. I have already written several letters to the Commandants of Detroit and Illinois, to put themselves at that moment in a condition to transmit, at the opening of the navigation, for the victualing of the posts on the Beautiful river, the largest quantity of provisions of all descriptions that they could spare, by restricting the settlers to their mere subsistance. I have likewise issued orders to the Commandant of Fort Chartres, to forward to M. de Ligneris any reinforcements that officer will demand of him, in Militia and Indian Nations of the Illinois.

'Tis impossible for me, my Lord, to demonstrate more distinctly to what extremity the people are reduced, when a scarcity of provisions frequently prevails.

I am with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

M. DE VAUDREUIL TO M. DE MORAS.

MONTREAL, *13th July, 1757.*

MY LORD: In my letter of the 18th of April, I have had the honor to report to the Keeper of the Seals that the Delawares of Théoga, whom I had attracted to Niagara, had informed M. Pouchot that the English had nine forts around them, one of which contained a garrison of six hundred men; this exacted the more attention on my part, as an English prisoner had already made the same report to me.

As these forces are within reach of Presqu'ile and the River au bœuf, I gave orders to the Commandants of these two posts to have scouts constantly abroad in that quarter. I caused express recommendations to be given to all the Indians, and particularly to the Delawares, to inform the Commandant of the first post at which they might arrive, of the enemy's movements as soon as any should be preceptible.

M. de la Chauvignerie sent M. de St. Ours with six Canadians and fourteen Indians on a scout to the English fort containing a

garrison of six hundred men. This fort is on the upper part of the River Zinantchain and positively in the proximity of Fort Machault. Sieur de St. Ours took two scalps within sight of that fort, but he was unable to make any prisoners.

A party of fifteen Loups of the same village of Théoge, which is in the vicinity of the fort in question,[1] brought to M. Pouchot, at Niagara, a German prisoner belonging to Bathleem, in Pennsylvania, with five scalps.

Another party of the same tribe brought another prisoner.

I was informed that the English had caused five hundred bateaux to be constructed at Skamoken, on the River Canestio; that a Delaware had even seen them; that the English were still busy building other bateaux and were giving out that they would march ten thousand men to reduce all the forts on the Beautiful river.

I felt the necessity of assuring myself of the Loups of Chaamonaqué or Théoga. 'Twas no trifling matter, but by dint of having Belts secretly conveyed to them they sent me word that they would send their families to the neighborhood of Presqu'ile, to plant Indian corn, and that all the warriors would rendezvous at Théoga, to oppose the enemy's march.

I profited by every opportunity to send some Indians to that quarter. A Seneca told me that more than one hundred men had gone with the Loups to the River Canestio, to harass the English, who are very numerous about Skamoken, where they are really building bateaux; that he felt a pleasure in killing the English; that the river had only to be crossed and they were all found in a heap.

Cadet de Chevigny, accompanied by a single Indian, was on the banks of the River Polowmack, where they killed an Englishman and took a French renegade prisoner, whose head the Iroquois broke on the way, because he could not march; Sieur de Chevigny burned two houses which were abandoned; a small fort, also abandoned, and four barns full of wheat.

A party of seven Indians sent out by M. de la Chauvignerie returned with seven prisoners and three scalps, which they took in the direction of Pennsylvania. This party had ranged around Skamokin; but the English kept so strictly on their guard that our Indians could not find an opportunity to strike a blow; this obliged them to push farther into the interior of the country, to discover some settlements, having seen about forty houses abandoned.

It is to be presumed that the settlers had retired to Skamoken with their cattle, the Indians of the same party having assured that they had seen considerable movements in the neighborhood of the

[1] The fort in question is supposed to be Fort Augusta, now Sunbury, Pennsylvania. "Zinantchain" is *Schinanchen* on Pouchot's "Carte des Frontieres Francoises et Angloises," q. v., where it is located in about the same place as the above fort.

English fort, and that there was not a single person in the surrounding country.

Other parties, arrived at different intervals, having likewise assured that the settlements at a distance from the forts were deserted, and that all the small stockades which the English had erected last year, to cover their frontiers, were vacated.

I was informed of negotiations of the English to destroy mine with the Loups of Théoga; that many Indians of that nation had assisted at them, but on a message which I sent to their chiefs, the latter had departed with their warriors to go in search of those Indians, and had sent me word that in case they would not listen to them, they should be treated as real Englishmen. These Loups had been seduced by an English Interpreter who had made them considerable presents.

Some time after I learned that all was quiet among the Loups; that they had concluded their planting; that the chiefs who had been to Philadelphia, had returned and had engaged their young men to go to war against the English.

These Indians reported that a great chief had arrived at Philadelphia (this is doubtless General Lawdun); that he had held a great council there with the other chiefs of the country; when he was told that Colonel Johnson had caused his brethren of the Five Nations to be invited; that this great chief got into a considerable passion; that he had said that Colonel Johnson was wrong to call any one brother and ally; that the country of the Five Nations and that of the Beautiful river belonged to the King of England; that he knew the Five Nations and almost all the Indians sided with the French; but as soon as the grass was a little high, the Governor of Canada would be dead, and that he would march everywhere; that he was not afraid of the French; that though he should lose a great many men on account of the Indians, he would not give in; that he, too, had Indian friends whom he would bring with him.

The Loups have assured me that it was impossible for the English to come and attack Presqu'île, owing to the difficulty of ascending the river, where the English would expose themselves to be defeated by a handful of men, and that moreover it would be necessary that they should pass through their villages.

An Englishman told me he passed a hundred times in the river of Canestio to Skamoken; that it is of very trifling circumstance—about as wide as the Niagara river, but rather a torrent than a river; full of rapids, shoals and large boulders; that the most could be done would be to ascend the river in very small bateaux by towing; that the country is impassable and full of defiles.

The Iroquois informed me that there was one portage of six leagues between it and the River Canaouagon, or that above *La Paile Coupee;* on the other hand, an Englishman has told me that, to reach Fort

Machault, the English must make a land journey of seventeen leagues. I shall endeavor to ascertain precisely what I am to depend on.

I judge that the English fort in question is at least one hundred leagues from Fort Mackhault, and that it is situate on the frontiers of Pennsylvania.

I have a number of Indian parties, even of the Five Nations, on the way to attack that fort.

Although there is no appearance, according to the report of the Delawares and of our scouts, of an early movement on the part of the enemy, I have nevertheless given orders to M. de la Chauvignerie to cause to be completed the works necessary to put his fort in a state of defence.

I have not neglected anything to attract the Loups of Théoga, who are settled near Fort Skamoken, to me. I was of the opinion that I could not effect it, because they have never had the least association with the French, and have always been among the English; nevertheless, my negotiations have so far succeeded, that I have actually with me the Great Chief of that Nation, who is called the King, with a suite of his warriors. I have received him very well, and sent him home in such a manner that he and all his Nation were attaching themselves warmly to the French and waging war on the English. I have required of him to give me a proof of the sincerity of his promise. He forthwith dispatched some of his warriors to join the army I am sending against Fort Georges. The sight of that army, which is about nine thousand men, will not fail to impress those Loups with a high idea of the French power, and reanimate the confidence they are beginning to repose in us. The alliance I am entering into with these Indians will be very advantageous to us in every respect. They can extend their parties as far as New-York and in many other places where our Indians cannot conveniently go to strike.

I am, with most profound respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble and
Most obedient servant,
(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

M. DE MONTCALM TO M. DE PAULMY.

MONTREAL, *10th April, 1758.*

MY LORD:—The Marquis de Vaudreuil having sent a courier to Louisbourg in the last days of February with orders immediately to dispatch a vessel to France, I have profited by that opportunity to write you in date the nineteenth and twenty-third of February, I have the honor to send you the duplicates, as Captain de Boishebert of the Colonial troops is going in a few days, if the River St. Lawrence be open, for the River St. John, thence to proceed to Louisbourg with a party of six or seven Canadians, Acadians or Indians of Acadia. M. de Drucourt, Governor of Isle Royalle, will receive with great satisfaction the reinforcement which had been already sent him last summer. I should have wished that corps of troops had been ordered to move on the ice so as to reach its destination earlier.

We continue in the same condition; great scarcity of provisions, much suffering among the people, patience and good will among the soldiers who continue reduced to live scantily *(de cheval)* and to have only half a pound of bread; great impatience to receive the supplies of provisions which we are expecting from France, and an apprehension on my part that though they arrive in abundance, and the harvest be good, we shall suffer from scarcity next winter. I should write too much to render this paradox intelligible. Furnishing supplies for the public service by contract, is ordinarily better than by the government *(en regie)*, but both are subject to great abuse should those in office not be sufficiently clearsighted or disinterested. I have spoken sometimes of it, and even represented it in writing, with the wisdom and moderation necessary in the person who has only a subordinate authority, derived from a different department from that wherein he is made to serve and who would desire uninterrupted good.

Since my last despatch of the twenty-third of February, our parties continue to carry on a marauding war with success. Sieur Wolfs, formerly sergeant in Bentheim, and now a seconded officer, attached to the land forces, has been with some Abenakis, scattering terror nearly as far as Machasouset, a dependency of the Boston government, by burning divers settlements and killing all the cattle there; and Capt. D'hebecourt, of the regiment of La Reine, who commands at Carillon, having been informed, on the thirteenth of March, that the enemy had a detachment in the field, which was estimated by the trail to number about two hundred men, sent a like detachment of our domiciliated Indians, Iroquois and Nepissings, belonging to the Sault St. Louis and the Lake of the Two Mountains, who had arrived on the preceding evening, with some

thirty Canadians and several Cadets of the Colonial troops, under the command of Sieur de la Durantaye, of the same troops; Sieur de Langy, one of the officers of the Colony, who understands petty war the best of any man, joined the party with some of the Lieutenants of our battalions, who are detached at Carillon. The English detachment consisted of two hundred picked men, under the command of Major Roger, their most famous partizan, and twelve officers. He has been utterly defeated; our Indians would not give any quarter; they have brought back one hundred and forty-six scalps; they retained only three prisoners to furnish *live letters to their father*.

About four or five days after, two officers and five English surrendered themselves prisoners, because they were wandering in the woods, dying of hunger. I am fully persuaded that the small number who escaped the fury of the Indians, will perish of want, and not have returned to Fort Lydius. We have had two Colonial Cadets and one Canadian slightly wounded, but the Indians, who are not accustomed to lose, have had eight killed and seventeen wounded, two of whom are in danger of dying. The Marquis de Vaudreuil takes great care of the sick; has made presents in the name *of the Great Ononthio* (that is, the King), to the families of those who have been slain, and the dead on this occasion have been covered with great ceremony; the Indians are content and very anxious to avenge their loss. Lieutenant de Fouriet, of the la Sarre regiment, and Sieur d'Arenne, proposed to be employed in the regiment of Languedoc, have distinguished themselves on this occasion.

The live letters, or, to use a more correct expression, the prisoners, do not as yet furnish us anything decisive regarding the project of the English. I believe, however, that they will undertake an expedition against Isle Royalle. We have not had any news from the Upper Countries, viz', from Forts Du Quesne and Niagara, since the first days of January. They are making great efforts in that direction to detach the Nations from us. The Captain of the Colonial troops, commanding at Fort du Quesne, does not succeed, it seems to me, as well with our Indians as M. Dumas, his predecessor. Captain Pouchot, of the Bearn regiment, who has long commanded at Niagara, was accomplishing wonders among the Five Nations and Delawares. The Marquis de Vaudreuil admits it, and has frequently told me that he wished him still there. Why did he recall him? Why does he not send him back? Many officers, exempt from suspicion, have proposed to him to send Captain Pouchot back, as being one of the officers best qualified to manage the Indians. I hope, however, our good fortune will remedy all things. Continually occupied with the business entrusted to me, I shall omit no effort to assure its success in as much as in me lies, and I have to

congratulate myself on the manner Mess[rs] de Levis and de Bourlamaque second me, not only on all occasions demanding action, but also on those where it becomes necessary to infuse into the depositaries of the King's authority, those resolutions which appear to us the most proper for his service.

I am with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

CAPTAIN POUCHOT TO MARSHAL DE BELLE ISLE.

MONTREAL, *14 April, 1758.*

MY LORD: I have handed to the Marquis de Vaudreuil a map and Memoir on the subject of the French and English frontiers, which I have drawn up on the best informations I have been able to procure during my sojourn at Niagara. I had laid down, in my voyage, the course of the river from Montreal, Lake Ontario as far as Lake Erie; therefore it has an appearance of truth which correctly represents the country and is not contained in any other maps. As I have not been on the English frontier, I laid that down according to their best maps, which I again corrected on such reliable information as I have obtained. It is in sufficient detail, however, to show the interest we ought to take to prevent the English interposing obstacles in the way of the Iroquois and Loups who form a barrier. That country, my Lord, would be well worth being seen by experienced eyes, which has not as yet been the case: the well known Carrying place of Niagara is an evident proof. The most recent accounts thereof describe it as the most rugged Alps, whilst 'tis only a rise of ground *(rideau)* a little more elevated than that of Bellevue; below and above are very fine plains, as can be seen on my map.

The detail of Lake Erie, which is entirely unknown; it is, perhaps, [as] navigable for large vessels as Lake Ontario. The resources of those countries, once known, would furnish opportunities of avoiding long routes and expenses, exclusive of enabling us to occupy more decided points for the security of the country.

If you have the goodness, my Lord, to signify to me that this essay might please you, I shall set about perfecting that work in order to accomplish all the objects which will possibly be required of it.

I hope, by my zeal, to deserve the kindness you have promised to honor me with, my Lord, on the recommendation of Mde de Meil-

lian. Since our arrival in this country I have had the good fortune to be always pretty usefully employed. I constructed the Frontenac intrenchments, completed Fort Niagara and the siege of Chouaguen. I dare hope, my Lord, that you will be graciously pleased to give attention to the good reports of me which our Generals are so good as to render.

I am, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

POUCHOT,

Cap^n^ in the Bearn regiment.

Permit me to annex hereunto some Observations adapted to the position of the affairs of this country.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE FRONTIERS OF CANADA.

Acadia being, so to speak, a separate portion of the main-land, events may decide its limits or its recovery in toto.

The English must have little inclination to settle the districts North of their Colonies only so far as they are convenient to the sea. They would not settle in the interior of those countries, which are mountainous, cold, consequently of little value unless they could thereby excite our jealousy, which they will not fail doing as much as they will be able; morover, there are very few Indians in those parts with whom to trade.

The English, once masters of the heights of land, and with posts on Lake St. Sacrament, are in a position to excite continual alarms in the Colony, by being conveniently situated to repair thither in force. But they will attempt to establish in that quarter only posts of war, the country not being fit for cultivation.

The Provinces in their rear, belonging to the Five Nations and Delawares, are very populous.

The outlets they possess by the River des Armes and the Canestio will tempt them always to come and settle on the South shore of Lake Ontario; the country being very fine and fit for cultivation they will make large settlements in it.

Placing the Five Nations and Delawares in their rear, they would be masters of them and would attract the other Nations by their commerce.

We should soon be driven from our isolated posts.

The outlets of the English on the Beautiful river furnish nearly the same reasons. 'Tis only to be observed that fewer Indians are among them than among us, and that their road is long and difficult, but they would compensate themselves in return by profitable settlements.

The lower parts are not so dangerously menaced at present; being at a great distance from their settlements, the English can throw only war posts in advance there. We have equal advantage to dislodge them, either from Canada or from Louisiana.

M. DE MONTCALM TO MARSHAL DE BELLEISLE.

MONTREAL, *18th April, 1758.*

MY LORD: I have the honor to address you a Bulletin of the most remarkable occurrences in our continent since the sailing of the last ships. The operations of our campaign are dependent on too many circumstances to admit of any prognostications on that point. The prompt arrival of the provisions required from France is the most interesting to us. If the soldier received horse flesh at Prague, he at least always had a pound and a half of bread; he has learned to live here on half a pound, and bore with it the more patiently, knowing that his superiors, who indeed, for money, have never wanted for any food except bread, were reduced to a quarter of a pound per day.

Were nothing else required than to be continually occupied with the business entrusted to me, to enforce its success, I would dare answer for it, my Lord. I am even well seconded by Messrs de Levis and de Bourlamaque, either in executing it or in determining the decisions to be adopted by the depositories of the King's authority. Mine is merely subordinate, and I possess only the means of representation, adding thereto a little more or a little less address to prevail on my superior to appreciate what I consider useful for the service, and what knowledge I possess, having had the advantage of serving under your orders. My Lord, the greatest attention is required in this Colony to maintain the Indians in the favorable dispositions our success have placed them in. The English leave nothing undone to detach them from us. The Governor of Philadelphia has recently showered on the deputies of the Five Nations, Delawares and Chasanons, carresses, presents, belts and medals; one of the deputies immediately came to inform us thereof, to bring us and to trample under foot the medal he had accepted from the English. Let us prevent them making any progress on us; let us

continue to devastate them by our parties; let us not undertake any vast operation, except with prudence and great appearance of success. 'Tis after a check, or what would even only bear some resemblance thereto, that the English would be more eloquent in distributing belts and presents among people naturally giddy and inconsistant.

Retain for me and my son your benevolence. Let Count de Gisors be so good as not to forget one of his servants who interests himself particularly in his glory, and sees with satisfaction that worthy son treading in the footsteps of his father. This is all I ask of the one and the other, and to be persuaded of the respect with which I am,

My Lord,

Your most humble and
Most obedient servant,
MONTCALM.

Bulletin of the Most important Operations during the winter of 1757-8.

MONTREAL, *18th April, 1758.*

Although the rigor of the season and the scarcity of provisions, caused by a bad harvest, have forced us to economise, in order to save wherewith to enable us to wait for the supplies expected from France and more abundant crops, and to oppose any attempts of the enemy, should he wish to operate early, we have harassed him all winter by numerous parties which have succeeded each other continually.

M. de Beletre, Captain of the Colonial troops, burnt in the month of November, 17 leagues from Corlac, a village which was very wealthy in consequence of its trade with the Five Nations; those who escaped the fury of our Indians have been brought, women and children, prisoners, to the number of 150. Several parties of our Indians and also of the Five Nations have been to strike a blow towards the same Corlac, and to burn divers settlements.

M. de Langry, an officer of the Colonial troops, surprised, in the month of February, a detachment of 50 men in the neighborhood of Lydius. M. Wolff, a Lieutenant of the troops from France, has been with the Abenakis to burn some settlements near Massachasouet.

The English have had all winter the design to surprise and bombard Carillon, and have made their appearance before it several times. Captain d'hebencourt, of the regiment of La Reine, who has been appointed, after the campaign, Commandant of that post, and the garrison have been very alert, and the incursions of the English have always been bootless. Sieur d'hebencourt being in-

formed that they had a party of 200 men in the field, profited on the 13th of March, by the fortunate arrival, on the preceding evening, of 200 Iroquois or Nepissings from Sault St. Louis and the Lake of the Two Mountains, with Sieur Durantaye and several Colonial Cadets, who were joined by Sieur de Langry, a very intelligent officer, some Lieutenants and sergeants of our battalions, whom zeal alone had induced to march thither. The English detachment, composed of picked men and of 12 officers, under the command of Major Roger, their best partizan, has been totally defeated. The Indians have brought back 146 scalps; few prisoners—merely some to furnish *their father with live letters*—an expression used by the Indians to designate prisoners. The remainder will have perished of want in the woods. A few, including two officers of Bleknis' regiment, voluntarily surrendered themselves prisoners at our fort at Carillon, at the end of five days, their guide having died the night before. We have lost in that action 8 Indians, and have had 17 wounded; also two Cadets of the Colony and one Canadian. The dead have been covered with great ceremony; presents have been made to the families in the name of the King (the Great Ononthio). The Governor-General will reward the bravery of our Iroquois by a promotion and presentation of some gorgets and medals to those who have distinguished themselves; they will be thereby more encouraged to revenge the loss they have suffered.

We have at present eight small parties in the field. We shall doubtless learn from the prisoners they will take, what are the enemy's movements, which will determine the others in the forepart of May. We cannot doubt that the English, who received some reinforcements this fall, have in North America, with their Highlanders, 23 battalions from Old England, very complete; our forces are greatly inferior to theirs. The courage of our troops and of the Canadians, the assistance of our Indians will make up for numbers.

M. de Boishebert, a Captain of the Colonials, is about setting out with six or seven hundred Acadians, Canadians or Indians, for the River St. John, thence to proceed to Louisbourg, which the English always seem to menace. We are expecting news from the Beautiful river, where the English leave no stone unturned to detach from our alliance the Delawares *(Loups)* and Chaouoinons, Indians who are desolating Virginia and Pennsylvania.

M. DE MONTCALM TO M. DE PAULMY.

MONTREAL, *18th April, 1758.*

MY LORD: I have had the honor to write you by way of Isle Royalle on the nineteenth and twenty-third February, and tenth of this month. The Marquis de Vaudreuil is dispatching a small vessel to France, by which opportunity I have the honor to address you triplicates of my former letters and duplicates of the last. Their contents will inform you of everything relating to this Colony up to this date.

Since the tenth of April, the date of my last despatch, duplicate whereof is hereunto annexed, we have had some news from Niagara and are in constant expectation of intelligence from the Beautiful river. I notice great efforts on the part of the English to detach some of the Indian Nations from our alliance. I was not without some uneasiness on that head. The Governor of Philadelphia has held a large meeting at which he lavished caresses, belts of wampum, presents, medals and gorgets, exaggerated our want of provision and merchandize. One of the Deputies of the Five Nations who attended that meeting immediately came to inform us of it, and to bring us his medal and gorget. Sieur Chabert, an officer and Interpreter, has been sent to the Five Nations and Delawares with considerable goods, armorers and smiths, whom the King is to maintain in their villages in order to provide for their wants. The negotiations of this officer, who has been brought up among the Indians and adopted by the Five Nations, will it is to be hoped, retain them, and that our good fortune will prevail over the constant and well directed efforts of the English.

M. de Levis transmits to you, my Lord, a very large and very handsome map. The Lake St. Sacrament part ought to be tolerably exact; and so ought the vicinity of Choueguen and Corlar, though he has not been in those parts, his work in this particular is the result of information carefully collected from several Colonial officers and intelligent Indians who have been there and of conversations with recent English prisoners, as to what relates to Lake Erie and the Beautiful river that part can hardly be more exact in ordinary maps. Captain de Pouchot of the Bearn Regiment, has drawn another in which the environs of Niagara, the country of the Five Nations and of the *Loups* will possibly be laid down with still greater exactitude than in that of Chevalier de Levis. I ought to send it to you from him, but defer doing so until the last ship, because if the map which Chevalier de Levis sends you should happen to be intercepted, that of Sieur Pouchot would serve as a duplicate.

I do not send you any return of the actual condition of our bat-

talions. The loss they have incurred this winter has not been considerable. Discipline is becoming relaxed in spite of my care and severity. The recruits arrived last year are a collection of bad boys. The soldier to be subsisted under actual circumstances, must necessarily be dispersed among the farmers. There he lives in quasi independence, out of sight of officer or sergeant. The Canadian settlements are not contiguous like the houses in the villages of France; they are at a great distance, one from the other. I have had sixteen soldiers belonging to our battalions tried this winter either by the ordinary tribunals or by court martial. Three of them have been shot for desertion, two condemned to the galleys for mutiny against their sergeants; the rest for theft. The Colonial troops have not furnished fewer painful, but necessary examples.

Our troops live in the greatest concord with the Canadians and Indians. Our officers conduct themselves with politeness towards the one and the other, and if there have been any trifling complaints against young officers, I have followed the maxims of our Generals, when we were serving with the Spaniards. The slightest appearance of wrong on the part of the officers is immediately punished with great severity. Our soldiers appear to relish the sojourn in this Colony. Many marriages continue to be contracted; several have taken up lands to clear, without marrying, and without being discharged from military service. I freely facilitated all the arrangements which the political interest of the Colony exacts. We cannot leave here too many soldiers of our battalions; we would carry them back bad for Europe, and shall leave them very good for America.

Thanks to the difficulties I have opposed thereto, we have had but two officers married, Captain de Bellau, in the Guyenne regiment, who has married a daughter of M. de Ramzay, town Major of Quebec, a young lady of condition who will have property, and Lieutenant de la Miltière, of the regiment of Languedoc. He is a young officer who has no property in France; is well liked by the Indians whom he often accompanies on an expedition, and has easily learned the Iroquois. The Marquis de Vaudreuil proposes to transfer him, some day, with his rank, to the Colonial troops.

Captain Depuy, serving with *(exploitant)* one of the companies of the Languedoc regiment which are prisoners, died this winter.

I send back to France Lieutenant de Godonecke, of the regiment of Berry, whom I retain in prison since the month of December. He is, without doubt, a bad boy of whom his parents wished to be forever rid by sending him to the Indies.

Sieur de Clairville, who arrived last year to be Lieutenant in the regiment of La Reine, will also go back at the opening of the navigation. He had lost an arm in a glorious manner in a sea fight As he is a man of condition, who returns only because he could not

serve in this Colony with the loss of one arm, I have given him a letter, my Lord, for you, in which I beg you to grant him his retreat to the Invalids. As he is young and well able to serve, I shall be much obliged to you to be pleased afterwards to detach him in order to serve *(exploiter)* with a company of Invalids. This officer came to America through an ill-directed zeal. Here, more than anywhere else, it is necessary to be well supplied with all one's members to serve as a soldier.

I shall have the honor to propose to you, at the close of the campaign, the names of persons to fill these vacancies.

Will you permit me, my Lord, to inquire whether the experiments have succeeded which were to be tried with the alimentary powder. If not attended by any inconvenience, why not send some of it here. In winter expeditions we could make use of it occasionally for the Canadians and soldiers; for every novelty is difficult of introduction among Indians, who are a superstitious race. Should any misfortune happen to them, they would say 'tis a *Medicine* they are getting; a term in their language equivalent to *charm* in ours.

A number of the Upper country Indians, who came last year to the expedition against the Fort William Henry, died of the smallpox on their way home. The English had it. This is a real loss to us and will cost the King considerable in consequence of the expenses it will occasion at the posts to treat them, cover the dead and console the widows. Foutunately, they have always declared, in the different Councils held at Michillimakina, Detroit, &c., that the English had thrown *that Medicine* on the Indians, which they might have turned aside had they been willing to believe the French General and not plunder the baggage of the English.

I am, with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

M. DE VAUDREUIL TO M. DE MORAS.

MONTREAL, *21st April, 1758.*

MY LORD: I spare no pains to break up the negotiation of the English with the Indian Nations that are attached to us. Those of the Five Iroquois Nations whom I have intrusted to give me information of their proceedings, have reported to M. de Noyan, Commandant at Frontenac, Colonel Johnson's message to the said Five Nations, as follows:

"Brothers. You must not expect peace as yet; the King of Eng-"land wishes to make proposals therefor to the King of France; "but all the English Lords are opposed to it, saying, Now we have "discovered the passage of the vessels which are carrying succors "from France to Canada; we have captured many of them this "year, among others, those which were carrying the despatches of "the General of the Court of France; that is surest means of reduc-"ing Canada."

To prove to the Indians the truth of these advances, Johnson opened a large store to them, where they, indeed, saw nothing but French goods; he proved still more conclusively to them the reality of the fact, by a number of barrels of Cogniac Brandy which he gave them. He also said to them:

"The General of Canada supposed that he did me serious damage, "in taking and pillaging the Palatines and burning their village; "killing them and taking them prisoners matters very little to me. "The loss we have experienced at Isle Royall affects me more, "although we captured three ships which were carrying despatches "from your Father to the Court of France. I admit that this does "not indemnify us, but we shall blockade the passage so closely this "spring that not a single French ship will escape us. I am making "arrangements for going to see you all at an early day, with thirty "horse loads of goods, for I know you are in great necessity, your "Father being unable to relieve you."

Two young Onondagas who are much attached to me, hearing these words, resolved secretly to go and meet Johnson to make him return; they overtook him, and at once accosted him, saying, "Where are you going, brother ?" "I am going," answered Johnson, "with these loads of provisions and goods to visit all your vil-"lages." "'Tis well; but our gratitude requires of us to forewarn "you, that possibly you will fall into the hands of Onouthio, who is "coming with a numerous army on your road." "Though that be," replied Johnson, "what care I ?" My two faithful Onondagas then said to him, "Brother, you must needs be desirous of dying, "or else you do not believe us; once more, return back quick, for "we assure you that our Father's scouts were on the River *a la* "*Grosse ecorce* when we left our village expressly to warn you." Johnson, however cunning he be, was less so than these two Indians; he made them presents and abandoned some kegs of Brandy, which they drank with other Indians who joined them, whilst Johnson was returning home.

* * * * * * * * *

I am, with most profound respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble and Most obedient servant,
VAUDREUIL.

NEWS FROM THE BEAUTIFUL RIVER.

2nd June, 1758.

Intelligence has been received that everything is going on well around the Beautiful river; that post has had abundance of provisions from Illinois; that our Canadians and Indians are doing wonders there; that they have killed and taken prisoners several English people. A party of Canadians and Indians burnt a house or small fort in those parts. The details of several small adventures which took place there are unknown at this present time.

We have no additional reliable news from the bay and Missilimakinac.

This is a trifling increase of news, my Lord, the ship having been delayed in order to send it, I have unsealed my letter to annex it.

My health is so poor; for a month past, that I can scarcely write. Pardon me, my Lord, if I employ a strange hand.

FROM A LETTER OF M. DOREIL TO M. DE CREMILLE.

QUEBEC, *28th July, 1758.*

I had the honor to communicate to you, in my short despatch of the 22nd June, the intelligence that the Marquis de Montcalm had just then put me in possession of, as to the proposed projects of the enemy to march in force to the Oyo river and to attack Fort Duquesne. In fact, everything was to be apprehended and little to be hoped. We were too bare in that quarter, and the fort is not capable of a good defense. By the avowal of M. Dumas, who has been in command there, it is fit only to dishonor the officer who would be intrusted with its defence. Five hundred men have been sent thither, and the intelligence we have received about it, joined to the event which has just happened at Lake St. Sacrament, convinces us that the enemy sought, by his proceeding, only to excite our jealousy for that quarter in the same way that he had won over some deputies of the Five Iroquois Nations, in order to engage the Marquis de Vaudreuil to send to their country a detachment of 2 or 3000 men, so as to divide our forces, whilst the enemy would be marching with all his might to surprise the Marquis de Montcalm, on the frontier of Lake St. Sacrament, where he had only about 3,700 men, almost all regiments of the Line.

One of our soldiers who deserted to the English assured them that Chevalier de Levy was going to Corlac with 2,000 men, which

made them resolve on sending 7 @. 8,000 men thither; if they go there, they will be grossly deceived, as they will not find any one.

You must be already informed, my Lord, that the English presented themselves at the latter end of May before Louisbourg, in the design of besieging it, with 24 ships of war, 11 frigates, three fire-ships, one bomb-ketch and 130 transports, and that they had effected a landing on the 8th of June in the Bay of Gabarus, to the number of 12 @. 14,000 men, when we were driven back and repulsed to the very walls of the place, and their [force landed] at Point Blanche, situate west of the above bay.

I am not sufficiently well informed, my Lord, to furnish you an exact detail of what occurred at these landings, but the captain of a small craft, arrived here on the 9th of this month from Port Dauphin, has reported that the English had fought the *islot*, which is at the mouth of the port, during 26 days, without any success, whilst we lost only one man, and that they had abandoned that enterprise; that we have had sunk in the channel of Louisbourg three frigates and one ship from St. Malo to obstruct their passage; that that manœuvre had created considerable misunderstanding between the Military and Naval commanders; that no trench had been opened and that they were not further advanced than the day they landed.

We learn this moment that the English have still 10,000 men in the intrenchments which they have thrown up at old Fort George and at Lydius, but we are assured that they will not make any new demonstrations against our forts this year.

The people of this Continent demand peace; they declare openly that they cannot stand against us. All their Militia are beginning to disband.

M. Albert Combey, who was reported to have died of vexation, is wonderfully well.

I am with the most profound respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble and
Most obedient servant,
DAINE.

17th August, 1758. A courier has just arrived this moment, my Lord, from Carillon with intelligence that a detachment of 400 men, consisting of Canadians, Colonials and Indians, commanded by M. de la Corne St. Luc, attacked on the Lydius road, the 30th July last, at one o'clock in the afternoon, a convoy of about 150 men who were conducting 54 wagons loaded with provisions, which they captured and destroyed, not being able to save them; they killed 230 oxen and took 80 scalps and 64 prisoners—men, women and children. We lost only one Iroquois; two others have been slightly wounded.

FORM OF A LETTER OF M. DORIEL TO MARSHALL DE BELLE ISLE.

QUEBEC, *31st August, 1758.*

Louisbourg was taken the 27th of July; a pilot who had made his escape from that place, brought us this bad news three days ago, without any particulars. We only know that our men-of-war have been burnt, except *le Bienfesant;* that the officers, soldiers and crews are prisoners of war; also that the garrison was reduced, according to the report of this pilot, to 1,500 men, after the most gallant resistance. Nothing, my Lord, prevents the General of the Louisbourg army detaching in the latter end of July a considerable corps to reinforce General Abbercrombie, and the latter making a combined movement to fight the Marquis de Montcalm's little army, cut off all his communication, and again advance before the 15th of October into the interior of the Colony and even near Montreal, where assuredly there would be no means to stop him. The English are perhaps at this very moment masters of Fort Duquesne and the whole of the Beautiful river. At least they will be so in a short time, as a force of twelve thousand men with two pieces of cannon and two mortars must have arrived there. Six thousand have marched by General Bradok's road, and six thousand by another shorter and easier communication in the direction of the River aux bœufs; another body of six thousand men, under Colonel Johnson's orders, is actually on Lake Ontario, to rebuild Chouaguen and seize Fort Frontenac, where we have a garrison of only 50 men. It is idle to flatter ourslves any longer, my Lord; Canada is lost if peace be not made this winter. The English have at this moment over sixty thousand Regulars or Provincials in America; we have not five thousand to oppose them, including land and Marine troops, near one thousand of whom are dispersed in different posts and garrisons. We have never seen more than two thousand Canadians together; the remainder have been always employed either in the posts of the Upper country or in transportation, or in practices equally detrimental to the King's interests and the good of his service. The fall of Isle Royale increases the enemy's means, already too powerful, of closing the mouth of the River St. Lawrence and preventing the arrival of all succors from Europe, and, without coming by sea to Quebec, perhaps rendering himself next year, by the Upper route, master of the entire country. The capture of Fort Duquesne and the neighboring posts, that of Fort Frontenac, at the mouth of Lake Ontario, where the whole of our navy lies, of the lakes, Chouaguen and Fort William Henry, assure, from this moment, the conquest to him the more readily, as he can, when he pleases, increase still further his considerable forces. The

English Colonies are able to furnish, independent of the troops, more than two hundred thousand men, and by calling out the ban and arrière ban of Canada, ten thousand would not be mustered capable of bearing arms, which, joined to the Regular troops with us, would form a total of 14 @ 15,000 men. And, in order to be able to employ them in the field, we must abandon all sort of work, keeping posts for the peltry trade, the cultivation of the soil; consequently renounce the harvests, the sole resource against perishing of hunger.

P. S. 1st September. News from Montreal of the 29th informs us that the English force which proceded to Lake Ontario with cannon, rendezvoused at the Bay of Bombeaouare and sent a vanguard of 2,700 men against Frontenac, a miserable *bicoque*, having a garrison of only 50 men. It is our entrepôt of provisions and goods for all the Upper country posts, which constitute the entire resource of Canada; it is the key of Lake Ontario, the port which holds all our navy, consisting, in part, of the vessels taken at Chouaguen, by M. de Montcalm, two years ago. The enemy is, no doubt, master of it at present, whilst another force is proceeding, perhaps, against Niagara, a very important post which has been skilfully fortified by a Captain belonging to the battalion of La Reine, but equally bare with the other. All the Upper country posts, of which Fort Duquesne forms a part, fall of themselves. We have more than two thousand men scattered among them, and that accelerates the total ruin of Canada. All the Canadians who were beginning their harvest, are put in motion to proceed to that quarter, but they will, certainly, arrive too late; the harvest will suffer, and the Mis de Montcalm who, since the fall of Louisbourg, is menaced by the strong army in his front, will not be reinforced. What would it be, were he beaten and cut off? 'Tis impossible, reasonably, to conceal the fact, that everything is to be feared, and very little to be hoped. M. de Vaudreuil has remained in too great security in regard to the important post of Frontenac, and he is the dupe of the over confidence he has placed in the Indians, whose services he needs, but they must always be treated with caution and distrust. More foresight, activity and vigilance are, besides, necessary, when one has to do with a powerful enemy who is always superior in forces and means. I tremble with fear that we have not had the precaution nor time to burn the sloops and bateaux which we had at Frontenac, and that the enemy will profit by them to cut us off, absolutely, from all access to Lake Ontario, whereby all our people beyond it will be made prisoners. It is no less to be feared, that the Indians, who usually side with the strongest or most fortunate, will all abandon us to range themselves alongside the English.

DOREIL.

3rd September. My fears are too well founded, my Lord; the enemy is master of the post of Frontenac or Cataracouy since the 27th of August. No precaution was taken with our navy. The English, more careful than we, have burnt it, with the exception of two 20 gun brigs, which they have preserved, the more effectually to exclude us from Lake Ontario. The provisions and merchandize destined for supplying all our posts in the Upper Countries, to which Frontenac, bad as it was, served as an entrepôt, are lost, and what is still more vexations, is the loss of a considerable artillery. This principally consisted of the cannon taken from the enemy at Bradok's affair in 1755, and at that of Chouaguen in 1756; there were at least 80 pieces of cannon there. Everything is now to be feared for Fort Niagara which, indeed, is good, but as bare as Frontenac. And what must be a greater source of uneasiness, is the frontier of Lake St. Sacrament, where M. de Montcalm is menaced by as considerable a force as the first, whilst he has so weak an army. It is easy to see, my Lord, from the different movements of the enemy, that if the General had not arrested and beaten them on the 8th of July, almost the whole of Canada would be at present in the power of the English. I forgot another unfortunate circumstance, and what I have equally foreseen. The Indians have attacked us; they seized, on Lake Ontario, three canoes on the way down loaded with peltries and have murdered the hands. A melancholy precursor of what we have to fear from them. Peace! Peace! My Lord, pardon me, I cannot to often repeat these words.

DOREIL.

M. DAINE TO MARSHAL DE BELLE ISLE.

QUEBEC, *17th October, 1758.*

MY LORD: On the 24th of last month we received news from Fort Duquesne. M. de Lignery, who commands there, informs the Marquis de Vaudreuil of his situation and observes to him that he is able to resist the enemy's efforts, should he be attacked, although he has learned from deserters, that the English were encamped at Fort Cumberland in pretty considerable numbers; but he is afraid of being in want of provisions. In consequence of this news, our Intendant is taking measures to have some conveyed thither.

We have been cramped in the direction of Lake Ontario by the unfortunate affair of Frontenac, whereof I had the honor to inform you, my Lord; the English have since abandoned that post, having set it on fire and reduced to ashes the provisions, merchandise and ammunition for supplying the posts and Fort Niagara.

M. DAINE TO MARSHAL DE BELLE ISLE.

QUEBEC, *3d November, 1758.*

MY LORD: We learn by a courier sent from the Beautiful river to the Marquis de Vaudreuil that the vanguard of the English, consisting of 1,000 of their best troops, destined for the attack on Fort Duquesne, would have suprised M. de Lignery, Commandant of that fort, that detachment having taken an unexpected route, had not some Englishmen in advance made a noise and set fire to a barn at a distance. The sentries, having heard that noise and seen the fire, awoke our men, who were asleep, crying out "*Aux Armes!*" In a moment they proceeded against the enemy and pressed them so vigorously, that the action lasted scarcely half an hour. The English, having taken to their heels, were pursued during 2 hours; the English lost at least 6 @. 700 men; 400 have remained on the field of battle; the remainder have been massacred by our Indians, who have brought off a great many scalps, which makes it to be presumed that very few escaped.

We have taken prisoners, the Commandant, 4 officers and 100 soldiers, and have lost only 8 men and 8 wounded, who fortunately, have not fallen into their hands.

It had been previously asserted that the English had brought to Gaspé some frame houses ready to be put up, and were forming a considerable settlement there, but we have learned since from farmers who have arrived here in a boat on the 26th of last month, that they have abandoned that project, and contented themselves with burning all the settlements and ships which were found there, and taking the settlers and fishermen prisoners.

I have had the honor to inform you in one of my preceding letters, that the English had taken possession of the Island of St. John. I was in error, 'twas the River St. John I heard mentioned. They have built a fort there; this fact is asseverated.

We learn by another courier from Fort Duquesne that the English to the number of 6000 were again marching against that fort and were within three leagues of it; as it is not probable that the Commandant can resist such a superior force, I believe it is the part of prudence to burn that fort, and abandon it if he wishes to avoid falling into their hands. These, 'tis said, are the orders which M. de Vaudreuil has given in case that Commandant will not be able to act otherwise.

Mr Wolf, a partizan officer, who had been deputed to go and carry the General's letters to M. Albertcromby, reports that the latter has retired with his troops into winter quarters after having had all the barges conveyed to fort Lydius and the intrenchments thrown

down. 'Tis also reported that they have scuttled their sloops and galleys.

An English deserter who has been examined, deposes that 13 thousand Regulars are still to come from Old to New England, and that the English, disappointed at the small success they have had up to the present time, were determined to organize a considerable fleet to come and besiege Quebec at the opening of the next spring, the rather as the reduction of Forts St. Frederic and Carillon could not lead to any result.

I believe, my Lord, that this deserter has wished to put us on a wrong scent and thereby induce us to divide our forces, for I cannot pursuade myself that that nation, how enterprising soever it may be, dare attempt such an adventure, on account of the risk to be incurred in the River St. Lawrence, as I have already had the honor to remark to you.

The same deserter adds that the Boston newspapers announce three battles won by the King of Prussia over the Austrian army, but that finding himself afterwards in a position by no means favorable to his plans, he had requested a suspension of hostilities, which had been granted him, but as the Austrian General perceived that the Prince had no other object than to take up a better position, he had attacked the Prussian army with so much vigor that he had routed them with considerable loss, and that the King of Prussia had lost his baggage in that great battle and had been also wounded.

We learn the moment I finish this despatch, that only 800 men are remaining at old Fort George, and 1,500 at Lydius, and that the five battalions of Regulars, who were there, have gone into winter quarters in the neighborhood of Orange, Corlac, New-York and Virginia, towards the Beautiful river.

I am, with the most profound respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble and
Most obedient servant,
DAINE.

M. DE BOUGAINVILLE TO M. DE CREMILLE.

QUEBEC, *8th November, 1758.*

SIR: When I left Carillon on the 21st October, the date of the Marquis de Montcalm's last despatches, he gave it in charge to me, as the distance of places did not permit him to write you again, to give you an account of the latest occurrences in this Colony, up to even the moment when the vessels would be ready to set sail.

A detachment of 800 English, partly Regulars, partly Militia, had marched very secretly from Pennsylvania to within a quarter of a league of Fort du Quesne, by a very different road from General Braddock's. Their object was to attack, in the night, the Indians encamped around the fort, guiding themselves by the fires the latter are accustomed to have in front of each of their huts. But these fires being extinguished, and the night already advanced when the English arrived, they could not executed that attack; they posted themselves at day-break on a mountain near Fort Duquesne, and made arrangements to facilitate its reconnoisance by an Engineer whom they had brought along.

But the troops of the Marine and the Canadians, to the number of 7 (@ 800 men, did not give them time. They pounced suddenly and from all sides on the English, and immediately threw them into disorder. Our Indians, who at first had crossed the river, fearing to be surprised, then returned and also charged right vigorously. It was nothing but a route on the part of the enemy. 500 of them have been killed or taken, and almost all the officers. On our side, only eight men have been killed or wounded.

This fortunate adventure has, however, produced an unfortunate and inevitable effect; the Indians, immediately on returning from the pursuit, have quitted Fort Duquesne, to return to their villages. It was found impossible to retain them; yet, the Beautiful river is almost certain of being attacked. An army of 6 @ 7,000 men, under the orders of Brigadier-General Forbes, was to assemble at the close of September to move and operate against Fort Duquesne on the 15th @ 20th October. The English have even built a chain of posts from Pennsylvania to the Ohio, to secure their communication and to spend the winter in them, in case their expedition should not succeed. Its success is more than probable.

Colonel Broadstreet's detachment, which had taken Frontenac and our sloops, retired, after having burnt the latter, to old Fort Bull, and occupied themselves only with reconstructing it solidly. The detachment we had sent under the command of Messrs Duplessis and Contrecœur, to reoccupy Frontenac, fell back, we know not why, on La Présentation. Nevertheless, this manœuvre, made by chance, is said to have been from choice, for the season was too far advanced to restore Frontenac, and the sloops destined to secure us the position of Lake Ontario, will be built at La Présentation more easily and at less expense.

The Onondagas have sent an embassy to Montreal. The ambassadors, according to the custom of the Five Nations of which the Onondagas are members, have said a great deal, but nothing clear and positive, and have gone back loaded with presents and after drinking a great deal.

The English fleet which had been to take Gaspé and would, it was

feared, make a settlement there, retired and quitted the river in the middle of October, after having destroyed the settlements, carried off the inhabitants, also burned the Mission of Mount Louis, and made an attempt on Miramichy. Father Germain, Missionary of Acadia, is to return here with 80 Indian families. 'Tis supposed that he will settle at Mount Louis.

General Abercromby abandoned, in the last days of October, his position at the head of Lake St. Sacrament. He retired after having burnt the intrenchments, barracks and storehouses which he had had erected there, and which led us to believe that his design was either to attack us again at the end of the fall, or to occupy that position with considerable force all winter; on the report of a deserter and the probability of that report, that the English had buried artillery, shells and shot, and sunk, in the lake, some barges and a sloop of twelve guns they had there, the Marquis de Montcalm has sent a strong detachment with some people of experience, to examine into that circumstance, and obtain any portion possible of those articles.

This retreat of the enemy has left us at liberty to go into winter quarters also. The battalions of La Reine and Berry, which are to be quartered in the government of Quebec, have left Carillon on the 1st, 2nd and 3d November; Languedoc which winters in the district of Three Rivers, marched on the 4th; La Sarre, Boyal Rousillon, Guyenne and Bearn, destined for the district of Montreal, were to clear out in succession, and the Marquis de Montcalm to compose the rear guard of the entire army.

As Messrs de Vaudreuil and Montcalm report to you my voyage and the motives which have determined me to make it, I confine myself to requesting you, Sir, that a voyage so difficult, taken by order of my superiors, and for the good of the service, may not, in case I be taken, be any impediment or obstacle to my promotion.

I am, with respect, Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DE BOUGAINVILLE.

M. DE MONTCALM TO MARSHAL DE BELLE ISLE.

MONTREAL, *15th November, 1758.*

MY LORD: The three vessels sailed on the twelfth which carry my despatches and a letter written you, on my part, by M. de Bougainville, supplementary to my last of the twenty-first of October.

M. Doreil, Commissaire ordonnateur, embarked in the King's fly-boat *l'Outarde* and M. de Bougainville in *La Victoire*. Letters from Quebec inform me that there is still a fourth little vessel to sail, and I hasten, my Lord to write to you to inform you of the return of our troops to their quarters. Whatever diligence I used, although I anticipated my orders for their departure, which was much sooner than in 1755 and 1756, a too early frost, unexampled within the last fifty years, has occasioned much suffering among the troops and to myself much apprehension and embarrasment.

Chevalier de Levis, who was a passenger with me, has personally incurred some danger. We experienced, on Lake Champlain, a real tempest which scattered our fleet of batteaux like those of Saint Cloud, and the ice made us shudder on entering the rivers. But, luckily, we are quit for some slight loss of bateaux and baggage, and of only four soldiers. I write you about it only for fear some private letters should create alarm respecting that event.

We have just received news from Fort Duquesne of the twenty-third of October. Captain Aubry, of the Louisiana troops, has gained a tolerably considerable advantage there on the 15th. The enemy lost on the occasion a hundred and fifty men, killed, wounded and missing; they were pursued as far as a new fort called Royal hannon, which they built at the head of the River d'Attiqué. We had only two men killed and seven wounded. Although the Indians have retired to hunt and the Louisiana detachments, which came from the post of the Illinois as well as those of Detroit, have returned home, I think that Fort Duquesne is safe for this autumn and winter, and that the enemy will also think of going into winter quarters, and content themselves with preserving their new establishment; but 'tis greatly to be feared that the difficulty of transporting provisions in the spring, the fear of having its communication with Canada cut off, will cause Fort Duquene to be abandoned.

I am, with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

M. DE MONTCALM TO M. DE CREMILLE.

MONTREAL, *21st November, 1758.*

SIR: My last was dated the twentieth of October. I learn that we have still one small vessel remaining which will not sail until the arrival of the courier that is about to be sent to Quebec, and I

profit by it to inform you of the arrival of all our troops in their quarters; it has not been without a great deal of suffering, although their departure from the Camp of Carillon has been a great deal earlier than in 1755 and 1756. We experienced in the fore part of November a cold unexampled at this season for fifty years. Luckily, it has cost us only four soldiers; I write you merely for fear some private letter might have created alarm in regard to an event which raised apprehensions of more serious consequence. Chevalier de Levis who was a passenger with me, personally ran some risk on Lake Champlain.

We have just received some news from Fort du Quesne of the twenty-third of October. Captain Aubry of the Louisiana troops has gained a somewhat considerable advantage there on the fifteenth. The enemy lost on the occasion one hundred and fifty men, killed wounded or missing; they were persued up to a new fort, called Royal hannon, which they are building at the head of the River D'attiqué[1]. We had only two men killed and seven wounded. Although the Indians have retired to hunt, and the Louisiana detachments which came from the Post of the Illinois, as well as those from Detroit, have returned home, I think that Fort Duquesne is safe for this autumn and winter.

I have annexed to the letter I had the honor to write you on the twentieth of October, copy of my representations to the Marquis de Vaudreuil and M. Bigot, the Intendent, as to the impossibility of our officers living on their appointments, in consequence of the dearness of all our provisions, both have agreed to grant a supplementary pay of thirty *sous* a day to each captain, and twenty *sous* to each lieutenant, to indemnify them for the high price of provisions, only, however, until the opening of the campaign. 'Tis a slight alleviation of a very great evil, and I think 'twill be impossible to dispense with giving the officers a greater increase of pay, and which subsists equally through the winter and the campaign season.

I always request of you to continue your kindness and to be persuaded of an unlimited attachment which equals the respect wherewith I am,

My Lord,

Your most humble, and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

[1]Loyal hannon, afterwards Fort Ligonier, was situated on the East side of Loyal hannon creek, in the town of Ligonier, Westmoreland County, Pa.

An Account of Major Grant's Defeat near Fort Duquesne.

ANNAPOLIS, *October 5th, 1756.*

We are informed by a letter from Frederick county, that on Monday, the 11th of September, Major Grant of the Highland regiment, marched from our camp on the waters of the Kiskiminitas, with 37 officers and 805 privates, taken from the different regiments that compose the Western Army, on an expedition against Fort Duquesne.

The third day after their march, they arrived within eleven miles of Fort Duquesne, and halted till three o'clock in the afternoon; then marched within two miles of Fort Duquesne, and left their baggage there, guarded by a captain, two subalterns, and fifty men, and marched with the rest of the troops, and arrived at eleven o'clock at night upon a hill, a quarter of a mile from the Fort. Major Grant sent two officers and fifty men to the Fort to attack all the Indians, &c., they should find lying out of the Fort; they saw none, nor were they challenged by the centries. As they returned, they set fire to a large store house, which was put out as soon as they left it. At break of day, Major Lewis was sent with 400 men (royal Americans and Virginians), to lie in ambush a mile and a half from the main body, on the path on which they left their baggage, imagining that the French would send to attack the baggage guard and seize it. Four hundred men were posted along the hill facing the Fort, to cover the retreat of Capt. M'Donald's company, who marched with drums beating toward the Fort, in order to draw a party out of the Fort, as Maj. Grant had some reason to believe there were not above 200 men in the Fort, including Indians; but as soon as they heard the drums they sallied out in great numbers, both French and Indians, and fell upon Captain M'Donald, and two columns that were posted lower on the hill to receive them. The Highlanders exposed themselves without any cover, and were shot down in great numbers, and soon forced to retreat. The Carolinians, Marylanders, and Lower Countrymen, concealing themselves behind trees and the brush, made a good defence; but were overpowered by numbers, and not being supported, were obliged to follow the rest. Major Grant exposed himself in the thickest of the fire, and endeavored to rally his men, but all to no purpose, as they were by this time flanked on all sides. Maj. Lewis and his party came up and engaged, but were soon obliged to give way, the enemy having the hill of him, and flanking him every way. A number were drove into the Ohio, most of whom were drowned. Major Grant retreated to the baggage, where Captain Bullet was posted with fifty men, and again endeavored to rally the flying soldiers by entreating them in the most pathetic manner to stand by him, but all in vain, as the enemy were close at their heels.

As soon as the enemy came up to Capt. Bullett, he attacked them very furiously for some time, but not being supported, and most of his men killed, was obliged to give way. However, his attacking them stopped the pursuit, so as to give many an opportunity of escaping. The enemy followed Major Grant, and at last separated them, and Captain Bullet was obliged to make off. He imagines the major must be taken, as he was surrounded on all sides, but the enemy would not kill him, and often called to him to surrender. The French gave quarters to all that would accept it."

M. DE VAUDREUIL TO M. DE MASSIAC.

MONTREAL, *20th November, 1758.*

MY LORD: The preceding letters I had the honor to write to you, had relation to the different objects of this Colony, supposing the war to continue; but as the King might possibly, my Lord, make peace during the winter, in such case the principal occupation of this government will be:

1st—To impress on the Colonists all its mildness.

2nd—To restore abundance in it.

3rd—To encourage population and agriculture.

4th—To remedy the excessively high rate of labor.

5th—To protect commerce, diminish the price of goods to the Indian Nations, which is the only means to make them feel less regret for the English stores, and attach them to us more and more.

6th—To secure the frontiers of the Colony.

7th—To lessen his Majesty's expenses.

8th—Finally, to replace this Colony on a footing capable of making the Colonists regret the desire many of them feel to return to France.

As most of these different objects, my Lord, [can] be discussed only as a consequence of the articles of a treaty of peace in which the respective limits will have been finally settled, I confine myself now to what relates to the recall of the land forces. Nothing would appear to me of more advantage to this Colony than to withdraw all the battalions from it as soon as peace is concluded; besides costing a great deal, they will always foster a spirit of division; their manner of waging war being accompanied with less hardship than that of the Colony, would insensibly be adopted; the introduction of baggage and provisions in the campaign proceeds from the officers of those troops; 'tis most pernicious to the fashion of bush fighting; is an obstacle to the change of camp from one moment to the other and thereby prevents frequent detachments.

Had I, my Lord, in the field as many independent troops of the Marine as land forces, New England would long feel the effects of it.

It would be essential, however, my Lord,

1st—That in recalling the battalions, you would be pleased to procure the French soldiers facilities to remain in the Colony and to induce the King to issue an ordinance authorizing every soldier belonging to the troops of the Line to enter those of the Marine.

2nd—That his Majesty should grant an absolute discharge and two years' pay to all of those soldiers who are married, or would marry and settle in the Colony.

3rd—Should his Majesty at the peace reform his troops, let him have some sent to Canada as recruits to complete the companies and serve to form new ones.

4th—Rather than be again under the necessity of sending back battalions to the Colony, 'twere better, I think, to make an augmentation of a certain number of companies of which that of soldiers would be more or less considerable in times of peace or war, proportionally to the quantity of troops his Majesty would wish to have in this country.

5th—His Majesty might permit the officers belonging to the troops of the Line, who are married or will marry in Canada, to pass with the same rank, into the troops of the Marine, their seniority, however, only dating from the day they serve in this Colony.

6th—I have the honor to represent to you that it would be unfortunate, should such favor extend to the Colonists, who have entered, successively, as lieutenants in the troops of the Line, in preference to the Colonial service; they would indeed have remained a long time Cadets before being able to be Ensign *en second*.

Articles five and six are so important, that if they did not remain, the officers of the Colony who have served with the greatest zeal, would see young men over them who often would have neither talents, nor experience; some of them even would never have dared to flatter themselves with becoming officers in the troops of the Marine.

'Twould be superfluous, my Lord, to offer you any reasons in support of the difference that exists in the defence to be expected from a troop which has the Colony for its resource, in which are its property, family and fortune, and that of a troop which feeling expatriated, has no other ambition than not to dishonor itself and to return to its family, caring very little about the injuries the enemy may inflict on the Colony, or even its total loss.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL FORBES TO GOVERNOR DENNY.

FORT DUQUESNE, OR NOW PITTSBURG, *the 26 Nov^r^, 1758.*

SIR: I have the Pleasure and Honour of Acquainting you with the Signal Success of his Majesty's Troops over all his Enemys on the Ohio, by having obliged them to Burn and abandon their Fort Duquesne, which they effectuated upon the 24th Instant, And of which I took Possession with my little Army the next Day,—The Enemy having made their escape down the River, part in Boats and part by Land, to their Forts, and Settlements on the Mississippi being abandoned, or at least not seconded by their Friends, the Indians, whom we had previously engaged to act a neutral part, And who now seem all willing and ready to Embrace His Majesty's Most gracious Protection.

So give me leave to congratulate you upon this publick event of having totally expelled the French from this Fort and this prodigious tract of Country, and of having in a manner reconciled the various Tribes of Indians inhabiting it to His Majesty's Government.

I have not time to give you a detail of our proceedings and approaches towards the Enemy, or of the Hardships and Difficulties that we necessarily meet with; all that will soon come out, but I assure you, after receiving the Ground & Fort, I have great reason to be most thankful for the part that the French have acted.

As the Conquest of this Country is of the greatest Consequence to the adjacent Provinces, by securing the Indians, our real Friends for their own Advantage, I have therefore sent for their Head People to come to me, when I think in few Words and few Days to make everything easy; I shall then set out to kiss your Hands, if I have Strength left to carry me through the Journey.

I shall be obliged to leave about Two Hundred Men of your Provincial Troops to join a proportion of Virginia and Marylanders, in order to protect this Country during Winter, by which Time I hope the Provinces will be so sensible of the great Benefit of this new Acquisition, as to enable me to fix this noble, fine Country, to all Perpetuity, under the Dominion of Great Britain.

I beg the Barracks may be put in good repair, and proper Lodgings for the Officers, and that you will send me, with the greatest Dispatch, your Opinion how I am to dispose of the rest of your Provincial Troops for the ease and Convenience of the Province and Inhabitants.

You must also remember that Colonel Montgomery's Battalion of Thirteen Hundred Men, and Four Companies of Royal Americans, are, after so long and tedious a Campaign, to be taken care of in some Comfortable Winter Quarters.

I kiss all your Hands, and flatter myself that if I get to Philadelphia, under your Cares and good Companys, I shall yet run a good Chance of re-establishing a Health that I run the risque of ruining to give your Province all the Satisfaction in the Power of my weak abilities.

I am Sir, with great Esteem and regard,

Your most Obedient and Hum^e^ Servant,

JO. FORBES.

P. S. I must beg that you will recommend to your Assembly the building of a Block House and Saw Mill upon the Kisskaminities, near Loyal Hannon, as a thing of the utmost Consequence to their Province, if they have any intention of profiting by this Acquisition.

I send the New Levies to Carlisle, so beg you will lose no Time in sending up Mr. Young, the Commissary, to clear them.

COLONEL MONTRESOR'S PLAN OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE BRITISH FORCES IN 1759.

Plan for the Operations of the Campaign for the year 1759, carried on from the Department of New-York, humbly submitted for Amendments.

That 9,500 men march as soon as the season will permit, to the Oneyda Station, or Stanwix fort, there to encamp until the provisions, stores, and boats be arrived, in order to proceed on acco.ding to the following proposal:

That 6,500 from the above number do proceed to Oswego, with boats sufficient to carry 6,000 men, with 30 days' provision, who are to embark from thence. Four thousand for Cadaraqui, with two 12 pounders, four 6 pounders, one 8 inch howitzer, two royals, four cohorns, one Engineer, one 1^st^ Lieutenant, and one 2^nd^ Lieutenant of artillery, two bombard^rs^ four gunners and 20 matrosses.

There to land in the part most convenient, and under cover from the place, according to the intelligence sent before to reconnoitre it; and if any works have been made to it since the last attack worth while to raise batteries against them, the same is to be done, but if otherwise, to assault it and secure what can be of service for carrying on this design, viz^t^, provisions, stores, and particularly vessels of any kind. This done, and an arrangement made, then to embark again with the artillery, provisions, &c., and to proceed into the River St. Lawrence to La Gallette or Oswegatchie, distant about 45 miles, where, according to this project, they will meet with 3,000 men ordered to march from the abovementioned Camp,

ten days after, 6,500, who are to have with them one Engineer, one Lieut. of artillery, one bombardier, two gunners, and eight matrosses, with 6 or eight cohorns, to have marched from the Carrying place through the woods to la Galette, distant between 80 or 90 miles, there being an Indian path often made use of by the enemy's parties to come to the Mohock river, and are seldom more than three days in performing it.

La Galette is represented to be a small, weak fort, only as a security from the Indians, and cannot be of any strength. The settlements about it must be set fire to in the night of the arrival and destroyed, in order to occasion a terror, at the same time invest the fort, which, if not thought advisable, to attempt by a brusquée, or *coup de main*. Then to raise a battery as if for cannon was to be mounted, and from thence fire the cohorns in the night, whose reports may have the effect of a speedy surrender, and greatly facilitate the enterprise which may be effected before the Cadaraqui force comes up, as it must be immediately at their junction, being themselves attacked by land and water by a formidable and respectable body of troops.

These forces joined, they are to take post at La Galette, which is so advantageously situated, both in regard to itself and to the command of the River St. Lawrence, for all vessels going from Montreal to the lakes, and which navigation from it to Cadaraqui, etc., is free and clear from rifts, whereas to Montreal is embarrassed with falls, rifts, and islands (for which reason the French are blamed for making Cadaraqui their chief post), and is to us for the taking and securing it entirely, as it cuts off all communication from Montreal to the lakes, and assures us a part of the east side of the river, which is but thinly settled, until the neighborhood of La Prairie, opposite to Montreal, distant nearly 120 miles, and from whence ('tis said is a road), as the river La Galette has so bad a navigation. This post being taken, a garrison left, to be supplied with provisions from Oswego, as it must be the depot for the time, the remainder of the army to continue their march always on the east side of the river, securing all vessels and provisions they can gather from the several settlements, and proceed until they find a proper place to cross and land on the Island of Montreal.

The remaining 2,500 to be disposed of as follows: Five hundred to keep the post and depôt at Oswego, and the two thousand who are to embark at the same time as the 4,000 did, and to shape their course for Niagara with one Engineer, one Lieu^{t} of artillery, 2 bombadiers, 4 gunners, 12 matrosses, with 2 12-pounders, 2 six-pounders, one 8-inch howitzer, 2 royals, 4 cohorns. This body is to land on the nearest and safest landing place to the fort, with summons to surrender, letting them know that all their communications are entirely cut off from the River S^{t} Lawrence. That the English are

in actual possession of La Galette, and marching their army towards Montreal, which, if not agreed to on the spot, then to be attacked vigorously, which must be on great disadvantages on the enemy's side, who will not dare to hold out, considering the situation they must be in after the loss of Fort Duquesne.

This place, when taken, must be secured, provided and strengthened, in order to keep a garrison there for preserving the thoroughfare and communications from the upper lakes to the lower, and to the vast country through which the Ohio and Mississippi run through. 'Tis been always a noted Indian mart and trading place.

Distribution of 9,500.

Cadaraqui,	Boatmen,	1,500
	Rangers and Provincials,	1,000
	Regulars,	1,500
La Galette,	Rangers and Provincials,	2,000
	Regulars,	1,000
	9,500 =	7,000
Niagara,	Boatmen,	500
	Rangers & Provincials,	500
	Regulars,	1,000
Oswego Post,	Regulars,	500
		2,500

That 7,000 men march up as soon as the season will permit, and encamp at Lake George, there to gather and make a sufficient number of boats and vessels necessary to carry the abovementioned troops, with all the artillery designed for this body down the lake; this to be formed and ready to embark at a minute's warning and at the time prescribed in the Reasons given for this Project.

N. B.—The quantity of artillery is not mentioned, as 'tis supposed that the won't be less than was proposed and brought last year.

Distribution of 7,000 men.

Camp at Lake George:		
	Boatmen,	1,000
	Rangers,	1,000
	Provincials,	1,000
	Regulars,	4,000
		7,000

That 3,000 men march to the fort at N° 4 and there to encamp until such time they are provided with proper tools, stores and provisions, and then to proceed for Otter creek, below the Falls, there

to build bateaux and rafts sufficient when required to cross Lake Champlain, and, if possible, to take post on one of the points of land that forms the opening of the Otter creek, and there to remain until orders shall be given them to cross over.

Distribution of the 3,000 men.

N° 4, for Otter creek:

Carpenters, bateau builders, ...	500
New Hampshire Rangers, ...	1,000
Connecticut Provincials, ...	1,500
	3,000

When this last number are ready prepared to cross over Lake Champlain, the corps of troops, &c., at Lake George must embark and move down towards Tierandoraga, at the same time the Otter Creek forces must cross the lake and take post in the communication or road to Crown Point, lying below it. In order to stop all convoys of stores, provisions or reinforcements coming to the assistance of Crown P^t, etc., whose garrison, seldom exceeding 300 men, will keep close within. The body of the enemy's troops at the lines and Tierandaroga, seeing the army in motion on Lake George, and another crossing over Lake Champlain, will be at a loss how to act. For if they should offer to unfurnish the lines and fort, the Lake George army pushes on their design, and with the conquest of that part the rest must fall, as their army and forts are invested at one time and between two fires. And if the enemy should not leave their intrenchment, but resolve to defend it, then the said 7,000 men must attack their intrenchment with a vigorous artillery with ricochet fire and shells, driving them from it, during which time the 3,000 men, supposed on the same side of the lake as the forts and lines, are to advance slowly on the rear of the enemy. In which situation no troops in the enemy's position can remain long, but naturally will attempt to force through the weakest part and abandon the intrenchment, which must be passed with speed to save the 3,000 men from being defeated.

N. B.

Orders must be given to the 3,000 men to destroy all the enemy's vessels and boats on the lake to prevent their retreat.

Reasons for the foregoing Scheme.

1st By attacking the enemy at La Galette it not only prevents assisting Cadaraqui, but also furnishes us with an advantageous post, which can be kept up with ease by securing this side of the river and the navigation of it, rendering Cadaraqui of no use. For the like reason, (it may be said), that Niagara is also in the same condition by the communication being stopped. But as it is a post

which must always be kept up for the reasons given before, besides it receiving some supplies from other parts than from the River St. Lawrence, it is extremely necessary to secure it, as it will well answer the expense made on it.

2d By the attack of La Galette the army may find some assistance of provisions, etc., for advancing further in the country, where they can meet with no resistance, as no succors can be sent from Montreal or the posts in that neighborhood, by being kept in *echee* by the armies on Lake Champlain and Lake George, who are watching every minute the present opportunity to force and penetrate that way.

3d By making an effort on Lake Champlain with boats, etc., and taking Posts on one of the points where Otter Creek runs into the lake, it will stop the enemy's sending reinforcements to Tieranderoga, not only for fear of being intercepted, but by another greater reason, which is, that as they must naturally imagine, the impression is the most easiest made where the resistance is the least, and as by the supposition our forces are already 50 miles in their country and in the road to their second Capital, which they must either leave open to the army on the river, or unfurnish their intrenchments before Tierandaroga, or let the Otter Creek army go quietly on with their design, which is to get between the forts and their communication, or suffer the 7,000 men at Lake George, who are to be ready at a minute's warning with all their necessaries proper for beseiging or carrying war in an Enemy's country, for to go up the lake and land, taking possession of their forts as far as *La Prairie*, opposite to Montreal, which is the point of union of this project, and for the whole to join except those of Niagara.

N. B. That all the boats that are to take in troops or artillery should be numbered and registered for what service they are to be employed in, that the distribution of them may be detailed in such a manner that day or night it might be executed without confusion; as the effect of this part of the enterprise depends greatly on the celerity of its motion, which is to take place according to that of the enemy's. For which reason proper scouts are to be kept continually going between each of these separate bodies, as their action depends on the true and certain intelligence of their several manœuvres.

This plan or project of operations is founded only on one principle, which is to keep the enemy in suspense and state of uncertainty in being attacked at each extremity of its second Capital by two bodies, subdivided in two or more, mutually assisting each other, preventing them from resolving whether to send supplies or reinforcements to either of them, or watch the defence of *Montreal*, extremely weak of itself, and hardly deserves the name of a walled town.

Therefore let the enemy act against what part they think proper, the rest in all probability will succeed, and if any one of them has the advantage, the whole will soon reap the benefit, from the position of the several attacks and the situation of the country in which they are made in.

JACQ. MONTRESOR,
Lt. Col. Chief Engineer for the Department of N. Y.

NEW YORK, *December 29th, 1758.*

Distribution of the whole number, amounting to 20,500.

Cadaraqui,	Batoe men,	1,500	
	Rangers,	500	
	New York Provincials,	500	
	Regulars,	1,500	
			4,000
La Gallette, or Oswegatchie,	Rangers,	500	
	Provincials,	1,500	
	Regulars,	1,000	
			3,000
Niagara,	Batoe men,	500	
	Rangers and Provincials,	500	
	Regulars,	1,000	
			2,000
Fort Edward	Batoe men,	1,000	
	Rangers,	1,000	
	Provincials,	1,000	
	Regulars,	4,000	
			7,000
For Otter Creek,	Carpenters and bateau builders,	500	
	New Hampshire Rangers,	1,000	
	Connecticut Provincials,	1,500	
			3,000
Oswego Post,	Regulars,	500	
Fort Edward Comm^{a},	Regulars,	500	
Fort Stanwix, etc.,	Regulars,	500	
			1,500
Total of the whole,			20,500

FRENCH CAMPAIGNS IN NORTH AMERICA, 1754–1758.

The English having, in 1754, built Fort Necessity, twenty-five leagues from Fort Duquesne, M. dejumonville was detached with 40 men to go and summon the garrison to retire. He was killed with seven Canadians, and the remainder of his detachment made prisoners of war. On this intelligence, Captain de Villiers, of the troops of the Marine, was ordered to conduct 700 men and avenge his brother's death; he reduced said fort on the 3rd July by capitulation, and made the garrison prisoners of war.

In the year 1755, the King of France, being informed that several regiments had been sent from Old to New England, dispatched to Canada the second battalions of La Reine, Artois, Bourgogne, Languedoc, Guienne and Bearn, under the orders of Baron de Dieskaw, to whom Colonel Chev. de Rostain was appointed Second, and Chev. de Montreuil Major-General.

The regiments of Artois and Bourgogne landed at Louisbourg, and the four others at Quebec in the course of June.

The ships *l'Alcide* and *le Lis*, with four companies of the regiment of La Reine and four of the regiment of Languedoc on board, were taken on Green Bank. Chev. de Rostain was killed by a Cannon shot in the former vessel.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-General, who arrived from France at the same time as the battalions, had advice of the capture of the French fort, called Beausejour, in Acadia; no longer doubting the pretensions of the English on Canada, he determined to undertake the siege of Fort Chouaguen, situate on Lake Ontario. He dispatched, in the course of July, the Battalions of Fort Frontenac, whither he sent artillery, munitions of war and provisions. Having learned, in the meantime, that the enemy was erecting a post on the River of Orange, 7 leagues from Lake St. Sacrament, he countermanded the battalions of La Reine and Languedoc, which he sent to Fort St. Frederic, situate on Lake Champlain, where he concentrated, at the end of August, a corps of three thousand men, the command whereof he gave to Baron de Dieskaw, who, on his arrival, detached some small parties to observe the enemy's movements, who reported to him that they had a considerable camp near the house of a Frenchman named Lidius, situate on the River of Orange, where they were constructing a fort and several roads, to come to Lake St. Sacrament and the Bay of the *Grand Marais* to attack the frontier. On this report, he proceeded on the 2nd 7ber to encamp at Carillon, in order to stop the enemy at that point, where they were obliged to pass. On the same day, he learned from a prisoner that the enemy had retired to Orange, and left 500 men to finish the fort.

On this news, which turned out to be false, Baron de Dieskaw not having sufficient provisions to take his army thither, marched on the 4th of 7ber, at the head of 1,500 men, to wit, 200 troops of the Line, 700 Canadians and 600 Indians. The remainder of the troops encamped at the Falls of Lake St. Sacrament and at the Two Rocks, situate at the entrance of the *Grand Marais*, to secure the Baron de Dieskaw's retreat, and prevent the enemy entering by Lake St. Sacrament.

Baron de Dieskaw, after four days' march, learned, within half a league from Fort Lidius, that there was a camp of 4,000 men near Lake St. Sacrament, distant six leagues from him, and having resolved, on the advice of the Indians, to go and attack it ,he marched, at daybreak, on the 8th, and encountered a force of one thousand men within half a league of their camp, whom he successfully fought; having arrived there at the same time as the detachment, he ordered an immediate attack, so as not to afford time to the enemy to recognize each other, but the greatest part of the Canadians and Indians, being fatigued after the first shock, rested themselves, and the few that remained courageously formed the attack on the left within 1,200 paces of that on the right, where the land troops distinguished themselves. Baron de Dieskaw and Chevalier de Montreuil went to post themselves in the centre of these two attacks, within a short musket shot of the enemy, who perceived them and fired several volleys of musketry at them, when Baron de Dieskaw was wounded by two shots, one of which was very dangerous. Chevalier de Montreuil pressed him to retire after receiving a slight wound in the leg, but he persisted in remaining in the same place, saying he could not do it, and an instant afterwards, received a ball in both hips; Chevalier de Montreuil then called to his aid two Canadians whom he perceived at a certain distance, and who came to him; one of them, on arriving, wished to carry the General on his back; Baron de Dieskaw refused; the other Canadian, kneeling at his feet, was killed outright, and fell on his legs. Chevalier de Montreuil seeing Baron de Dieskaw was unwilling to allow himself to be removed, asked what course he wished adopted? Who ordered him to proceed to the right where the troops of the line were fighting, and having answered that he should not abandon him, Baron de Dieskaw ordered him in the King's name to retire. Chev. de Montreuil thought it his duty to execute his orders, so as to send him some relief and remedy the disorder which prevailed among the detachment. Arriving at the right, he saw the troops of the Line, of whom there were remaining about one hundred soldiers, in the act of retiring; he ran and stopped them within 500 paces of the camp; made them take up an advantageous position, which so checked the enemy that they dare not embarrass the remainder of the troops who were retreating. Chev. de Montreuil,

sure of being made prisoner of war, should he return to the place where he had left Baron de Dieskaw, remained half an hour in presence of the enemy, expecting that the detachment would return, but having learned on the contrary, that it was continuing its march, decided on retiring, and did not overtake until nightfall two hundred Canadians or Indians, led by Captain St. Luc de la Corne, of the troops of the Marine, with whom he arrived next evening at 8 o'clock, at the Bay of the *Grand Marais*, where the bateaux had been left, and the rest of the detachment had arrived at 10 o'clock in the morning.

10th In the morning Chev. de Montreuil had the wounded embarked to the number of one hundred, whom he sent to Montreal, and started in the afternoon at the head of his detachment to rejoin the camp at the Two Rocks. The loss of the enemy amounted to 500 men, killed or wounded, and that of the French, Canadians and Indians to 160. Baron de Dieskaw was made prisoner of war; Chev. de Montreuil received a musket ball in the left arm and several in his coat.

11th He proceeded to report this affair to the Marquis de Vaudreuil who was at Montreal, whence he returned to the army encamped at Fort St. Frederic with M. de Lotbinière, Engineer of the Colony, with orders to build a fort at Carillon, where the army encamped on the 15th of October, and labored with all possible diligence, so that on the 15th of November, when it retired, the fort was safe from a *coup de main*, and capable of lodging a garrison of 200 men, which had been left there.

The battalions of Guienne and Bearn encamped during the campaign, before Frontenac, where they threw up some intrenchments. That of Guienne proceeded to Niagara at the close of the summer and returned to Montreal on the 5th of December.

On the 9th of July, one thousand Canadians or Indians, under the command of Captain de Beaujeau of the troops of the Marine, defeated within three leagues of Fort Duquesne, fifteen hundred English commanded by General Bradoc, one thousand of whom were killed or wounded, their artillery and munitions of war, which remained on the field of battle, were conveyed to Fort Duquesne. M. de Beaujeu fell in that action, in which thirty Canadians or Indians were killed or wounded.

ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS TO MAJOR GENERAL JOHNSON.

NEW YORK *Dec 24 1755*

Additional Instructions to Major Gen^{l} William Johnson relative to the Indians of the six Nations under his command

That a party of the Six Nations to consist of a few Sachems the rest to be Warriors be engaged by private applications and the offer of rewards to take up the Hatchett against the French and their Indians who have fallen upon the Provinces of Virginia, Maryland and Pensilvania.

That they be requested immediately to proceed to Pensilvania where the [y] will find a large force actually in readiness, and there concert the best measures for carrying on the War.

That they should go by the way of Susquehanna and call upon all the Indians settled upon both the Branches of that River and engage as many Indians as they have any Influence with to [join and] accompany them.

That assurance be given them of their being supplied with Arms Accountrements, Cloaths, Provisions and pay. That they shall have besides these, a reward for every prisoner or scalp taken from the enemy and every other reasonable encouragement, all which to be ascertained to their satisfaction by Treaty as soon as they arrive in Pensilvania.

That as in all Indian Towns, some may be for the French and some for the English, they should be advised to use prudence in their applications to particular Indians, lest the French be too soon informed of their Intentions.

That they be instructed to look out for fit and proper persons to get intelligence and to engage them to go the French Fort on the Ohio and to the Towns in that neighborhood, and when they have made themselves masters of their future designs, and operations then to proceed to the Governor of Pensilvania with their information for which they shall be well paid

That if any of the Indians are afraid to leave their wives & children they be desired to bring them along with them and care shall be taken to assign them a strong and well fortified place to live in where they shall be supplied with necessarys

W. SHIRLEY.

By His Excellencys command

W^{m} ALEXANDER *Secry*

LORDS OF TRADE TO SECRETARY FOX.

WHITEHALL, *Jan^y 16, 1756.*

To the Right Hon^ble Henry Fox Esq^r one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

SIR: We have had under our consideration the subject of your letter of the 2^d instant, signifying to us His Majesty's commands that we should forthwith acquaint you what sum it may be proper to ask of Parliament for the assistance of His Majesty's subjects in North America.

As we apprehend that the money proposed to be given to the Colonies is meant as a bounty & encouragement to them, in consideration of the expences which they have been at on accoount of the three expeditions which have been carried on in the last year for the reduction of the French Forts at Crown Point Niagara and on the Ohio; it would have been a great satisfaction to us to have been able to obtain a precise knowledge of the actual expence incurred by each Colony, on account of the services abovementioned, and to have made such expence the foundation and guide of our judgment in the consideration of this affair. But the Agents of the several Colonies concerned, by whom we have been frequently attended upon this occasion, are far from being able to give us such information as may lead to any degree of precision or exactness. They cannot ascertain the number of men which have been raised, the time they have continued in actual service, or the sums which have been really issued and expended on account of their pay cloathing or subsistance. We have been obliged therefore, in order to obey His Majesty's commands in the best manner we are able, to proceed upon such informations as could be collected from the letters we have received from the several Governors, and from such acts as have been passed in the respective Colonies for raising men or granting money on account of the abovementioned expeditions.

From these imperfect materials and on the supposition that the Acts which appear to have been passed for the purposes aforesaid have been duly & completely executed, we have made a calculation by which it appears that the amount of the expence incurred by each Colony may be as follows, viz^t

	£ sterling.		£ sterling.
New York	18900	Rhode Island	8000
New Jersey	6900	Virgina	22000
New Hampshire	9000	North Carolina	8000
Massachusets Bay	60000	Pennsylvania	3800
Connecticut	29000	Maryland	4500
			£170.100.

It is possible that some of these Colonies may not have expended so large a sum as we have put down to them in the foregoing calculation; but it is also probable on the other hand that others of them may have incurred a much greater expence for the charge of sundry articles, such as the transportation of stores and provisions which are not included in this calculation, because no probable estimate of them can be formed.

Upon the whole therefore we submit it, whether one hundred and twenty thousand pounds may not be a sum proper to be asked of Parliament, to be given to the said Colonies in consideration of the expences they have been at for the abovementioned services, and as an encouragement to exert themselves for the future in their mutual & common defence & to repel any invasion or encroachment on His Majestys Dominions, We are &c

DUNK HALIFAX
ANDREW STONE
SOAME JENYNS
JAMES OSWALD
RICH[d] RIGBY.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

FORT JOHNSON *28th May 1756.*

MY LORDS: My last letter to your Lordships, bore date the 6th March, therewith I had the honor, to transmitt a copy of my procedings in Indian affairs from the time of my arrival from Lake George to that date

I have since received M[r] Secretary Pownalls letter bearing date the 2[d] December, which your Lordships did me honor to direct him to write me.

General Shirley's interfering in Indian affairs, and that with so much personal resentment, and such prejudices against my management, was a matter of as much surprize, as it was mortification to me. I had many reasons to think I stood high in that Gentlemans opinion which I had always endeavored to deserve and to strengthen

If my sense of duty to that part of His Majestys Service which his Royal Orders had entrusted to my management, had not unfortunately obliged me, to have differed with M[r] Shirley in opinion, I should not have troubled your Lordships with a detail on that disagreeable subject, but as it did affect that part of His Majestys Service, I thought I could not consistent with my duty be silent to your Lordships thereon Tho' I have reasons to believe, I have lost General Shirleys friendship and confidence, which I wish myself

honored with for the good of His Majestys Service, so far as it is connected with my department, yet he hath of late silenced those Agents, he set up in opposition to me, and of whose conduct I complained to your Lordships

I have the honor herewith to transmitt to your Lordships a copy of my proceedings, since the date of the last I sent

The Slaughters and devastations, which have been committed on the Frontiers of His Majestys Southern Provinces, I doubt not your Lordships have received particular accounts of from their respective Governors, it is certain that the Delawares, and Shawanese Indians have been concerned in these Hostilities

Till very lately those Indians were faithfull friends to us & lived in a peaceful and harmonious Intercourse with His Mâtys Subjects what are the several and real causes of their defection, I can not take upon me at present precisely to ascertain

I beg leave to offer to your Lordships my general opinion from all I can as yet gather on the subject

I would premise, that the Defection of the Delawares and Shawanese Indians is not general, many I believe yet remain if not firm to our Interest, not wholly lost to it

These Indians were settled in the neighbourhood of the French encroachments on the Ohio, some were settled where the French have now actually built, Forts; when His Majestys Troops under the late General Braddock were defeated, it gave the French who remained Masters of all that part of the Country, an opportunity to strengthen and increase their Indian Interest and influence, they flattered they boasted, and by persuasive and intimidating arts they won over several of those Indians, who were before in our Interest, and some who held themselves as it were neutral till they saw how the event of that exepdition would turn out; of those latter were the *Twightwees* the *Jenundadees*, and some *Chickasaws* Indians, who are as I am lately informed fallen in with the French Interest, but I apprehend more from fear than choice

Those Delaware and Shawanese Indians who lived nearest to the Ohio, being seduced by the French, went among their bretheren who dwelt on the Susquehanna and propagated those prejudices against the good intentions of the English, which the French had furnished them with at the same time making them offers and promises from the French and magnifying their prowess, kindness and generosity, by these means they won over some, and spread a general prepossession amongst the rest against the English

The great Patents of Land which had been purchased and taken up in those parts and our extended scattered settlements beginning to crowd upon the Indians, had been a long eye sore to them, infected them with jealousy and disgust towards the English, and thus prepared them to be more easily influenced, by the prosperity

of the French affairs, and the ill success of our arms, and when they saw after Mr. Braddocks defeat and death, our military operations ended as it were to the Southward and carried to the Northward, they joined the French and their Indians in their depredations, upon the open and defenceless Frontiers of those Provinces

The third and last cause I shall suggest, is my suspicion that these Indians, who used to be more immediately under the direction of the Southern Provinces had been either neglected or injudiciously treated at that critical time when the greatest address was requisite; something of this kind is hinted in the last proceedings which I transmitted to your Lordships

These hints I humbly submit to your Lordships consideration as this is a very important affair, I apprehend I might with propriety offer my thoughts thereon; there are some other particulars relative to this subject for which I beg leave to refer your Lordships to the Papers herewith. In those your Lordships will perceive a Meeting at Onondaga was proposed by the Southern Indians in consequence of a deputation sent to them at my ernest request by the Six Nations at which I agreed to be present and named the day, but as I was from informations very doubtfull whether the Southern Indians were come to Onondago, according to their appointment, and the two Mohawk Castles with some other Indians of all the 6 Nations (except the Onondagas) were so adverse to my attending this meeting at this critical juncture. I thought it would be prudent to be certain whether those Indians were actually at Onondago before I undertook my journey thither, as the meeting them was my cheif Inducement for promising to go there, Messengers were accordingly dispatched and your Lordships will see the answer they have brought from the Onondaga Indians, and that they are so extreemly pressing for my coming up, and give such cogent reasons for it that I apprehend the good of his Majestys service will not dispence with my refusal. I am therefore preparing to set off, so as to be there by the time appointed, and I have General Shirleys concurrence therein. I hope to meet some of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians there and if so to talk over and settle matters with them on such a footing as may be very beneficial to His Majestys service in General, and the tranquility of the Southern Provinces in particular. Besides this General meeting appears to be necessary on account of the uneasiness and jealousies which the Onondagas make mention of, and which I find more or less prevails at present amongst most of the Indians of the Six Nations. One cause of which is from the Deserters of General Shirleys and Sir Wm Pepperils Regiments, in which are I apprehend a great number of Irish Papists and Transports who were enlisted from the back parts of Pennsylvania and Mary Land, they desert from Oswego and other

Garrisons up the River, shelter themselves among the Indians of the Six Nations or pass through their country in their way to the back parts of those provinces from whence they were enlisted, and where they have acquaintances and confederates, from Malice and Policy, they pretent a great affection for the Indians, and invent lying stories to justify their quitting the Service and ingratiate themselves with the Indians, who seeing they are surrounded by our present armaments, being naturally prone to suspicion, and the french continually working upon this their disposition by false and artful Representations of our views and measures, render these Reports of the Deserters more credible and pernicious. I am informed there are great numbers of them amongst the Delaware and Susquehanna Indians, who have done a world of prejudice to our Interest. I have represented this matter to General Shirley, and proposed to him to empower me to offer the Indians hand some Rewards for taking up and delivering such deserters, as may be, or may come, amongst them

Governor Morris has published a declaration of War against the Delaware and Susquehanna Indians and a small body of men are raised in that Government and marched to build a Fort at Shamokin, a Branch of the Susquehanna Tho Mr Morris has worded this Declaration with Restrictions in favor of our Friend Indians, yet as it is published and this Fort building without previous notice & explanation given to our Indians it hath circulated amongst them, in a confused manner and put in a bad Light by the Ignorance and probably malice of the Reporters, and tho I am fully sensible that the horrible cruelties and devastations which the Southern Provinces & Pensylvania [in particular], have suffered call for their most united and vigorous Resentments, yet I cannot but humbly be of opinion, that Mr. Morris' declaration of War, backed with so small a Force as the 400 men he hath raised, was premature, and that it would have been adviseable [if] he had allowed me first to have acquainted the six Nations and our friend Indians living on the Susquehanna with his Intentions especially as Mr Morris in behalf of Pensylvania had applied to me to lay the hostile behavior of the Delawares and Shawanese before the Six Nations at the Meeting last winter and he was apprized of the deputation which the Six Nations had sent, yet before he knew the result of their Ambassy he published this Declaration of War which as a friendly meeting was agreed upon at Onondaga with a prospect of accommodating all matters with the Delawares and Shawanese at least such of them as had not left the Settlements and absolutely engaged themselves to the French I beg leave to observe to your Lordships that while affairs were thus circumstanced I think Mr Morris Declaration of War had better been postponed, till the Meeting at Onnondago had been over, when a better judgement might have been formed to regulate his Proceedings

By perusing the papers herewith, I conceive your Lordships will find there is a foundation for the observations I have made on Mr Morris's Conduct, my sentiments on this matter I have communicated to General Shirley & Sr Charles Hardy who have transmitted them to Governor Morris

I have reason to beleive Mr Morris's Declaration of War by misrepresentations, has not only alarmed the Six Nations but will prevent the Southern Indians from coming to Onnondaga & throw fresh difficultys in the way of bringing about an accommodation, with the remainder of those Indians, who are yet in a retreivable State

An other thing before I finish this interesting subject, seems to me of sufficient importance to mention to your Lordships

The half King and some other Indians of the Six Nations were lately at Philadelphia, Governor Morris had a conference with them, acquainted them with the Declaration of War, and gave them a War Belt to offer to the Six Nations in his name in order to join and assist. At the same time he allowed the heads of the Quakers, who he well knew violently opposed all his Warlike measures to have a meeting with the same Indians, they had sent me a copy of what passed and they gave the Half King a Belt of Peace to present to the Six Nations in their Name, telling them they were descendants of the peaceable Penn that there were great numbers of their Bretheren in that Province who were averse to War, and whose principles were to suffer Injuries and leave Heaven to protect and defend their Cause &c &c—

These contradictory measures, and these opposite Belts the Half King reported, and shewed a few days ago, at a small meeting of some of all the six Nations at my house the Indians could not conceal their surprise that one Province should produce such contradictions and your Lordships will I believe be of opinion, that it would be no great honour to our Political Talents

My Lords

I am sensible that I am taking up a great deal of your Ldps time, but if I am not greatly mistaken the subjects I have and shall lay before you are of such importance to the British Indian Interest, as will I hope justify me in your Lordships opinion

In my last letter I gave it as my real Sentiments to your Ldps that the Indians of the 6 Nations had discovered at the then late Meeting the strongest intimations of their sincerity and fidelity, & that nothing seemed to be wanting to cement and enlarge our Indian Alliance, but unanimous and vigorous efforts against the Common Enemy; I will from no motives, my Lords, misrepresent or conceal from your Lordships what appears to me the true state of our Indian Interest

I am sorry therefore to acquaint your Lordships that the six Nations in general, and the upper Nations more particularly, do not at present seem to be animated with so warm & active a Zeal in our Favor as I could wish, & which it has been, and shall be my unremitted endeavour to inspire them with, some of their cheifs have in private conversation with me complained of our want of vigour, and good management of our Military operations, they murmured at our inactivity last campaign at Oswego, they censured the weakness and knew the deplorable state of that important Garrison towards the latter end of last winter for want of Provisions, and told me they trembled for its Fate, they reproached us for laying up our vessels the beginning of last october, and that they do not yet appear on the Lake tho the French were sailing backwards and forwards the whole winter. They were surprized the great carrying place, an other, very important post was so poorly fortified particularly at one end, and such a handfull of Troops left to protect it, they told the officers there that the French would certainly attack them, and that it was not in a condition to make a good Defence. The event has shown they judged rightly and complained justly. They reproach us with the two Regiments laying encampt at Albany, and Schenectady, and ask why they dont march against the French

These complaints and reproaches of the Indians, I mention to your Lordships as causes of discontent to them and of their forming unfavorable ideas of our military Proceedings, which tends to damp their spirits towards us, & nourish the awe of the French which hath & doth prevail too much amongst them. I have endeavored by every method in my Power to remove their Prejudices, but as they form their judgments from appearances only, it is an extreem difficult Task to work upon their understandings

An other cause of the Six Nations standing in so much awe of the French is the great number of Western and Northern Indians in their alliance, and which hath been greatly strengthened since our unhappy Defeat at Ohio.

These Prejudices my Lords are not the only disadvantages we have to contend with in endeavoring to raise & keep up in their minds a respectable opinion of our Power & consequence. The Cayouga and Seneca Nations are near neighbors to Niagara, the Onnondagas, and Oneidas, are in the neighborhood of Swegachee a french settlement on the river St. Lawrence, to which numbers of those two Nations have of late years been debauched and gone there to live. Tho our Indians do not now resort to those Places as frequent and familiarly as they formerly did, yet some among them do occasionally visit there, when the French and the Indians in their Interest poison the minds of ours with Stories not only to the disadvantage of our good Intentions towards them, but endeavor to frighten them with pompous accounts of the superior Prowess and

martial abilities of the French. These things are propagated amongst them, and the truth really is they have had more reason to think highly of the French this way than of us

But, my Lords, notwithstanding all these drawbacks upon the Zeal & attachment of the Six Nations towards us, I am persuaded at this instant, and I hope I shall have when the approaching meeting at Onnondaga is finished stronger reasons to be persuaded that if we were now ready to go upon Action from Oswego, and things wore a formidable and favorable apperance, that the six Nations would join us with a cheerfulness & vigour which at present does not so visibly appear And I must beg leave to give it to your Lordships as my fixt opinion upon the most deliberate consideration, that the 6 Nations will never be thoroughly fixed to the British Interest and arms, until we strike some grand stroke, and thereby convince them that we have ability to protect them and humble the French, without asserting our dignity & consequence in some such way as this; Presents and Treaties, a diligent & skillful managem^{t} may keep the Six Nations friends & allies, but will not destroy the French Influence and attachment amongst them Could we but give a convinceing proof of our Prowess, I will take upon me to answer for the hearts & the hands of the Six Nations, and to turn them with such destructive Rage upon the French, as would soon give a new face to our affairs, for of this I am confident that the 6 Nations allmost to a man wish we had the upper hand of the French when they would not only I am persuaded exert themselves, but bring over many great & powerful Nations to the Southward and Westward, which might be facilitated by our management that way

My Lords

It would not become me to animadvert upon our military conduct here, and to take upon me to advise therein might be going beyond my Tether, but what I have said I hope comes from me in Character, and permit me my Lords to say in general, that speedy spirited and active measures are absolutely necessary, to support strengthen and extend our Indian Interest provided the sword is to be kept drawn

I have in the former part of this letter mentioned to your Ldps that I am informed the Twightwees, the Jenundadies and some of the Chickasaw Indians have been obliged to submit themselves to the French, since our defeat at the Ohio, and your Lordships will see that the Missisagas, who were invited by & promised M^{r} Shirley to meet at Oswego this summer, will not meet there, but will at any of the settlements of the 6 Nations. As the former Indians I fear dare not and the Missasagas will not meet at Oswego, I suspect the intended meetings of the Western Indians there will not take effect.

It happens very unluckily that by our ships from England not arriving in the usual time this Spring, a sufficient quantity of Indian Goods, and things proper for Presents are not to be purchased I have sent to New York, Philadelphia, and Boston for several things, but can not get them

Sir Charles Hardy has consented I shall give some of the arms 600lb of Powder, and Lead in his name out of His Majestys present, sent, by him to the 6 Nations. I heartily wish I had the rest of it, I wrote him there would be scarce a more favorable opportunity of giving that Present than at this Meeting

I would humbly propose to your Lordships that if His Majestys is pleased to continue me in the superintendancy of Indian affairs that I may be allowed to order such assortments of Indian Goods from England as are proper for the Service I am convinced this will be a saving method to the Crown, and that the Indians will be much better supplied—The Presents which Governors have brought from England have been ill sorted, many articles bad in their kind, and some useless, particularly that esssential article of arms

On my return from Onnondaga, I shall transmitt your Lordships Copy of my proceedings there and give you such further intelligence as may occur

I am,
My Lords
most respectfully y^{r}
Lordships
most obedient most
humble Servant
W^{m} JOHNSON

P S Forts are now building in the Senecas country, at Onnondaga, Oneida, & Schohare The Cayuga Indians have not yet applied The Fort for the Oghguagees is upon the acc^{t} of the disturbances to the Southward deferred till the meeting at Onondaga is over.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

ALBANY *17th July 1756*

MY LORDS: I had the honor of writing your Lordships the latter end of May last and at the same time of transmitting a copy of my Proceedings from the last date to that time

My Proceedings at the late Onondaga Meeting and at the subsequent Treaty with the Shawanese, and Delaware Indians at my

House, which ended two days ago, I can not possibly transmitt to your Lordships by this opportunity as they will require more time to copy than the stay of the Packet Boat here will admit of, they shall be got ready to transmit to your Lordships by the next man of War or Packet which sails for England

But I think it my duty to give to your Lordships the earliest intelligence in my Power of the cheif Points which have occurred at these meetings

In my last letter to your Lordships I mentioned the several causes of that uneasiness and coldness to our Interest which I had reason to suspect, prevailed amongst the Six Nations particularly the upper Nations.

The meeting at Onondaga confirmed my suspicions, and I found the French had made an advantage of this disposition as had so much infected the 6 Nations that it required a variety of Arguments, my utmost influence, and most vigorous endeavours to compose their Tempers to expell the French Poison and to reanimate them towards our Interest. All this however I was so happy as to succeed in and I can with great Truth assure your Lordships, that at the conclusion of this important meeting, the Six Nations appeared to me sincerely disposed to second any vigorous attempts which might be made on our Parts against the French They have engaged to put on foot amongst all their allies a Negotiation to join with them in our favor. They have promised to make the most vigorous efforts to draw off from the French Interest & Settlements those of their People, who have gone over that way; I have reason to believe, they begin to be somewhat jealous of the French, a point I have long laboured to bring about, I am now in hopes, it may in some measure take Place, if it should operate to any highth it will be attended with favorable consequence to His Matys Service.

At this meeting I also obtained the consent of the 6 Nations to cut a Road to Oswegoe thro' their country, with their promise of assisting in laying it out, and also for building a Fort at Oswego fall 12 miles from Oswego, provided that upon an accommodation with france, it shall be either demolished, or put into the hands of the 6 Nations—The Enemy by the intelligence I received at Onondaga are determined to take post there with a considerable Force, and build a respectable Fort to cut off our communication with Oswego, and if they do, it will very much distress that Garrison and require our attempts to beat them off in order to preserve Oswego

These were the capital Points I negotiated at Onondaga some of the Shawanese & Delaware Indians were there, but untill the Congress was upon the Point of being closed, did not come in a sufficient number to enter upon business, and conclude affairs relating to them with proper anthority

That Treaty was therefore adjourned to my house & those Indians with a Deputation of the Six Nations, came down to Fort Johnson where were present the six Nations Deputies, the King or chief of the Shawanese, the King or chief of the Delawares, settled on the Susquehanna and its Branches, and a great number of the Mohikonders or River Indians whom I lately have drawn up from the Frontiers of this Province, & New Jersey to settle near to, and under the protection of our faithful allies the Mohawks—These Indians were originally Delawares, and are still regarded as Bretheren by them

At this Treaty the Shawanese Chief on behalf of his People, denied their having been concerned in any of the late hostilities committed on the Southern Provinces, that they have & shall continue, to observe in Conjunction with their Bretheren the 6 Nations, an inviolable attachment to their Bretheren the English.

That the Shawanese who are settled on the Ohio, have been many of them seduced by the French, and their Indians, to join in their late hostilities upon the Southern Provinces, but he had and should continue to use his utmost influence to withdraw them from that Interest.

The Delaware King or Cheif confessed that some of his people had been deceived & deluded by the French and the Delawares who live near to Fort Duquene to join them in their late Hostilities. But that the Message I sent to them by the Six Nations Delegates last Winter, & what passed in both our names at the Treaty held in Consequence of that Delegation at Otsiningo had opened their eyes, and that from that time his People had layed down the Hatchet and ceased from further Hostilities.

He expressed his sorrow & repentance for what had passed, and asked pardon with all the marks of a sincere contrition.

In the most solemn manner he renewed the Covenant Chain of Peace Friendship & Alliance in behalf of his People, he promised as a convincing proof of their returning to their duty and fidelity to his Majesty, and their sincere intentions to maintain their engagements now entered into, to return such English Prisoners, (which he said were but few) which had fallen to his Peoples share, during the late Hostilities.

Both he and the Shawanese King accepted the War Belt, sung and danced to the War Song, with extraordinary fervor, and promised to follow the example of the Six Nations in our favor, and when ever I should call upon them to join me at any time or any where in conjunction with the 6 Nations.

I concluded this Treaty by taking off the Petticoat, or that invidious name of Women from the Delaware Nation which hath been imposed on them by the 6 Nations from the time they conquered them, In the name of the Great King of England their

father and on behalf of all their Brethren the English on this continent, and promised them I would use my influence and best endeavors to prevail with the six Nations to follow my example, the Deputies of the Six Nations who were present approved of this measure, but said they were not a sufficient number nor properly authorized to do it on behalf of their constituents, however they would make their report and press it upon them.

If this point should succeed, and our military operations strengthen our consequence, I am persuaded the French will not be able to keep scarcely one Delaware in their Interest.

As my success in this Treaty with the Shawanese and Delawares will be I hope of most happy consequence to the tranquillity of His Majesty's Southern Provinces in particular. The Moment it was ended, I despatched an express with a general account of it to General Abercrombie at Albany, desireing he would transmit it forwards, especially as the Governor of New Jersey to my great surprize had at this very juncture published a Declaration of War against all the Delaware Nation, of which the first notice I had, or have since received, was from the public Prints, which as Gov^{r} Morris had on my representations to M^{r} Shirley & S^{r} Charles Hardy suspended the execution of any Hostilities against them in consequence of his Declaration, till the issue of this Treaty was known, appeared to me a proceeding in Gov^{r} Belcher of a very extraordinary kind. I wrote also Gen^{l} Abercrombie, that in my opinion, if any Hostilities should be committed against the Delawares who had entered into the Treaty they not breaking through it, by any fresh Acts of Hostilities, it would I apprehended be of the most fatal consequences to his Majestys Indian Interests in general, and throw those affairs into a state of confusion from which I believed no person could extricate them—

My Lords

M^{r} Secretary Pownalls letter to me of the 5th of March, with the Papers therein mentioned I have received, and when I have the honor of a conversation with my Lord Loudoun, I shall answer to the articles therein mentioned & I can not at present do it with that Distinctiveness with which I would always wish & endeavour to appear with to your Lordships

I have the honor to be
most respectfully
my Lords, Your Ldps
most obedient most humble
& faithful Servant
W^{m} JOHNSON.

LORDS OF TRADE TO GOVERNOR HARDY OF NEW YORK.

29 July, 1756.

SIR: We have received your letter to us dated the 10th of May last, and the papers transmitted with it.

The Shocking barbarities and cruelties committed by the Delawar and Shawonese Indians upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania, N. Jersey, and Virginia, called loudly for a vigorous persuit of such measures as might be most effectual to induce them to lay down the hatchet against us; that of sending a deputation and message from the Six Nations, was certainly a very prudent step, and it gives us the greatest pleasure to find, it had been attended with success.

We hope that all the matters in dispute, and all the grievances complained of by these Indians, will be accommodated and settled at the general meeting at Onondaga, the result of which, we impatiently wait for.

We hope proper measures have been taken, that the assurances, which Sir William Johnson gave the Onondagas, that they should be supplied with provision, and that a fort should be built in their country, have been faithfully complyed with; and as to the supply of arms & ammunition which they desire, We have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that the Earl of Loudoun has taken out with him a considerable quantity to be distributed in presents to the Indians.

The preventing the Enemy from being supplied with provisions from our own Colonys is of the utmost importance; We hope the rest will follow the example set by New York, in laying a total prohibition upon the exportation of them, which we are inclined to think will be found to be the only effectual method; and We greatly commend the zeal you have shewn for His Majty's service in the method you have pursued, to induce the Legislature, to come into so salutary, and so necessary a measure. We are.

Sir

Your most obedient & most humble servants.

DUNK HALIFAX
ANDREW STONE
JAMES OSWALD
W. G. HAMILTON.

LORDS OF TRADE TO THE GOVERNORS IN AMERICA.

Circular letter to all the Governors in America

WHITEHALL *Oct^r 9, 1756.*

SIR: It having been represented to His Majesty, that the several Islands and Colonies belonging to the French in America have in times of War, been frequently supplyed with Provisions of various kinds by means of the Trade carried on from his Majesty's Islands and Colonies to the Colonies and Settlements belonging to the Dutch and other neutral powers; It is His Majesty's Pleasure that you do forthwith upon the receipt of this order, give immediate directions that an Embargo be laid during His Majesty's Pleasure upon all Ships and Vessels clearing out with provisions from any Port or Place within your Government, except those which shall be employ'd in carrying Provisions to any other of His Majesty's Colonies or Plantations, which Ship or Vessels are to be allowed to sail from time to time, provided that the Masters or owners do before they are permitted to take any Provisions on Board enter into Bonds (with two sureties of known residence there and ability to answer the Penalty) with the Chief Officers of the Customs of the Ports or Places from whence such Ships or Vessels shall set sail, to the value of £1000 if the Ship be of less burthen than 100 tons and of the Sum of £2000 if above that burthen that the Cargos of such Ships or Vessels, the particulars of which are to be express'd in the Bonds, shall not be landed in any other Ports or places, than such as belong to his Majesty or are in possession of His Subjects and that they will within twelve months after the date thereof, the danger of the Seas excepted produce certificates under the hands and Seals of the principal Officers of the Customs at such ports or places, for which such Ships or Vessels cleared out, that the said Cargoes expressing the particulars thereof have actually been landed there and when there shall be cause to suspect that such certificates are false and counterfeit you shall take especial care that such security be not cancelled or vacated untill you shall have been informed from the said principal Officers of the Customs that the matter and contents thereof are just and true, and in case the Masters or owners of such ships or Vessells shall not produce the said certificates within the time limited, you are to attest the copies of such Bonds under your hand and Seal and to cause prosecution thereof; and you are also to give directions, that no person be admitted to be Security for another who has Bonds standing out undischarged, unless to be esteemed responsible for more than the value of such Bonds.

And in order the more fully to answer his Majesty's intention of distressing the enemy and to render his orders herein the more

effectual you are to take care in case the Masters or Owners of any Ships or Vessels having cleared out from the Colony under your Government laden with provisions from any of his Majesty's other Colonies or Islands, shall be detected in causing Collusive Captures to be made of the cargoes that the severest penalties be inflicted upon the offenders which the laws will in such case allow of.

We are Sir

Your most obed^{t} humble Serv^{ts}

DUNK HALIFAX
ANDREW STONE
JAMES OSWALD

REVEREND WILLIAM SMITH TO THE RIGHT REVEREND DR. SECKER.

PHILADELPHIA *Nov^{r} 1st 1756*

MY LORD: The Misery and distress of this unhappy province, bleeding under the Murderous knives of a savage enemy, instigated and led on by popish cruelty, have been so unspeakably great, and the confusions arising from a Quaker Government, obstinately persevering in their absurd pacific Polity, while the sword of the enemy was at our throats, have so thoroughly engrossed my attention, and engaged my weak endeavours to defeat such wicked principles, and procure relief to a miserable people; that I hope to be excused for not having sooner returned my humble acknowledgements for the honour of Your Lordship's letter of February the first, 1755, by the Reverend M^{r} Barton.

I am extremely rejoiced that the worthy Society are so well convinced of the importance of sending Missionaries to the Frontier of our Colonies; and that they took in good part my endeavours to set that matter in a true and striking point of view. The more I consider it, the more I see its importance to the Protestant interest. If the people of the Frontiers were duly sensible of our inestimable privileges, and animated with the true spirit of Protestantism, they would be as a wall of brass round these Colonies; and would rise with a noble ardour to oppose every attempt of a heathen or popish enemy against us. For none were ever brave without some principle or another to animate their conduct; and of all principles, surely a rational sense of British freedom and the purity of our holy religion, is the noblest. Indeed nothing but such a sense propagated and spread to the utmost verge of our Colonies, can keep our people from being drawn off and mixing with our popish

enemies the French, who are still coming nearer and nearer to us and have lately planted a fine Colony of German and other Catholics on the Ohio, near where it falls into the Mississippi; from whence they now supply all their Garrisons on that river, and which will undoubtedly prove a drain or colluvies to receive many of our disaffected Germans and others.

It was from apprehensions of this kind, that I took the liberty to write so fully to the Society when Mr Barton went for holy orders; and since that we have still farther accounts of the growing state of the said French-German Colony. It was from the same apprehensions I so warmly pressed, and so earnestly engaged in, the scheme for planting English schools among our Germans, which now flourish as well as the distracted state of the Country permits; and Your Lordship may depend, that they shall always be conducted with "a due regard to the interests of the Church of England." For, in truth, it is but one part of the same noble scheme in which the venerable Society are engaged; and wherever there are Missionaries near any of the schools, they are either employed as Masters or named among the deputy trustees and Managers of the school. In short, till we can succeed in making our Germans speak English and become good Protestants, I doubt we shall never have a firm hold of them. For this reason, the extending the means of their instruction, as far as they extend their settlement is a matter that deserves our most attentive consideration. I am pleased therefore that your Lordship, and the Society, have given me leave to mention such other places on the frontiers as may be fit to place Missionaries in, so that the Kingdom of Christ may keep pace in its growth, with the growth of the English Colonies. This liberty I shall not fail to make due use of, and likewise to offer a scheme for uniting with the church, all the German Lutherans of this Country; which I am sure would easily take effect. But this is not the time for anything of that nature. Our frontiers at present are so far from extending themselves, or wanting the erection of New Missions, that I fear some of those already erected must fall. Poor Mr Barton has stood it upwards of a year, at the risk of his life, like a good Soldier of Jesus Christ, sometimes heading his people in the character of a clergyman, and sometimes in that of a Captain, being often obliged when they should go to church, to gird on their swords and go against the enemy. If he and two worthy presbyterian Ministers, had not stood it out, I believe all the parts beyond Susquehanah, where his Mission lies, would have been long ago deserted. I ventured out three weeks ago to visit him and some of our German schools in his neighbourhood, and found him universally beloved by his people. But their love is the most they can give him in their present distrest state; and therefore I wish your Lordship would move the honourable Society, to make him some gratuity above his Salary in these troublesome times. I am sure he both wants and deserves it.

I enclose a letter which I sent him after Braddock's defeat, and which he printed with a Sermon. I hope Your Lordship will think it worth perusal, as it agrees so nearly with the sentiments contained in the excellent instructions lately sent over from the Society—But alas! we are here in a sad situation. To meddle with the duty of defence, or paying taxes, or supporting our invaluable rights, will in this province infallibly expose us to party rage. The Quakers, although their own preachers dare publicly propagate notions of non-resistance, non-payment of taxes, and other rebellious doctrines, yet they are sure to wreak their utmost vengeance against us, if we venture, in consequence of our duty, to oppose such poisonous tenets. I have ever been exposed to the Martyrdom of my character on this account; but I remain yet unhurt; and were it otherwise, I should glory in suffering in so good a cause. It is true, I shall never meddle otherwise in such matters, than becomes a good subject, who is a friend to Government, yet at the same time I scorn to burn incense on the altar of popular folly, or to be a silent spectator of my country's ruin. To conceive Your Lordship, however, with what temper I have managed my part of the opposition to such destructive tenets, I enclose a paper called Plain Truth, which I hope your Lordship will also peruse, as it will give a most striking representation of the present state of the province, and the moderation as well as warmth of those arguments by which we are obliged to combat the doctrines that have so long most unnaturally tied up our hands, and exposed us to be passively slaughtered by a cruel foe.—

I had the honor to receive a letter lately from the Rev^{d} D^{r} Bearcroft in the name of the Society, relating to a plan for educating some Indian Children at the College and Academy of Philadelphia. This I think a most excellent proposal and perfectly agreeable to the great original design of the Society; namely—"The glorifying the name of *Jesus*, by the further enlargement of his church, and particularly the spreading his everlasting gospel among the heathen natives of America, as well by instructing and civilizing those of them that are grown up, as by laying a foundation for educating, clothing and training up their children in the knowledge of morality, true religion, the English tongue, and some trade, mystery or lawful calling, should they be disposed to follow it." This the Society have been frequently attempting in various places, and though God has not yet been pleased to grant any remarkable degree of success, yet still the design is worthy of being persisted in. For if ever the savages are converted to Christianity, their conversion must begin among the rising generation by a more general education of their children, since the few that have been hitherto educated by us, are but as a drop of tincture thrown into a large collection of waters, and lost therein; being too inconsiderable to have any effect. It would be well, therefore if in every Colony bordering on any Indian

Nations, there were a provision for educating such of their Children as can be persuaded to accept of it, and the more publicly this is done, so much the better; who knows the time when, or the means by which, the Lord may be pleased to bless the great work. If but one savage should be truly illuminated with the true spirit of Christianity, it is worth all the expense—Perhaps even that *one* might convert thousands—and after all, if they should return, like the sow to her wallowing in the mire yet still their being publicly educated among us, will give them connections with us, and at least leave some impressions of humanity among them especially to such of us as they may have known at school

The great difficulty is to persuade them to accept of such an offer. The Government must be security for their good treatment; and none but the provincial interpreters with the credit of our Governors and great men, can prevail on them to trust us with their children. In this view, the College and Academy of Philadelphia has a fair chance. The province have never broke faith with the Indians, and the chief men in the province are engaged in the trust and direction of our Academy. We have now two Indian Children of a considerable family who have been at it these two years, and can now read and write English &c and if any body can engage more to come, it is M^r^ Weiser our interpreter and the credit of the Trustees of the Academy. As I have the honor to be Provost of it, nothing shall be wanting on my part in so good a work. I have mentioned the terms to D^r^ Bearcroft more fully, to which I beg leave to refer Your Lordship for such points as are not here mentioned, and perhaps this letter may be of use with regard to some things I have not had time to mention in his. I enclose a view of the College-part of our institution by which your Lordship will see that our plan is an extensive and liberal one. The Academy is the lower part of it, confined to the English language, writing and the mechanic arts.

The bearer of this is the Rev^d^ M^r^ Israel Acrelius, a learned Swede, who has been several years Commissary to the Swedish Congregations on Delaware, and now returns to considerable preferment in his own Country, as a reward of his faithful labours. He is well entitled to the honour of Your Lordship's Notice, and knows the state of all the Missions in this province perfectly well. There is a good deal of confusion in some of them, and as he is an impartial person, his account will no doubt be of weight should he be called upon. He has often preached in English, and made use of our service. His chief abode was near Newcastle, which now apply to have M^r^ Cleveland for a Missionary, as he could not find admittance at Lewes, whither he was sent by the Society, which deserves no further notice till they discharge the disorderly and worthless man who has excluded M^r^ Cleveland. The people of Newcastle are very

fond of Mr Cleveland and he is a worthy man, and will prevent the church from going to pieces, as I fear it otherwise will, if three or four removes are made in our Missions, which I hear proposed, without any good reason that I can learn. There are many other circumstances that deserve consideration before such removes are made, which I have no call to mention, as I am but little connected with what relates to Missionaries—I leave all to Mr Acrelius who will be on the spot, and can have no interest in being partial, as he is never to return to this place.

I hope Your Lordship will excuse the length of this letter, and take in good part the freedom wherewith I speak my honest sentiments, relating to the weighty subjects it treats of. When Your Lordship can spare a few Moments from the important duties of your station, to favor me with any future commands in return to this (which I shall earnestly expect) the Honourable Mr. Penn, at his house in spring Garden will find means to convey it. I have the honour to be

My Lord

Your Lordship's most
dutiful Son & Servant
(signed) WILLIAM SMITH.

My Lord of Oxford—

JOURNAL OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON'S PROCEEDINGS WITH THE INDIANS.

Fort Johnson *21 July. 1756*

Several Onondaga Warriors & Cheifs arrived whom Sir William Johnson cloathed and armed

22 July. Several Schoharee & Aughquagey Indians arrived, whom Sir William also cloathed and armed

The Schoharee Indians acquainted him, their Fort was almost finished, and would be glad to have an officer with whom they were acquainted, and a party of men posted there, for the protection of their wives and children, whilst they went out to war with Sir William which they said they were waiting for every day—

Gave 3 Strings of Wampum

Sir William assured them they should have an officer and a party of Men there and thanked them for the readiness they expressed to join him; he told them he would shortly call all their People to his House and cloath and arm them, also the River Indians who were settled amongst them—

3 Strings

They returned many thanks and promised the would be always ready at a call

23 July Several Delawares from the Western Branches of the Susquehanna arrived at Fort Johnson, and acquainted S^r^ W^m^ that there were about 100 Men of their People by the way, and would be here in two days, and that they were sent before to let him know it, that he might provide Provisions for them, both at his House and on the Road. He dispatched two of them with an order to John Wells at Cherry Valley and to Robert Flint to supply them by the way and to tell them he was ready to receive them and would be glad to see them at his House

The same day a son of Bunt an Onondaga Sachem, with Tagagedora a Warrior, and 16 more Onondaga Indians arrived in order to be cloathed and armed which was accordingly done to their satisfaction—Three sons of the Bunt^s^ in particular had several fine things given them, together with laced Hatts as their Father is cheif of the Onondaga and a firm friend to the English Interest

The returned many thanks, and promised to be ready at any time to join our arms

The same day Sir William redeemed an English boy taken Prisoner some time last winter at Juniata, the Indian he bought him from, paid the Indian who took him £5, otherwise they would have carried him to the French at the Ohio, after paying the boys ransom, Sir William cloathed and armed the Indian, and gave his wife cloaths, and they parted greatly pleased and promised to remain freinds to the English

24 July. Cloathed & armed 10 onondagas more to whom S^r^ William gave 10 Bags of Corn, a Battoe and cash to purchase sundry necessarys, the cheif mans name was Tekawaghsoweghte, Sir William also threw a large Black Belt, to go and get him a prisoner in the room of Capt^n^ Stoddert, killed at the Lake and their great freind which they expected and promised to perform as soon as they got home.

25 July Sir William called a Meeting of all the Nations present, viz: Senecas, Cayougas, Onondagas, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Canajoharies, Mohawks Mohickanders, Delawares, Shawanese, Aughquages and Chucknutts, and after the usual complim^ts^ and ceremonies he told them that as Lord Loudoun was not yet arrived he would have some of the Warriors of the 6 Nations go to Canada, and try, whether the Hatchet he lately sharpned for them at Onondaga would cut well, if not that he would give it a better edge (and thereupon delivered a large War Belt:) which Thomas an Aughquaga Cheif took and rose up singing the War song, and gave assurances he would go and muster his men, and make Trial of it in a very few days, after which he delivered it to an Onondaga Cheif to whom S^r^ William had given a Belt the morning before. He an-

swered that he had the Hatchett given by S^{r} William and was going to use it as soon as he got to his Castle ; he deliver^{d} it to the Oneidas and desired they together with the other Nations present would make use of it—Then Capt^{n} Montour, whom S^{r} William had appointed a Captain of a party of Indians rose up and sung his War Song, and told them all, he intended to set off for Canada in 3 or 4 days and hoped to be back time enough to join His Majestys forces. Sr William order^{d} an entertainment for all the Warriors then present at which they danced the War dance ; and several joined M^{r} Montours Party.

26 July. Sir William Cloathed and armed several Delaware and Shawanese Indians, who came from the Southward and told him there were many more by the Road

Several Indians arrived this day from different Parts, among which were some Tuscaroras, who said there were above 80 more of that Nation by the way and would be here the next day.

27 July. Six Seneca Warriors (who came with one Abeel an Albany Trader, to help him down with a Parcel of Skins, which he fraudulently got in the Seneca country) arrived here and told S^{r} William they were very ill used by one Capt^{n} Williams who was posted at the Oneida Carrying Place, that on their arrival there he told them he looked upon them to be in the French Interest, and so disarmed them on which they asked him if he looked upon them in that light why he did not confine them, he answered if their Nation were all there he would do so. They asked who he had it from he answered from Sir William Johnson by a letter—On which they desired some Onondagas who were there, to run with the News to their Nation and let them know the danger they were in

Sir William told them it was a villanous falsehood of William^{s} own coining & at the same time let them know that he was a Prisoner now at Albany for using the Indians of Oneida & other Nations after the same manner and told them he would let the General know this, which when added to his crimes would sink him they said he deserved it & was a bad man

Gave them Pipes & Tobacco and a glass of Rum, also Tents to lodge in & Provisions telling them that the next day they should all be armed and cloathed—They were accordingly arm^{d} and cloathed for which they were very thankful

28th July In the afternoon 20 Mohawk Warriors of the Tribe of the Turtle, came to show themselves at S^{r} Williams House and to receive their orders, also to know whether he would allow some young men from Albany to join them as a scalping design as Voluntiers. After Sir William convinced them that the Albany men had acted wrong in not first applying to him, he told them they might take them along and to agree as brothers whilst they were togethers. S^{r} William then ordered them to proceed directly to

Canada, and take and destroy as many of the enemy as they could, also destroy and burn every thing belonging to the enemy in their Power. After giving the white men the same lesson, he bid them farewell, assuring them if they behaved bravely, he would use them well on their return; which they promised to do and so parted—

The same day about 6 oclock P M

105 of the Delaware, Nantiokes and Aughquaga Indians arrived in a Body, when they came near the House they fired incessantly for a quarter of an hour. The compliment was returned by a Discharge of 3 small Canon which gave them great Pleasure the Interpret^r brought them into the Council Room where Sir William received them by shaking hands all round. Then M^r Montour stood up and performed the ceremony of wiping the Tears from their eyes clearing their speech, and covering the bodies of all their friends, whom they had lately lost with 6 Strings Wampum

Peter a Delaware Sachem stood up & said

Brother Johnson

As it is now late, and our old People much fatigued after a long journey we shall defer saying any thing this Night, in the morning you may expect to hear us speak. The Interpreter was then ordered to shew them their Quarters and give Provisions—After drinking the Kings Health they had their Pipes & Tobacco and so parted for the night.

EOD. DIE. *8 oclock evening*

Sir William had a meeting with the Senecas who came down with John Abeels Skins, and gave them 8 Strings of Wampum, desiring they would as soon as possible undeceive their Nation and the others with regard to the villanous falsehoods, which Capt^n Williams told them at the carrying Place, and that they would let them all know he was now a Prisoner at Albany & would be tried for the several misdemeanors and crimes laid to his charge. This they promised to do immediately, and added that they were fully satisfied that what he said with regard to S^r William was false, and so ended

At a Meeting of a number of the Mohawk Warriors of the Turtle Tribe, Aron one of their chiefs spoke as follows

PRESENT—M^r Croghan
Jacobus Clement Interp^tr

Brother Warraghiyagey

As we understood you were displeased with our late conduct, in taking some Albany People to go to War with us, we beg leave to acquaint you how we were brought into it. This young man (pointing to an Indian called Anias) was in Albany whilst we were at Onondaga, and passing by the Tavern, was called to by Lidius' son out of a window. after he put up his horse, he came to the Room where this son of Lydius was, with several other young men in company, after making him drink several glasses of Wine Lydius' son told him he had a mind to go a scalping to Canada, and asked

whether he or any of the Mohawks would join him, the Indian answered he could not tell, upon which Lydius Son desired he would acquaint the Mohawks with his Resolutions, and that he would come up to their castle the next day. He arrived there the second day and called a meeting of the Warriors, when he told 'em his resolution of going to Canada and by 3000 of Wampum which he gave them, desired they would accompany thither, several of them being in liquor they accepted of it and promised to go with him, but Aron and some more of them being very drunk, and not remembering what had passed the night before, called a second Meeting in which it was agreed they would keep untill those of their people who attended Sir William to Onondaga returned and that then they would give him a determinate Answer. On the return of those from Onondaga they were called to Albany by said Lidius and his associates, where they were treated by said Party very generously and offered them money which they refused, except a young Lad who received a Dollar from Lidius son, and Anias some small matter of the rest they also say they were much pressed to go to Albany and took their departure from thence, which they refused This, said Aron is what past, and what you may depend upon for truth, if we have done wrong it is inadvertently, so hope you will think favorably of us, and let us know your pleasure—so ended

29 July Sir William called the Seneca Indians again together, and gave them a Black Belt of Wampum, to revenge the Death of Capt[n] Jonathan Stevens a great friend of theirs who was killed at Lake George in the action of the 8[th] Sept[r]

They received it willingly and said they were concerned for his Death he being a particular friend of theirs, they would as soon as they got home where their men were take it into consideration and comply with his desire—Then S[r] William gave them 4 Strings of Wampum to deliver to Saghsowano and Tarrawariax and the head Warriors of that Nation, and desired they would come down to him as soon as possible with their young Warriors, they took the Strings and promised to deliver the same faithfully

Then gave them a present for their father Tageghsado the chief Sachem of that Nation, also money to buy them provisions along the road and Skins for shoes and so parted. also a kettle

At a Metting of the 6 Nations, Delawares Shawanese, and other Indians from the Southward

PRESENT—Sir William Johnson
M[r] Croghan
M[r] M[c]Clean
M[r] Johnson
Interpreters
Capt Montour
Jacobus Clement

The Southern Indians said

Brother Warraghiyagey

Your kind reception of us yesterday and the care you took of condoling our losses, gives us the greatest pleasure

We in return, (well knowing the many losses you dayly sustain) sincerely condole with you for yours

Gave 6 Strings of Wampum

Sir William said

Brothren of the Shawanese and Delaware Nation and you of the other Nations now come who were not present to hear what passed here the 11 Instant—the reason of my calling this meeting is to let you all know what was then agreed upon between me in behalf of the English and your Deputies in behalf of your Nation, and as those of your People to whom I then spoke in behalf of your Nations are now present they can repeat to you the whole of what was then transacted and I hope and doubt not from the hearty professions they then made on their and your behalf but you will approve and readily ratify, the same being for our mutual Interest

The Delaware and Shawanese King desired Sir William would repeat it, to M^{r} Montour and he deliver it what was done

Sir William then said

Bretheren

As the engagements you have now entered into are recorded here in your presence, and not to be altered but remain an everlasting Testimony and Tie upon us who are remarkable for adhering to our engagements, I therefore desire and expect that you will on your Parts keep it in your memories and imprint it in the minds of all your young people, and then you will not be again bewildered.

Gave 3 Strings of Wampum.

After the whole was repeated in public the Shawanese King stood up and that M^{r} Montour for delivering so well and asked the Assembly whether they thoroughly understood all that was said, on being ans^{d} in the affirmative, the Delaware King stood up and strongly recommended to them all to keep in their minds what was said as it would be their Interest; then rose up the cheif of the Delawares who arrived yesterday and expressed his satisfaction at what he and his people had heard, and to have it from Sir William's own mouth, assuring him it was very agreeable to them all, and that the approved of, and would strictly abide by what had been agreed to by those of their nation, who came before them.

Gave 3 Strings Wampum

Sir William then told them he was sorry to seem so destitute of necessaries, and that he would immediately order them cloathing arms and ammunition &ca for which they returned many thanks

and shewed visible satisfaction in their looks—Theydrank the Kings health and so ended this meeting

After which there were above 80 cloathed and fitted out with necessaries

About 2 oclock the Tuscaroras arrived with colours flying, they fired 3 volleys by the house, which was returned by 3 small Cannon. S[r] William ordered the Interpreter to bring them into the Council Room, where he bid them welcome and perform[d] the usual ceremony of drying their eyes, clearing their Throats &c they returned many thanks and did the same on their Parts; then they had Pipes Tobacco and some Rum with which the drank the Kings health—Then provisions was ordered to their quarters and business adjourned till tomorrow morning

30 July. Sir William sent the Tuscaroras and told them that as he expected Lord Loudoun was now arrived at Albany he was under a necessity of going there to wait on him, so desired they would excuse his leaving matters unsettled till he returned which he hoped would be in 4 or 5 days, that in the mean time they should be supplied with Provisions and every other necessary as well as if he was at home— Gave 3 Strings of Wampum

They answered

Brother

We are sensible you would not leave home at this Time, if something extraordinary did not require it, therefore we are thoroughly satisfied with what you say and thankful for the care you promised shall be taken of us in your absence

Brother

Our young men and Women have brought down many things to have mended by the smith, and want some new to be made, viz Hows, axes, Guns, Kettles &c[a] which we wish you would leave orders to have done against your return, and we shall remain contented here

Sir William replyed

Bretheren

I will order your axes Guns & to be mended, and some new to be made immediately, and when I return shall cloath and arm all your people and send them home well equipped—For which they returned hearty thanks & so broke up

FORT JOHNSON *5 Aug[t] 1756*

On Sir Williams return from Albany several Onondagas who arrived in his absence came in and spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

We are a Deputation sent by our Nation, to acquaint you that we are in great want of Provisions Ammunition & arms, which we ernestly entreat you to send us as soon as possible

Sir William said
Bretheren

I am sorry to hear you are in such distress, I sent by some of your people last week 30 Skiples of Corn, they would of had 100 Skipples, but they would not carry more at that time, since which the great number of Indians come here have made use of that and a great deal more, however I shall order up here immediately a sufficient quantity for you all, and as soon as it comes I shall distribute it amongst you I will also give you a Barrel of Powder to take to your Castle and lead equivalent. I hope you will make good use of it against our common enemy, you shall also have 4 Swivels for your Fort; for all which they returned their most hearty thanks and promised to make good use of all the received drank the Kings health, gave Pipes and Tobacco and so ended the Meeting

EOD: DIE: *12 oclock Noon*

Kindaruntie the great Seneca Warrior arrived here with 8 men more of said Nation, and after the usual ceremony of meeting was over on Sir Williams side

with 3 Strings Wampum

He desires time untill to morrow to return the compliment for him and his party, he mentioned that the Senecas had desired that he and the party with him would guard the workmen hither whom S[r] William had sent up to build their fort, and returned him their thanks for making choice of such good men.

Sir William said
Bretheren of the Senecas,

I approve much of your Sachems Prudence and care of their Bretheren in sending some of their Warriors to guard them home, and more particularly for making so good a choice as of you and your party. I hope the Fort is made to their liking, and that it may be a security to you all your Wives and children against any designs or attempts of your and our common enemy the French, which was the only view in building it

Kindaruntie answered it was to their liking, and he did not doubt but it would be the means of preserving the lives of their old men Women and children, which assurance gave them great pleasure

After drinking the Kings Health & Pipes and Tobacco, they were supplied with Provisions, and a Tent, & so broke up

The same day at seven in the evening, some Indians who came from Albany arrived in camp crying their murder shout, which immediately drew all the Indians together before the Gate. Sir W[m] enquired what the news was, they told him, that one of their People named Jerry a Tuscarora was killed and his head cut off and set on a stake in the camp at Skonactady, by some of the officers and soldiers, while the account was giving several of the Indians were

gnashing their teeth and in a prodigious passion. To cool which Sir William called several Sachems and cheifs of that Nation into a Room in order to settle their minds a little, which by several arguments he made use of, and telling them he proposed replacing of him in the morning by giving a scalp, Belt of Wampum &c^{a} had some effect. but still out of doors they were very warm, in short one of them went around their camp, calling to them to prepare their arms &c^{a} and be ready in the morning

Friday morning the 6th of August Mr Croghan and others reported to Sir William, that allmost all the Indians left their camp round His House last night and went into the woods with all their goods arms &c^{a} and returned this morn^{g}, Sir William finding this to be true called a Meeting of all the Nations here viz Mohawks Conajoharees, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Cayougas Onondagas Senecas Delawares, Shawanese and Monseys

PRESENT—M^{r} Croghan D^{r} Catherwood
Capt Butler M^{r} Butler & or geñts
Arent Stevens Interp^{tr}

Kindarundie a Seneca Cheif stood up and performed all the ceremony of delivering over three Scalps, and a bundle of goods by itself—One scalp Belt and Bundle was in the room of the Tuscarora merdered at Schonactady by the officers and soldiers of the 44 Regiment named Jerry alias Showonidous, an other scalp Belt and Bundle for Karanaske a Tuscarora who was killed at the engagement at Lake George, an other Scalp Belt and Bundle in the room of . . . . . a Seneca a great friend of Sir Williams—The bund[l]e of goods was to cover the grave of Swegewy a Tuscarora who was drowned here a few days ago

They received all this with great signs of satisfaction returned thanks and parted for that time

The same evening at a Meeting with the Senecas, Kinderundie their cheif spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

On our arrival here it being late and we being much fatigued we desire time to return your kind compliment and thank you for the freindly reception you gave us, we now take this opportunity of doing it with the greatest gratitude and sincerity, for you have remov^{d} all our troubles and sorrows (: meaning by the scalps &c^{a}) which we must own we were loaded with, when we came here for the several losses we had suffered since we saw you last particularly in that of your and our great friend . . . . . who was unfortunately killed by the fall of a Bear Trap some time ago

He then desired Sir William would relate to him and his warriors present what he had proposed to the Six Nations in the late Meeting at Onondaga, that he might acquaint the rest of his people with

it. Sir William mentioned some of the most material Points particularly his sharpening the Hatchett which he knew was the cheif point he wanted to hear; he returned his hearty thanks & said he now knew what was done, but before he could not tell how to act as the Sachems sometimes keep them in the dark by misrepresentations. An other private meeting was agreed upon, and so parted for the present

Saturday morning 7 August, Sir William dispatched two Tuscarora Indians to the carrying Place and Oswego with Packetts of letters, and gave them a letter to the commanding officer of the several Posts to Oswego to supply them with Provisions

Eod: Die. At a Meeting of the 6 Nations &ca

Arent Stevens Interpr

An Onnondaga Indian stood up and spoke as follows.

Brother Warraghiyagey

The early and prudent measures which you yesterday took, to quiet our minds and repair our late losses has had so great an effect upon us that we now assure you we will pull up a large Pine Tree, and bury under its Roots this unhappy affair so that it may never give either of us any more uneasiness; you may well think we were not firmly fixed in our Resolutions to live and die with you and our Bretheren the English such unheard of usage to one of our People might have turned our heads and hearts, but we are determined nothing shall.

The only ill consequence we now apprehend from this unhappy affair is that the many Indians whom you have and are still drawing to you from the Ohio and all about there, may be discouraged and prevent others coming to you, lest they should be treated in the same manner, for there are not many in those parts who have not assisted the French. Gave a Belt

Brother

As you have often advised and desired us, not to go to Canada, but look this way to our Brethren, we will now tell you the reason we had for going that way so often. The French used us very kindly and supplyed all our wants, both young and old with the best of things but as you assured us some time ago, that if we would leave off going to Canada, our Father the King would let us want for nothing. We now assure you we are determined to follow your advice, and we expect as you have stopped up that road, and also keep us from hunting that you will supply our necessary wants for which end we have brought now our old and young here

Gave 3 Strings of Wampum

Brother

There are some of us who have great occasion for a little Rum, therefore beg you will let us have some to carry home

3 Strings

Sir Williams answer

Brethren of the Tuscorora Nation

The satisfaction you express at the measures I have taken, and the assurances you give me of your having buried in oblivion, the sorrow & anger occasioned by the loss of one of your People being killed lately near Schonectady by some of our rash young men, gives me the greatest pleasure, as it will appear to all our Bretheren and the General in particular (by whose letter to me which I shewed you all yesterday you see he is your friend and determined that all the justice possibly should be done you:) a convincing proof of your wisdom and attachment to the King your father & them

As this affair is now settled, I must by this Belt of Wampum desire you will let all the Nations know it, and prevent its having any ill effects as far as is in your power, and I do also by this said Belt in behalf of the General, and all the great men here assure you it gave them as much concern as it did me or could you, and you may depend upon it, that for the Future the greatest care will be taken, to prevent any thing of the kind happening or any difference whatsoever arising between us or your receiving any ill treatment from our People, and I doubt not you will be as careful on your Parts to keep up a good harmony with all your Bretheren which is the only way to be strong and live happy a large Belt

Bretheren

I am glad you have listened to my advice as it will be our mutual Interest. You must be sensible of the impropriety and prejudice of your going to Canada at any time but especially at this time, when you have the Hatchet in your hands against the French. their opinion as well as ours of you in this case could not be favorable wherefore I shall not say any thing further on that head and proceed to the point you have in view which is my supplying you with the necessaries your People want. In answer to which I am to tell you that I am empowered by the King my Master to take care of and supply the wants of all those who are his dutiful children, and will by their actions now shew that they are such, with what necessaries they may want, and you will find me allways ready to fulfil his orders and your expectations therein.

I shall give orders immediately for the clothing your People, give you arms ammunition and Provisions also, as you say you are in great want of them and while you continue his Mâtys faithful allies, you may depend upon his protection and assistance which I confirm with these strings of Wampum 3 Large Strings

Bretheren

As you say you have great occasion for a few Caggs of Rum, I

will order them for you and hope you will not make a bad use of them.

For all which they returned their hearty thanks and went to the Store to receive their clothing.

After which Sir William called 4 of their chiefs and gave them a private Present.

Sunday 8 August 1756 Nine warriors from Aughquagey and Schoharee with about 20 others accompanying them arrived here, firing their pieces and singing their war Song. S[r] William sent the Interpreter to bring them into a room where he met them and bid them welcome

They returned thanks for the entertainm[t] he had ordered for them the night before as the Mohawks Castle and told him they were now come to let him know their resolutions, and to receive his directions

At this time several Oneida Sachems with others of their Nation arrived and were brought into the council Room, which prevented any further conference at that time with the foregoing Indians

The Oneidas said there were many more of their Nation by the way, and would be here tomorrow, so that they should say nothing till they were all mett

Skanonyade or the Half King with 6 Seneca Warriors, came into the Room and spoke as follows.

Arent Stevens Interp[tr]

Brother

When you was last at Onondaga amongst other things you desired the 6 Nations would prepare themselves and be ready at a call to join you and the army, altho' we were not present at that meeting, yet hearing that the 6 Nations had promised to comply with your request we resolved immediately to come down and offer our service to you we doubt not from what you promised and what we have seen, but you will consider our wants, and supply us with every thing necessary for warriors Gave 3 Strings Wampum

Brother

We were told last year by General Shirley that he would build large Canoes (: meaning vessels :) and with them take all that passed between Cadaracqui and Niagara, and by that means starve them at Niagara we see the vessels have been a long time built, and yet we see Provisions &[ca] dayly carried to Niagara without any more interception than before you had big Canoes

Brother

We now beg you will make better use of your large vessels, and don't suffer the French to pass and repass unmolested as they now dayly do Gave hereupon 3 Strings Wampum

Brother

The Senecas of the next Seneca Castle to ours charged us to tell you

that they were in such want of Provisions as must oblige them to leave it and seek in the woods for Roots & Herbs unless you send them some relief very soon

Sir Williams answer to the foregoing

Bretheren of the Senecas

I am glad to find your Nation so well inclined and ready to comply with my earnest request you may depend on my being as ready to supply the wants of all those who are His Majestys faithful allies. and as a Testimony of it, I shall give orders that as many of you as are here be immediately supplied with the necessaries you have occasion to, and shall do the same to as many of your people as come to me 3 Strings of Wampum

Bretheren

As to what you say concerning our big Canoes there is some reason may be assigned for their not being as yet so useful as might be expected, when you consider that our people are not acquainted with the Lake so well as the French, who have used it so long, and know every harbor fit to run into, which is a great advantage

In the next place the French had vessels built before us and can build more in several places, we can only build them in one place which is oswego however as we have now an experienced General, I dare say there will be better use made of the Big Canoes than heretofore and that everything under his direction and command will be carried on with the greatest Prudence and expedition possible.

Bretheren

I am sorry to hear that your people are so scarce of Provisions, I have Indian Corn which you can come for when you please, or if you cannot bring it up with your people I will order it up for them

For which they returned many thanks and parted

In the evening (8th August:) above 50 Oneidas arrived whom Sir William kindly received and treated with Pipes Tobacco and Rum, and ordered them quarters and Provisions telling them he would confer with them when he had gone through the business in hand.

Monday Morning 9th Aug: The Oneidas came for an order to the Smith for mending their arms kettles &ca which was given them.

Same morning 84 of the Delawares arrived, when they came near the House the kept a constant firing for a quarter of an hour which was returned by a discharge of 3 Pattereres

They were ordered to be quartered & provisions given to them Sir William could not then speak to them as he was engaged in council with the Chiefs of the Mohawk Castles who spoke as follows

Brother

As you have drained both our castles of most of our young men to go out a fighting we expect you will reinforce us by getting us a

sufficient number of Soldiers to protect our wives and children in their absence, otherways we think ourselves exposed to any attempt of the enemy—This is what was promised us and we think reasonable therefore can not think you will deny our request A Belt

Sir William replyed

Bretheren of both Mohawk Castles

I am sensible of your readiness & attachment to his Matys service and shall never forget it: I am also sensible of the promises made you, and as I think it reasonable your castles should be secured I shall let the General know your desire A Belt

This day Sir William ordered a list to be taken of all the Indians, they amounted to men, Women & children 926, several went away yesterday and the day before

9 August P: M. The Seneca Indians received a handsome present, cash to buy provisions on their way home &ca

Tuesday 10 August Sir William called the Senecas again and gave them a Belt of Wampum, inviting the four leading warriors of that Nation to come down to him immediately with their parties, they were much pleased with the Invitation, and promised faithfully to deliver the Belt

Eod die. A great number of Delaware, Monseys, and some Aughguagey Indians who arrived yesterday came into the Council Room and spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

We have long since heard of you & your regard for the Indians but never had an opportunity of meeting you before this day, we thank the great Being above who has allowed us to meet each other, we by this String of Wampum open up your ears that you may hear somewhat we shall tomorrow say, for we see you are now full of business 3 Strings Wampum

Bretheren of the Monsey & Delaware Nations

When I heard some time ago of your people settling amongst the six Nations it gave me great satisfaction and now much more to see you here at this meeting place of the Six Nations and their allies. My ears shall be open to what you have to say tomorrow or at any time, and I do with these Strings of Wampum clear your ears and understanding, that you may also hear and understand distinctly what I have to say to you 3 Strings Wampum

They were ordered Pipes Tobacco and Beer and Rum—and took their leave for that time—

Eod: die. In the evening the Sachems of the Tuscarora Nation met to whom Sir William spoke as follows

Bretheren of Tuscarora

As I understand you are to sett off tomorrow, I have prepared

every thing for your People and journey as you desired viz: Indian Corn for the support of your families until your crops are ripe, Swivel Guns for your Fort, Cloathing for your People and men to build a good Block House on the eminence which commands your Fort. As your Father the King takes care of you and as you see all the Nations are turning out some of their young men to war against our common enemy the French: I now expect by this Belt of Wampum that you will encourage your young men to turn out also which will induce me to supply your further wants.

A Belt of Wampum.

Their Answer.

Brother

We of the Tuscarora Nation are very thankful to our father the King and you, for supplying our wants so far and building a place of security for us, you may be assured we the sachems will acquaint the young men of our Nation with your desire, and encourage them to comply with it. At the same time we must tell you we did not expect you would call upon us till you were ready to move with your army, when we all promised to join you when ever you went as our hunting is entirely impeded by this quarrel between you and the French, and as none of our Nation ever go to Canada we have no way to supply our Families but by applying to you, what you have now given us is very considerable and satisfactory yet it is far short of what we realy want A Belt.

Brother

As we have rejected all the great offers of the French Governor lately made us and of the Priest at Swegachie, and as we have been and are now firm friends of yours, we are now under some apprehensions that the French may attempt destroying us especially when our young men turn out to war against them, wherefore we should be glad you should send some men to our Castle to protect our families, and in that case we beg you may chuse a good discret officer and sober Party

Sir Williams answer.

Bretheren of Tuscarore

I shall let Lord Loudoun know your desire, and when I know his Pleasure shall acquaint you with it.

THURSDAY, *12th August, 1756.*

The Oneidas being met spoke as follows

Canaghquayèson Speaker
Arent Stevens Interpreter

After going through the usual Ceremonies on those occasions said

Brother Warraghiyagey

As we understand you have now the sole management of our af-

fairs and the care of us and our families put into your hands by the King our common Father, who you have often told us would protect and assist us for these Reasons we are come to let you know our wants in hopes you will supply them. In the first place we are in want of cloathing, Provisions some arms & ammunition which (as our hunting is prevented by you desiring us to hold ourselves in Readiness:) we cannot get but from you— A Belt.

In the next Place as you have built a Fort in our country, for the Protection of our old People wives and children &ª we now beg we may have a good officer and a sufficient Party of good men to garrison it, and that the officer may have some Powder Lead &ᶜᵃ to give us. The French officers all have in plenty, and you may depend upon it we shall be ready to go with you to War when you call upon us A Belt

Sir Williams Answer.

Bretheren of Oneida

The Great King your Father & my master has been pleased to appoint me to the sole management and care of you and your affairs, and as I told you and the rest of the 6 Nations before, has ordered me to acquaint you all that he is determined to protect you and all his faithful allies, against our and your perfidious enemies the French or any others, and as to supplying your wants he has enabled me to do it, and you may depend upon my obeying his Royal commands on all necessary occasions as far as in my power

A Belt

As to garrisoning your Fort I approve of it and shall acquaint my Lord Loudoun with your desire, and when I know his Lordships Pleasure, I will acquaint you with it: As to Arms, ammunition &c which you desire the officer may have to supply you with as occasion may require, I doubt not he may be enabled to do it. I must tell you your acting vigorously with His Majestys Troops in defence of his and your Rights here will be the greatest inducement to him to continue his fatherly care over you, and mine also.

A Belt

Sir William then ordered of them to be cloathed and some armed, and 50 Skipples of corn to be given them to carry them home, and promised them when he could get arms which he dayly expected that they should have more

For all which they returned many thanks and so the meeting broke up

Sir William gave Captⁿ Butler orders to make out a Party of 6 Indians to escort Major Genˡ Webb and the Troops under his command to Oswego, and some of them to guard Major Eyres while building a Fort at Oswego falls

FRYDAY *morning 13 Aug 1756*

At a meeting of the Onondagas Oneidas Tuscaroras, Sir William spoke to them as follows

Arent Stevens Interpreter

Bretheren of the 3 Nations here present

As Major Gen^{l} Webb is now marching to Oswego with a Number of His Majestys Troops and a considerable quantity of Provision for that Garrison, and as it will be necessary for the safety of the Troops and stores to have a number of your people to join them I expect & desire you will furnish a sufficient number of your young men for that Service, and as I lately desired they may be ready at the German Flatts to join the General

Gave a Belt of Wampum

Bretheren

I can not help taking notice of a very wrong Custom introduced amongst you last year and still continued which is that of paying your people at the rate of 4 shillings p^{r} day when upon Service, I must say I think it was a bad precedent and wrong in you to accept it considering the vast quantity of Goods, Arms, and ammunition dayly given to you, and the great expence of building Forts garrisoning them &^{ca} in your country, and maintaining your families cheifly here and in your Country, besides the service you were employed in by General Shirley was for your security & protection as well as for ours

Bretheren

In former times when we went to war together against the French your ancestors never even thought of Pay and that you should now expect it at a time when His Majesty assures you of his Protection & assistance when you see such convincing proofs of our readiness to defend you from any attempts of the enemy as you experienced last spring when I march^{d} a considerable number of men from distant parts of the country four several times on your acquainting me of the Danger you imagined you were then in—This I did cheerfully as did the men whom I command^{d} without any regard to pay, and are ready and willing to do the same whenever necessary; for those several weighty reasons I must again say; I think you should not insist on any pay, but if pay is insisted upon I think it should be much less, which I desire you will seriously consider A Belt.

Upon which Canaghquayeson the head Sachem of the Oneida spoke—viz.

Brother Warraghiyagey

As soon as we heard, which was a few days ago, of your wanting some of our young men to go to Oswego with Capt^{n} Butler as a guard for the Battoes, we got them ready and hold them still in readiness to march when called upon

A Belt

Brother

As to the Custom which you complain of being introduced last year amongst us we are not to blame for. When General Shirley went to Oswego last summer and wanted some young men to go with him, he told us *we should have whatever we asked for* that he had money enough and that our young men should be well paid, which they have accordingly been, and several of them had great sums given to them besides their days pay, and others commissions for which they had a great deal of money—Skeanoh meaning Capt[n] Broadstreet also told us that we should have 10*f*. P[r] Day, the next time he wanted us to go to Oswego with him, From all this it appears to us that it must be the Great mans (meaning Lord Loudoun:) or your doings, to overset what has been so wisely thought necessary for as we are now debarred from going to Canada where our wants used to be supplied and our hunting hindered by your dayly orders to hold ourselves in readiness to join the army we think it not unreasonable that those who go on such fatiguing and dangerous service should be well paid, and we must say that if we are not, as they are now used to it we are of opinion they will be very backward to move and should you insist on lowering the pay, they will imagine that in a little time you will bring it to nothing, wherefore we desire you may pay them as they have been paid by others

A Belt

Sir William replyed

Bretheren of the 3 different Nations

I have heard what you have said concerning the extravagant pay, which has been given to your young men last year and this, when imployed in our service, and think it not sufficient for keeping up so bad a custom however if nothing less will do it must be complied with at present.

To M[r] Jacob Vroman Cheif Carpenter

You are to proceed with your party to the Tuscarora Nation with all possible Despatch, and there build a good Block House of the best Timber you can get 24 feet square below, to project 18 inches or two feet above the beams, so as they may fire down upon the Enemy. you are to cover it well with good shingles, and build a good Centry Box at the Top of the House—The door is to be made of oak Plank 3 Inches thick and well hung

You are to build it where the cheifs of that Nation direct, keep an exact account of the number of days you your people and horses work at said house

If the Sachems desire to have any alteration made to the fort they have built themselves you are to do it for them as well as you can, and as expeditious as possible for all which this shall be your warrant.

Given under my hand at Fort Johnson this 12th day of August 1756

Wm JOHNSON

Saturday Morning 14th Aug 1756. The half King and Captn Montour came into the Council Room with 48 Warriors of the 6 Nations & Delawares whom Sir William almost wholly fitted out a second time, occasioned by a quantity of Rum, brought from Schonactady and sold to the Indians in camp privately by the River Indians Tuscaroras &ca for which they sold their arms Cloaths &ca.

Sir William wrote to the Magistrates of said Town several times but to no purpose. after furnishing them with every thing necessary for their expedition Sir William drank their healths & success then rose up the leader of the Schoharee Indians named John and sung his War Song as did several others after him

The same day 3 Mohawks were fitted out for war, and set off for Canada the same day commanded by Seth's Hans

The Tuscaroras set off for their Country the same day, and several Onondagas & Oneidas

Sunday the 15th August The cheifs of the Onondagas came to take their leave, when Sir William gave them a Handsome private Present in cloathing and money and a quantity of Corn for their families who were in great want.

Eod die 6 oclock P. M. The Indians arrived here from the carrying place, with an account that the French designed to attack one of the Forts there or both, which if they could not succeed in then they were to attack the Provision Battoes, as one of the French Indians told the man who brought the News, desiring him at the same time to tell all the Indians he saw to keep from thence

Sir William immediately sent Lord Loudoun an account hereof by express also to Major Genl Webb, who was then on his march to Oswego, but not yet at the German Flatts

About an hour after an Oneida Indian who lives on the West Branches of Susquehanna arrived here who says that he spoke with a Cayauga Indian who had left Niagara 13 days ago, and says that they then were preparing to muster a number of French and Indians to march towards Oswego, in order to revenge the loss of some of their people who were killed there some time last month by the Battoe men. This Cayauga Indian further said, that the small Pox began to rage amongst the French and Indians who assembled there from different Parts at the request of the French, so much that several had left Niagara before the Meeting began which intelligence Sir William transmitted by the same expresses to Lord Loudoun and General Webb

Monday the 16th August Seventeen Conajoharee Warriors and eight Mohawks arrived here and acquainted Sir William that they

intended to comply with his desire and go fighting to Canada on which he cloathed some and armed all After which they said they would return to their Castles in order to finish some work they had in hand and would be here in 10 days and then set off—Sir William gave them 10 Dollars to buy an ox for a Treat and money in lieu of several articles which they had of their own, so parted

Tuesday 17 August Thomas a young Sachem of the Oneida Nation from Aughquaga arrived here in the afternoon with 54 Men Women & Children he came upon a promise made Sir William at the last meeting that he would go out to War as soon as he had been home and settled some affairs for that he could no longer bear to see his Brethren the English knocked in the head every day without revenge

The 20 August Sir William Johnson being in Albany my Lord Loudoun received intelligence that Oswego was attacked by the French and reason to suspect they had succeeded, upon which Sir William immediately sett off Post for the German Flatts ordering 1,000 of the Militia of this County to follow him there as soon as possible, at the same time summoning all the Indians in his way to attend him there likewise he was directed by my Lord Loudoun to take Post at the German Flatts, and follow such measures as might appear necessary to him and Gen^{l} Webb who advanced to the Oneida carrying Place, and had with him an Indian officer and sixty odd Indians of several Nations

German Flatts *24th Aug. 1756 A M.*

Sir William Johnson yesterday upon his arrival here meeting a number of Oneida and Tuscarora Indians who were returning homewards from his House spoke to their chiefs, and desired they would collect those of their Nations, who were dispersed in this Neighborhood and not leave it till he had spoke to them, which he said he would do, as soon as some other Indians he expected here here were arrived

This morning several of the Sachems and Warriors assembled and told Sir William by Canaghquayeson their speaker that they had complied with his request of yesterday and that all their People Sachems and Warriors who were in this Neighborhood to the number of about 50. were now waiting to attend to what he proposed to say to them Hereupon they gave 3 Strings Wampum

German Flatts *Thursday Morning 26 Aug 1756.*

Sir William spoke to two parties of warriors [one party of several Nations under Capt^{n} Montour, and the half King, the other a party of Aughquageys and Mohikanders, under Thomas an Aughquagey Cheif] whom he had fitted out at his House in order to go a fighting to Canada, as follows

Peter Wraxall Secretary
Jacobus Clement Interp^{tr}

Brethren

Since I called upon you and you agreed to go to Canada, in order to anoy the enemy in those Parts we have received the disagreeable News of the loss of Oswego, and as Major General Webb is marched to the Oneida carrying Place with a considerable body of his Majestys Troops in order to take the proper measures in the present circumstance of affairs and has some Indians with him, I would have you go thither and make that your place of Rendezvous, and join your Bretheren now there is scouting and such other duty as the General shall think necessary for the good of His Majestys service

Bretheren

I would myself have gone with you to the carrying place but my present indisposition [Sir William was then confined in bed, with a fever and bloody Flux] will not permit me to do it I shall therefore send your Brother Mr Croghan with you, who is well known to you all and acquainted with your customs and manners, he will take care of you, and see that you want for nothing that is needful

Bretheren

If any of your young men are inclined to go out scalping they may go from thence, I shall leave that matter to their own discretion and choice

To which the chiefs of the aforesaid parties answered as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

We have heard what you have now said to us, and much approve of your desiring us to join Major Genll Webb at the carrying place, and making that pass our rendezvous, as we know not as yet what further steps the French may take on their conquest of Oswego, and we are also pleased to see, you have called the militia here in order to secure this post, we are also much obliged to you for leaving it in our own option to go out a scalping or not from thence as some of our young men are detirmined not to return to their castles till they have fulfilled their intentions on that head

Brother

As those of us who belong to these two parties are detirmined to accompany our Brother Croghan to the carrying place, and on our arrival there to assist our Bretheren in such duties as may be requested of us and you may assure yourself that we are all detirmined to live and die with our Bretheren the English

In the afternoon Sir William being confined to his Bed, and unable to appear himself made the following speech to all the Sachems and warriors of the several Nations who were here assembled by Mr Croghan.

After repeating what he had said to the two parties in the morning he proceeded thus

Bretheren

I doubt not but you will approve what I said to your Bretheren this morning and have now repeated to you, and I expect that you will also join those parties and attend our Brother M^r^ Croghan to the carrying place, and there give all the assistance in your Power to forward his Majestys service, and aid our common cause

Gave a string of Wampum

Canaghquayeson answered in behalf of all present

Brother Warraghiyagey

We have heard what you have now said with attention. Your desire is very reasonable and what we expected from you and we will comply with it, but brother as you are unwell, and some of our People have discovered Tracks on the other side of the River, which they judge to be a party of the enemy, we don't think it prudent to leave you untill we have sent out scouts which we intend to do immediately and therefore we can not set off till the day after tomorrow when we will be ready to attend our Brother Croghan to the Carrying Place and our Sachems will also attend to see that our young men behave themselves properly and do the duty which is expected from them

Hereupon they returned a String of Wampum

GERMAN FLATTS *27 Aug^t^*

At a Meeting of the Sachems and Warriors of several Nations Sir William spoke to them as follows

Bretheren

The present situation of affairs makes it necessary for me to call a meeting of some of the cheifs of each Nation, I do therefore by this Belt desire that you will send to each Nation notice that I shall expect so many of their heads down at my house as will be sufficient and fully empowered to determine upon business with me and this as speedy as possible.

Bretheren

What I have to say relates more immediately to the security & welfare of the 6 Nations then to any other concern. I do not invite many of your people at this meeting, because at this juncture I think it would be dangerous for you to leave your habitations defenceless as you may be assured however fair the French may speak to you they are meditating your Ruin in the first place

Gave a Belt of Wampum which was taken by a Cayouga Sachem who engaged to transmit it thro' the other Nations

GERMAN FLATTS 28^th^ Aug. 1756

Several Sachems and Warriors of the Oneida Nation having desired a conference with Sir William, Canaghquayeson cheif speaker spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

I have desired this meeting upon our receiving certain News of the loss of Oswego. We have often told you to be strong at that place, and to be careful of keeping it but it is now gone the French have been too cunning for you & burnt it to ashes

Brother

You are now sending us all to the Carrying place—what good can we do there, at most we can only pluck off a hair from the enemy—We exhort you now Brother to look towards Lake George, and keep the Forts there which may preserve us alive until to-morrow—

Gave a Belt of Wampum

Brother

We are at a loss to know how and from whence the French get Provisions enough for such numbers of Troops & how they get these Troops from Europe to Quebec

You have often told us the River was shut up and the French could not get to Quebec

Brother The English often tell us things which we dont find true; Pray take care and hinder the French from getting men and Provisions up the River St Lawrence

Brother We are in want of Food, and beg you will give us two oxen and some ammunition for our young men

Eod: die. P. M.

Sir Williams Answer to the foregoing speech.

Bretheren

Two days ago I spoke to two parties of Warriors of the 6 Nations who were going out a fighting, and told them that the present situation of affairs made it necessary for me to desire they would go to the Oneida Carrying Place and join their Bretheren who were already there and assist his Majestys Troops in the scouting service, that I would not urge them to go out a scalping but leave it to their own choice & inclination with this they promised to comply and were well pleased. The same day in the afternoon I acquainted these Sachems & other Warriors here present with what I had said in the morning—They likewise approved of this measure, and all promised to accompany Mr Croghan

Bretheren—I am surprized you should so soon have changed your minds, and now object against this scheme, such unsteadiness is not becoming wise men and is somewhat unaccountable. I am suspicious the French may soon pay a visit the carrying Place, and as it is now our Barrier to all this country, it is necessary to keep out good and sufficient Scouts to give us notice of the enemys approach that they may not surprise us—This is a duty you are better acquainted with and more qualified for than your Bretheren the English.

I expect therefore that you go thither according as was agreed on two days ago As to Lake George we have a good Fort there and a great number of Men, and if the French come there they may find a warmer reception, than those did at Oswego. Gave a Belt.

Bretheren

As to preventing the French from bringing men and Provisions up the River St Lawrence tis not in our power wholly to do it, the sea is too large to be entirely covered by our Ships—We have taken many of their ships this year who were attempting to go up that River you will find in the end the English do not tell you falsehoods but truth.

The Oxen & Ammunition you shall have and I hope you will make a better use of the latter than you have hitherto done

GERMAN FLATTS *Sunday 29 Aug A M*

Sir William Johnson having this morning told Canaghquayeson cheif Sachem of Oneida that he was displeased with the conduct of his Nation in general and dissatisfied with him in particular and that from many late circumstances he suspected they were acting a treacherous and deceitful part—Canaghquayeson having reported the conversation to all his Nation present they came in a Body to Sir William, and desired he would explain to them the causes of his uneasiness and what reason he had for suspecting their fidelity and attachment to the English Interest

He thereupon told them that at the meeting he proposed speedily to have at his house he intended to lay all these matters before the 5 Nations, and to speak his mind very plainly to them but as the Oneidas now applied to him he would tell them in general that notwithstanding their many solemn assurances given him of their resolutions to stand by their Bretheren the English and assist His Matys arms and measures against the French their actions had by no means supported their professions. That at this juncture when a small cloud hung over the English by the loss of Oswego their nation as well as the upper Nations appeared perfectly indifferent about it, no ways anxious or alert in bringing us intelligence nay the Onondagas even hindered our Messengers from going to Oswego, and tho' they the Oneidas had promised to accompany M^r^ Croghan to the carrying Place in order to assist his Matys Service in scouting and such other duties, as Indians were best capable of doing; they had put off going thither with trifling excuses and in all respects manifested a Backwardness and indifference to the Interests & welfare of their Bretheren the English, which gave just grounds for jealousy and Resentment; and a great deal more to this purpose which, Sir William added.

When he had concluded Canaghquayeson told him to make him-

self easy till they had consulted together, and given him their answer which they would speedily do—

Sunday afternoon The Oneidas left three of their Sachems to Sir William with their answer to what he had said to them this morning who spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

What you said to us this morning has given to us the utmost concern we have made an enquiry and suspect some of our own people have been prejudicing you with stories against us and informed you of the behaviour you hinted with regard to the Onondagas

Brother

We beg you wont entertain hard thoughts of us we assure you we have not the least intentions to withdraw our hands from the Covenant Chain or quitt the interests of our Bretheren the English, as to the behavior of the Onondagas we are noways concerned in it, nor are we guilty of any treacherous conduct with respect to the late loss of Oswego

GERMAN FLATTS, *30 Aug^t 1756 P. M.*

The information of Nickas a cheif Warrior of Oneida who came to Sir William Johnson in company with another Indian of the same Nation—

Peter Wraxall Secry
Jacobus Clement Interp^tr

That Saquahondonde an Oneida Indian who has for some years past lived among the French at Swegachie told Nickas that he was employed by Coll Mercer at Oswego as a Scout, and that he gave the Colonel notice that a very considerable body of French were encampt between Oswego and Cadaraghqui; and advised him to be on his guard, and send down for more troops as the French would otherwise be too strong for him—That Coll Mercer said he did not beleive it and took no notice of the said intelligence—

That some time after this the said Indian was sent out again on a scout, when he discovered the French about a mile from Oswego, and returned with the account to Coll Mercer, who said *Well, let them come I shall be glad to see them* and that the next day Oswego was attacked.

That Saquahundonde further told him that when he saw the attack upon Oswego begun, he was making the best of his way off, but was taken Prisoner and carried to the French General who said. *Child you shant die; I want you to carry a Message for me thro' the Castle of the 5 Nations* upon which he gave him a large Belt of Black Wampum, desiring him to tell his children of the 6 Nations not to come with the English Battoes further than the North end of the Oneida Lake, but if Rum should prevail on them to go further, by

no means to go beyond the three Rivers for his People were out there waiting for Captns Bradstreet and Butler whom they expected with our Battoes, and that if any of the 6 Nations should proceed with them they would certainly be destroyed along with the English, whom his army were waiting for—That the French General told said Indian that he was now going to take Oswego from the English and he would give it again to the 6 Nations who were the right owners of it, and after he had done that he would go up the River and look for the English Battoes with the Provisions and destroy the people who came with them after which he would proceed to the Oneida carrying place and destroy what he had left standing there since last spring and therefore he warned all his children of the 6 Nations to keep away from the carrying Place or they would be hurt and they did not want to hurt them, After he had finished at the carrying Place he would proceed down the Mohawk River and destroy everything as he went along as far as Sir William Johnson's where he would strike off thro' the woods to Lake George, and there meet another General in conjunction with whom he would destroy Fort William Henry & then he knew the English would beg Peace

German Flatts *31 Aug 1756—A. M.*

Several Onondaga Sachems & Warriors came to Sir William & spoke as follows

Brother Warraghiyagey

With this String of Wampum we condole you for the loss of Oswego and wipe away your Tears &ca

Gave 2 Strings of Wampum.

Brother

We understand you have some ill thoughts of our Nation on this occasion and that some Stories have been brought you to their Prejudice; we desire and hope Brother that you will not bear hard thoughts of our People or listen to the many lies which may be told you of them, we assure you they are utterly innocent of any Treachery & were no ways concerned in the taking of Oswego, and we think after the assurances you had from us and our engagements at the late Meeting at Onondaga you ought not to harbour suspicions to our disadvantage We confirm what we now have said to you with these two strings of Wampum—

Gave 2 Strings Wampum

Sir William told them he would answer to what they had now said by and by

German Flatts *31 Augt 1756. P. M.*

Sir Williams answer to the foregoing speech

Bretheren,

I wish you were as sensible of the loss of Oswego to your own In-

terest and security as we are to what we have suffered by it. If I had reason to suppose things appeared to you in this light, my returning the Ceremony of Condolence would appear with greater propriety, however I hereupon return you your compliment

Gave two Strings Wampum

Bretheren

It is true I have heard some things since the Loss of Oswego to the disadvantage of your Nation and as I have received no Message from Onondaga upon this unhappy occasion according to the antient custom and terms of friendship and Alliance subsisting between us and it gives too much Room for suspicions however as I have called a meeting of some of the Cheifs of each of the 6 Nations at my house as speedily as possible, I shall rest my opinion of your Nation as well as of the others upon the Result of that Meeting—

Gave 2 Strings Wampum

German Flatts *1 Sept^r 1756 P. M.*

At a meeting of the Onondagas, Oneidas and Tuscaroras

Tesanunde Speaker

Brother Warraghiyagey

We the Oneidas, Onondagas and Tuscaroras enter this your present place of consultation to remove some thing from your Breast which we are convinced oppresses you

Brother At our last Meeting you spoke to us very passionately & warm about the loss of oswego and you seemed to be very dissatisfied with us on that head Brother, The loss is as great on our side as yours, and we have both reason to be uneasy about it, but what shall we do we can not redress it at present the only recourse we can have is to the advice of our wise forefathers, which was when any general accident or loss should befall us, we should comfort one another drive away the Spirit of Anger & discord from our hearts and bury it under a large Pine Tree according to their Custom, in order that we might deliberate maturely upon public matters and not be disturbed by that evil Spirit in our consultations

Brother—

You have sent a Message to the 6 Nations to meet you shortly, if they should be informed that you were still in the same passion and bad humour you spoke to them with here it might be the means of stopping their coming down to meet you We therefore With this Belt and in the name of all the 6 Nations take away that anger & dissatisfaction from your Breast so that we may consider of future measures with mutual friendship and calmness—

Gave a Belt

German Flatts *3 Sep 1756 A. M.*

At a Meeting of the Onondagas, Oneidas and Tuscaroras
Jacobus Clement Interp^tr
Akonyoda the oldest Oneida Sachem Speak^r

Brother Warraghiyagey

We informed you yesterday that we had something yet left in our hearts which we wanted to lay before you ere we parted from one another

We are now met, and must now tell you in the name of all the 6 Nations that we are quite surprised to find ourselves deceived in our opinion of the English, we took them to be a more steady People but we see that this Defeat at Oswego discourages them entirely, and you seem as it were to give up all hopes [This was said upon account of Gen^l Webb's destroying all the Forts abandoning the carrying Place and marching back to the German Flatts]

Brother We entreat you not to be dispirited, go on in your measures and try again, you often boated of the numbers of the English that they were like an inexhaustible Stream—Do your best call all your People from the Sea Side and bring them to Lake George as our common enemy will now attack you there, pray go on vigorously and you may still overcome them

Gave a Belt

Sir Williams answer

Bretheren

You are mistaken in your opinion of the English if you think the loss of Oswego has affected them in any such degree as will deter them from making War upon the Common enemy with a firmness & Resolution equal to the Provocations they have received At the same time that we are not insensible to what we have suffered by the loss of that Place, we think the security & welfare of the 6 Nations to be more essentially affected by it than our own

Bretheren

The Great King your Father has sent over the Earl of Loudoun to command all the Warriors in North America, and to order and direct all Warlike Measures upon this continent to him I shall communicate what you have now said, he is an experienced Warrior and you may be assured will take every measure becoming a brave and prudent cheif

Gave a Belt

Fort Johnson *9^th Sept^r 1756 P. M.*

Present—Sir William Johnson Bart
Peter Wraxall Secretary

Thomas Harris who went in company with James Conner & a party of Indians to make discoveries at Oswego says. That they

found Fort Ontario entirely demolished and nothing left in it, that about 150 yards to the North Eastward, there was a French [entrenchment] about 200 yards long near 7 feet high and 8 feet wide with a breastwork of Gabions and fascines, but could discover no signs of any Cannon having been mounted there

That the old Fort and Wall is also demolished with the Traders houses and every thing of Wood being burnt down

That Fort Rascal was still burning and almost consumed

That there were yet remaining near 100 Barrels of Pork which seemed to be in good order, and that a great deal had been burnt; that a vast quantity of Bread lay on the Ground some rotten and some burnt; as black as a Coal

That they discovered no dead bodies nor Marks of blood but saw three graves one pretty large the other two smaller

That they made no discovery of any enemy, that two long Poles were set up near Fort Ontario, the one near the enemys intrenchment the other near the Rivers side with several figures and words upon them which he did not understand but saw upon one of them 1756

That he saw the remains of a considerable number of whale Boats & Battoes which had been burnt

That they could discover nothing of any kind of Provisions Stores or Ammunition or other things but the Barrels of Pork, except Ball in cartridges with the Powder taken out

That they saw a large shell in the Road the enemy had made

FORT JOHNSON *Sept^r 9 at Night*

PRESENT—Sir William Johnson
Peter Wraxall Secry
Arent Stevens Interp^tr

The Relation of two Oneida Indians sent by Sir William Johnson upon discovery to Oswego

That the Walls of the old Fort are all pulled down which seems to have been done with hands and the house within burnt down to the first story—All the Traders houses are pulled down & burnt to the ground

That they were informed before they went there that there were great numbers of dead bodies, but that they searched very diligently but could find none nor any marks of slaughter

That they saw (according to their description) a Marter left behind in the old Fort

That they saw no arms of any kind or any other warlike implement left there

That they did not go up to Fort Rascal but saw some of the Pickets standing and the Fire still burning there

That the Stockadoes round Fort Ontario appeared to them to have been cut down and afterwards burnt

That by the Balls they discovered round Fort Ontario and near the Enemys entrenchm^{ts} they imajine that Garrison made a brisk Resistance, and saw by two Canon Balls which were lodged, that they had fired Canon at the enemy. In this Fort they found no kind of Arms or any thing left. By some holes they observed in the Ground they are of opinion several shells were thrown from this Fort against the enemy but they all fell short of their entrenchment

That they went along the road which the French had made, and found it was about 15^{ft} wide and well beaten that at some distance from the entrenchment they saw a great number of Biers, which they apprehended the enemy had provided to carry off their dead and wounded, but they did not seem to have been used at all that they found a great number of Gabions and Fascines scattered about in the woods, besides those made use of in the enemys works

That within a mans call of Fort Ontario they discovered the enemys encampment which appeared to be only one Street or Row of about half a mile in length chieffly of Bark hutts and in their judgment the enemy was not very numerous

That they observed the Track of Carriages not Iron shod whose wheels were not very broad one of which they saw broke in the Road—They observed in the entrenchment that two Cannon had been mounted and do not know but there might have been more

In the woods they found a large Parcel of Wadds made of Straw, In the Road they saw a large shell which by their description must have been 11 inches

They saw two Poles one very high and up near Fort Ontario which latter had a cross and writing upon it

They saw the Barrels of Pork sunk in the River, and great quantities scattered along the sides of it and a great quantity of Bread spoiled by the Rains which fell just before they got there, and also of Flour They met 7 Battoes loaded with Bread and Pork and Pease, which the Onondaga Indians were carrying from Oswego to their Castle

They saw a good deal of Musket Ball laying about in Cartridges, but the Powder taken out. They were informed by the Onondaga Indians in their return that when the Forts were taken the Indians all went of disgusted because the French would not give them any Prisoners, and that the French remained there by themselves 4 days after the Indians left them

Fort Johnson *10 Sep^{tr} 1756 A. M.*

Present—Sir William Johnson
Mr Croghan
Peter Wraxell Sêcry
Interpreters Capt Montour Arent Stevens

Coll Clapham who commands the Pensilvania Levies on the Susquehanna having sent a letter and some papers relative to Indian matters to Sir William Johnson by a Cayouga Indian, who was charged with several Belts and Strings of Wampum to the 5 Nations—The said Indian gave the following relation of Indian Transactions which had lately passed in the Government of Pensilvania and which he was now going to lay before the five Nations

"That an old Onondaga Indian sent last Spring by Sir William Johnson with a Belt and Message to the Delaware Indians living on the Susquehanna to admonish them to cease from all Hostilities against their Bretheren the English, and who was also charged with several Messages from the Half King and Mr Montour to the Govr of Pensilvania the said Indian in his way called at Coll Claphams encampment on the Susquehanna who gave him a friendly and kind reception and told him he was glad to see any one of the 6 Nations and welcomed him with a string of Wampum which this Cayauga Indian now showed."

That Coll Clapham sent an express to acquaint Govr Morris of the aforesaid Onondaga Indians being in his camp. That Governour Morris invited him to Philadelphia; that he went thither and was very friendly received and that Govr Morris spoke to him with a string of Wampum after this manner "I find myself as a person sitting in darkness and my feet in blood however as I have the welfare of the country at heart and am inclined to keep up a good correspondence with the 6 Nations I am always glad to see any of them and ready to transact business with them" That Coll Clapham repeated the same speach over when the Onondoga Indian returned to his camp with an other String of Wampum (: these two Strings of Wampum the present speaker produced)

Gov Morris further said

"Brother

I desire the 5 Nations will speak to the Indians living on the Susquehanna to forbear all further hostilities against my people and return to their former friendship and Alliance" and hereupon gave a string. Coll Clapham repeated the same with an other String at his camp (: both these strings the present speaker produced :)

Gov Morris continued and said

"Brother

We are destitute of any Indians to assist us this way and I confess we do not ourselves understand fighting in the woods, if we had a number of your Warriors to assist us, we would try to take Fort Du quesne; I therefore desire you will speak to the 5 Nations and also to the Mohawks to send me a party of their young men to help me" and hereupon gave a string which the present speaker produced

That Coll Clapham upon the Onondaga Indians returned to his Camp spoke to him with a Belt (: which the present speaker shewed :) as follows

" Brother

Pray take this Belt with you to Onondaga and tell the 6 Nations to hold fast the Convenant Chain of Friendship between them and us & the Inhabitants of Pensylvania for if they let it go it will be the Death of us both, and tho some of the 6 Nations are joined with our enemies against us, yet I am no ways inclined to break our alliance with them on that account"

Brother—With this Belt also acquaint the 6 Nations, that I have built a Fort at Juniata [Fort Granville since taken and destroyed by the enemy] and another here at Shamokin and I propose building an other at Wyoming if the 6 Nations will consent to it, and there to plant some corn and Provisions to support my people and the Indians which may come that way; but let not the 6 Nations imagine my building a Fort and planting there is to make a property of it, if the 6 Nations approve this proposal I expect a considerable number of them will speedily come down to a Meeting at Philadelphia and there we will settle all matters."

" Brother We have never denied any request of the 6 Nations, and we hope they will not refuse us the liberty we now ask of building this Fort and cultivating the Land round it, and be assured whatever Indians be poor or in want, If they come to me I will relieve them, as I am resolved to take care of all the Indians living on the waters of the Susquehanna" and hereupon gave a string which the speaker shewed

That Governor Morris told the Onondaga Indian at Philadelphia. *That as he found by woeful experience, that making purchases of Lands was the cause of much blood having been shed* he was determined to buy no more" but if there should any great man come and want to buy your Lands (said he) refuse him the first time, but if he presses it and offers a great deal of money, take it but the Land you must not let him have" and hereupon gave him a string of Wampum which the speaker produced

And thus ended the Cayouga Indians relation

After which Monakadook or the half King (who had been present during the foregoing as had been several other Indians of the 6 Nations:) acquainted S^{r} William with what Newcastle an Indian lately come from Philadelphia:) was charged with from that Government to him and M^{r} Mountour by a Belt and 4 Strings of Wampum

First he produced the 4 Strings of Wampum, which he said were sent to them by M^{r} Peters and M^{r} Logan to acquaint them, as also the Belt of Wampum (: a Seneca chief :) and Seneca George, that

they are surprised they have not heard from them since they left Philadelphia nor from Sir William Johnson about them and if they are living to greet them and put them in mind of their old friendship

He next produced a large Belt of black and whit Wampum which the New Govr of Pensilvania (: Mr Denny :) had sent to the above named Indians to inquire of them about one Tediescunt a Delaware Indian who lives at Tiyaogo, and has acquainted the Governmt of Pensilvania, that he is King of the Delawares, elected by 10 Nations with the concurrence of the 6 Nations and that there is another King appointed over the 6 Nations, and that these two Kings have the sole Management of all the Indian Affairs. But that the Governor of Pensilvania is doubtful of the truth of this matter, and mistrusts the friendly professions which Tedyescunt has made to that Govt as the Delaware Indians are still murdering his People; and desires Monakadouta and the others will enquire of Sir William Johnson and the 6 Nations if what Tedyescunt had related be true, that he may know how to govern himself towards him—Hereupon Monakadouta addressed himself to Sir William and said

Brother

As you have the sole managemt of the affairs of the 6 Nations I leave this Belt with you to answer upon it, if you know any thing of these Great Men

Sir William told the Cayouga Indian that he thanked him for his particular relation of what had passed between Governor Morris, Coll Clapham, and the Onondaga Indian named Ogaghradarihha and that all such matters ought to come to his knowledge

He also answered Monakadouta upon the Belt sent him and the rest by Govr Denny, that he was totally ignorant of any such King of the Delawares or of any King of the 6 Nations as mentioned in Mr Dennys Message to them, but there was speedily to be a meeting of the 6 Nations at his house he would enquire into the affair—And thus ended this Meeting.

FORT JOHNSON *Sunday 12th Sep 1756*

Peter Wraxall Secry
Arent Stevens Interpreter

An Onondaga Sachem and Warrior who went with some white men and Indians to Oswego: reports: That in his Return between Onondaga and the Tuscarora Castle he met three principal men of his Nation, who were coming down to Sir William Johnsons upon his late summons to the 6 Nations, but that they were overtaken by Messengers sent by the Cayouga Nation desiring them to defer proceeding to the said Meeting till some of their Sachems whom they dayly expected were returned from Canada And that on his arrival at Oneida those Indians acquainted him they had received the like Message

from the Cayougas and gave him a large Belt to carry to their Brother Warraghiyagey to acquaint him that they as well as the Onondagas suspended their attendance upon him in consequence of this message from the Cayougas, but said they did not refuse to come out of any disrespect to him & prayed him to be easy in his mind upon it, but if he was displeased with their deferring to attend him, or did not approve of their delay to let them know it immediately Thus ended

The Indian gave the large Belt The same Indian reported with regard to the present state of Oswego the same as before recorded— But added that he had learnt from his brethren at Onondago the following intelligence

That several of the Upper Nations going to Canada met the French army which took Oswego near Swegachie—That the French General told the aforesaid Indians that he supposed their coming to Canada had been delayed by Sir William Johnsons Management and Meetings with them—That the French had wanted to acquaint the 5 Nations with their present design of taking Oswego—That had they gone to Canada sooner they might perhaps have prevented his present undertaking but now he was on his march he should not stop that the affair would soon be ended that he was glad the English had built the Forts Vessells &ca for they were all now ready for him to take and destroy—That Oswego used only to be a trading house for the English but now they have built Forts shipping &ca "is this (said he) like a Trading house? had they let it remain as it "used to be, I should not have laid my hands on it: I have many "trading houses too, but I don't build Forts and make such for- "midable preparations, I should not be against the English having "a trading house but I wont suffer them to build Forts & shipping, "and if they attempt again I will again come and destroy them, "this war wont be a long one, for I shall after I have destroyed Os- "wego go to Lake George and destroy the Forts there and so go to "Albany and Schonectady and then return back to Lake George "and if the English should draw their People from the Oneida Car- "rying Place and German Flatts to meet me at Lake George I'll "divide my army and come down upon them from Oswego"

That after this the French General gave the said 5 Nations Indians a letter to the Governor of Canada which our Indians think is to detain their people hostages for the conduct of their respective Nations

At the Onondaga Castle the said Indian was informed

That the morning after the French had finished, the French General summoned Fort Ontario—That the command officer consented to surrender upon Terms; the french General answered his orders were to fight and not treat—That several Messages past between the English and French after which the French began their attack,

that the whole affair lasted 4 days when the English called out we are overpowered, surrendered and threw down their arms, when the French took possession and hoisted their white Flag—That the Indians got drunk with the great quantity of Rum found in the Forts and in their liquor fell upon the English Prisoners and murdered 100 of them—That the French lost but 4 of their people in the attack, but he did not hear how many of the English were killed

That the French stayed 4 days after the Forts were surrendered burning and taking away every thing, that our officers were all sent off in one vessel

FORT JOHNSON *14 Septr 1756.*

Twenty three Mohawk Indians of the lower castle, headed by young Abraham & wide mouthed Brant both Sachems sett off for Canada in order to anoy the enemy

15 Septr Four white Men and two Indians sent by Sir William Johnson as scouts to discover the motions of the enemy their Posture number &cn at and between Tiyondarogo and Forts William Henry and Edward

FORT JOHNSON *15 Septr 1756 A. M.*

The Information of Moses a Mohawk Warrior

That 11 days ago he was at Tiyondaroga, that the enemy have three small Forts between that Post and the second narrows on the west side of the lake and a stone Fort at the east side were the water is very narrow at the south end of the carrying place. That they have a great number of people and most of their Indians at the nearest Fort on the West side towards Fort William Henry.

That the day he was watching for a scalp near one of their advanced Forts on the west side he heard a great number of Canon fired at Tiyondarogo, and afterwards at the Stone Fort on the East side of the Lake which he apprehends was upon their receiving the news of their success at Oswego, that at this advanced Fort he was so near as to see the commanding officer throw up his hatt in the air and huzza and that a Feu de joye was fired by the Troops there upon the occasion—That he saw no craft belonging to the enemy on the Lake

FORT JOHNSON *17th Sep—1756 A. M.*

Sir William Johnson having this morning received an express from Lord Loudoun acquainting him that his Lordship was putting his Troops in motion toward Lake George, and that he himself prepared to March to Fort Edward in order to be at hand to make head against any attempts of the enemy and directing Sir William to get as many Indians as he possibly good to join His Matys Forces—Sir William hereupon sent a messsage for the head Sachems of the lower Mohawk Castle and convened with them all the Indians of

the several Nations now here, and acquainted them with the purport of his Lordships Orders and produced to them two Belts, one very large which he proposed to send thro the 6 Nations to summon them according to their engagements to him at the late Meeting at Onondaga to rise and without delay come and join the army at Fort Edward or Fort William Henry as my Lord Loudoun might thereafter direct

An other smaller Belt which he proposed to send with the like summons to the Aughquaga & Southern Indians.

He further acquainted them that he proposed as soon as he got a sufficient party together to march thro' the woods and join Lord Loudoun at Fort Edward, and told the half King & Aughquaga Thomas and their party who were ready and intended to go out a scalping to Canada, that he would now have them go with Capt^{n} Wraxall to Albany and from thence to march with Lord Loudoun to Fort Edward, and serve as scouts to his Lordships march and that he should send off an express to stopp the Mohawk Party who left this the 14th Inst from going as they designed to Canada, and to rendezvous at Fort Edward, and there to go out on the Scout to discover the motions of the enemy, and such other duty as may be found necessary for His Majestys Service.

They answered that they agreed to Sir Williams proposals, and that the party would be ready to sett off with Capt^{n} Wraxall tomorrow which would consist of 32 and that perhaps more might drop in before they marched.

The foregoing is a true Copy from the Original examined by me.

PETER WRAXALL.
Secry for Indian Affrs.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

FORT JOHNSON *25th June 1757.*

MY LORDS: In the last letter I had the honor to write Your Lordships, I acquainted you that I had just then finished a Meeting with the Six Nations, wherein I had charged them with their inactivity in aiding and assisting His Majesty's arms and had insisted upon their giving me the reasons for their backwardness and coolness, and also to know postively from them what their future resolutions were, without any disguise. I then acquainted your Lordships that the Six Nations told me they looked upon the matters I had laid before them, to be of too important consequence for the Deputation then present, to give me a full and determinate answer to,—that

they were speedily to hold a great Council of all the Nations at Onondaga where what I had then said should be faithfully reported, fully deliberated upon, and when that Council broke up, I should receive their full and determinate answer. That therefore I deferred transmitting to Your Lordships what passed at the said Meeting at my house, till I had the result of the Meeting at Onondaga, when I would send you both together.

Accordingly, My Lords, I herewith transmit the same to you. I was in expectation to have been able to have done this much sooner, but the unsettled state of the Six Nations amongst themselves and the confusion which the two successful arts of the French Emissaries have thrown them into, have delayed this meeting at Onondaga much beyond the time they gave me reasons to expect it would take place and breake up.

Your Lordships will see by the Papers herewith, that the Three upper Nations, to wit, the Senecas, Cayougas and Onondagas, have declared themselves in favour of a Neutrality. As no Deputies from the Tuscaroros or Oneidas came down to this Meeting, I cannot say what their resolutions will be. It appears probable to me that from their not coming down with those upper Nations, they do not wholly agree in sentiments with them. I expect they will come by themselves when these return, and let me know their resotions; but whether those will be more favourable to our interest, than what these three upper Nations have declared, I will not take upon me to ascertain. When I receive their resolves, I shall transmit them to Your Lordships.

I beg leave on this occasion to put Your Lordships in mind, and and refer you to those papers I sent to the Board in Jan^{ry} 1756 by Gov^{r} Pownall when he went to England, wherein was laid before your Lordships the declining state of our Indian interest at the time General Braddock's commission put the management of Indian Affairs into my hands, and I told that Gentleman, at Alexandria, I would exert my utmost influence & abilities, but that I doubted whether I should be able to prevail on the Six Nations in general, to act with that order in favour of His Majesty's Arms which might probably be expected from them. Our defeat at Ohio, the obstructions thrown in the way by General Shirley's opposing my management, the loss of Oswego, and our having reaped no striking advantages since, have been all additional drawbacks upon my retrieving and advancing His Majesty's Indian Affairs. And with respect to our interest amongst the Upper Nations, the loss of Oswego was a mortal wound, as that post was both a curb upon the Upper Nations to retain them in our interest, and a security for them against the enemy, should they act in our favour. I am fully persuaded the loss of this important post, with the consequential menaces of the French and their Indians, have produced the

present Neutrality agreed on by the Senecas Cayougas & Onondagas. And 'tis probable our destroying the works at and abandoning the Oneida Carrying place last summer, may produce a neutrality from the Oneidas and Tuscaroras.

My Lords, I am extreamly concerned that the great expense which this service hath occasioned should not have produced more favorable effects. Permit me to assure your Lordships that I have acted with uprightness of heart, with all the oeconomy diligence and address within the compass of my abilities, to retrieve support and extend His Majestys Indian interest. I am extreamly sorry my endeavours have not been crowned with all that success which I was unfeignedly ambitious of being instrumental to. I must confess, all circumstances considered I do think the Indians altogether so culpable as some people on this side the water seem to do; and I am truly conscious, that if I have erred in judgement, I have not been wanting in an honest and grateful ardor for His Majesty's service, the honour and success of his arms.

As I have my Lord Loudouns approbation and opinion in favour of it, I have told the Six Nations that I shall dispose of His Majesty's bounty and rewards only to such Indians as will actually go upon service. This I propose to make a fixt rule hereafter, as far as apparent good policy will permit. This will probably in some degree lessen the future expence. However I must be so ingenuous as to acquaint your Lordships that even under present circumstances I cannot promise that the future expences will fall very considerably short of the past; for as the Upper Nations (as your Lordships will see by their speech) solemnly declare that notwithstanding their Neutrality they are unanimously and firmly resolved to hold fast the ancient Covenant Chain of friendship, and remain Allies to His Majesty and bretheren to his subjects; utterly to cast off all notice and expence about them would, in my opinion, be a piece of conduct equally dangerous and impolitic in the present conjuncture, and if my Lord Loudoun or the Commander in Cheif should be determined upon such a measure I would beg leave rather to decline acting than put it in execution

If your Lordships should be of opinion that from the present face of Indian Affairs the advantages of this service will not be adequate to the expence they have and may bring upon the Crown, I shall whenever His Majesty may think it proper, with the utmost obedience and the Highest gratitude for the many honours he has graciously bestowed upon me, be ready and willing to resign my Commission as his Sole Agent & superintendant for the Northern District.

The Upper and lower Castles of Mohock Indians will I am persuaded remain firm to our interest and tho' their intemperate thirst after rum is a great impediment to their going upon service, when

they can by any means get it, yet almost all their young men are now out, and going out, to distress the French settlements in Canada, beat up their quarters, and obtain intelligence of their numbers & motions.

I have taken a great deal of pains to bring about a peace between the Delaware and Shawanese Indians, settled in the Susquehanna and the Provinces of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia; and I hope it is in a fair way of being accomplished, in which Governor Denny's candid behaviour and fair proposals, if continued and carried into effect, will greatly contribute.

Herewith I send your Lordships a copy of my proceedings last April with a number of Shawanese Nanticokes and Mohickander Indians, who came hither and are settled on one of the west branches of the Susquehanna, Also the original minutes of M^r^ Croghan my Deputy, and Gov^r^ Denny's proceedings at a meeting lately held at Lancaster in Pennsylvania. I think it also proper to transmit to your Lordships herewith, some original papers put into my hands by the said M^r^ Crogan relative to some former Indians management of his for the Southern Governments, as I apprehend they may tend to open to your Lordships some original causes of recent events relative to the present war in America.

I have the honor to be most respectfully
My Lords
Your Lordships most obedient
& most humble Servant
(signed) W^m^ JOHNSON

To the Right Honourable The Lords Commissioners of Trade & Plantations

JOURNAL OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON'S PROCEEDINGS WITH THE INDIANS.

FORT JOHNSON *14 April 1757.*

Peter Spelman a German who has lived these 7 years past among the Indians & whose Indian name is Owiligascho, son in law to one of the chiefs of the Shawanese Indians, living on one of the West branches of the Susquehanna River, arrived here; & after taking some refreshment, spoke to Sir William Johnson as follows:—

Brother. The King of the Shawanese hath sent me forward with these two strings of Wampum to acquaint you that he is on the road and will be here to morrow with near 200 Indians, Shawanese Nanticokes, and Mohickanders. They are coming to smoak a

friendly pipe with you, after the manner of our forefathers, and to offer their assistance to you in the present troublesome times. The Aughguages and Tuscarores told him that since he had risen up to come and see you, they would also rise up and accompany him. He has waited on the road expecting them, but as they are not yet come he will make no further delay but proceed hither.

Gave 2 strings Wampum.

Sir William told him to acquaint the King of the Shawanese and the rest of the Indians that he would be glad to see them, and would prepare for their reception. Gave 2 Strings Wampum.

15 April P. M. The aforesaid Indians arrived on the opposite side of the river, and after saluting the Fort with a discharge of their guns, encamped themselves on that side. Sir William sent the Secretary over to tell them that he would be glad to see and smoak a pipe with two or three of their Chief men; who accordingly came over the river. They acquainted Sir William that there were three Nations of them, to wit, Shawanese, Nanticokes and Mohickanders, settled at Otsiningo, on one of the West branches of the Susquehanna River.

Sir William treated them with pipes, tobacco & rum, and after staying some time, they took their leave for that evening.

16th There being such a fresh in the River as rendered the passage over difficult and tedious, the Indians removed, came on this side & encamped behind the house.

17th P. M. The Chief Men of the aforesaid Indians with several of their people, came into the Meeting room and sent word to Sir William that they desired to speak a few words to him; but he being indisposed, sent the Secretary down to tell them that if they had any thing of moment to say now, they might speak it to him, & which he would take down in writing.

Whereupon a young Mohickander, named Jonathan, son of the King or Chief of that Nation and who spoke very good Low Dutch said as follows:—Arent Stevens the Interpreter being present.

Brother

This is the Belt (holding a Belt in his hand) which you sent to invite our people hither.

Brother. When we received your Belt of Invitation our hearts rejoiced within us, and we immediately rose up regardless of the severity of the season, and thro' snow ice and water came to see you.

Brother. We are now come to this Council Fire and we are rejoiced to find ourselves sitting over it.

Brother. When we have finished our present meeting, we propose to rise up and go to our habitations, and when we get there we shall communicate to the rest of our people we have left at home,

all that may pass between us here, and not only to the people of our towns, but also to the Shawanese on the Ohio, and to all the scattered Delawares and Mohickanders, and we shall acquaint them all that we have made a Covenant of peace friendship and alliance with you, in behalf of all our people and our Bretheren the English.

18th Sir William sent for the Heads of the aforesaid Indians, who came into his room, when he told them that he was sorry his indisposition prevented his meeting them yesterday, that he was to day something better, but as there were several of the 6 Nations who had been here some days, he proposed to finish the business with them to-day, and would tomorrow speak to them and their people.

FORT JOHNSON *19 April 1757 A. M.*

PRESENT—Sir William Johnson Bart & c
Lieut Willington of the Royal Americans
Lieut Claus of do
Capt Peter Wraxall Secy Mr Arent Stevens Interpr

Shawanese.

Paxinosa,
King or Chief with 52 of his people.

Nanticokes

Hamightaghlawatawa,
King or chief, with 8 of his people.

Mohickanders

Abraham alias Mammatsican.
King or chief with 147 of his Nation.

Six Nations

Seventy in all

N B. As many of the Mohickander Indians understand both English and Low Dutch, Sir William read the following speech first in English; it was afterwards told in Low Dutch to Jonathan abovementioned, to whom it had been before repeated in the morning; then Jonathan spoke it to all present in the Mohickander language; those Indians being considered as the principals throughout this meeting.

Bretheren

I am glad to see you at this house. Here a Council fire is always burning. Here a tree of shelter is planted not only for the Six Nations but for all Indians who are or desire to be in peace and friendship with the English and will acknowledge the Great King of England, my master, for their Father. He hath ordered and empowered me to take care of all his dutyfull and good children the Indians in these parts. I do on my side keep this Council Room free from all defilement. There is nothing allowed to come here which will hurt any good and honest Indian.

When I consider the distance you are come, the severe season of of the year and the extream badness of the roads, and also that there is a great meeting of the Susquehannah Indians now holding under my direction with Mr Croghan my Deputy at Harris's Ferry

on the Susquehanna River, so much nearer than this to your habitations; I would from brotherly tenderness have wished you had deferred your journey till that meeting had been over. You would then have had a more pleasant time and comfortable roads for travelling. Besides the result of that meeting would have afforded more matter for this. However I take your coming now as a strong proof of your brotherly love and friendly dispositions towards your bretheren the English. In this Council Room I now heartily bid you wellcome. Gave 3 strings of Wampum.

Bretheren. Last summer I held a meeting and entered into a treaty in this Council Room with the Shawanese King now present, and with a Chief of the Delaware settled at Tiaogo. This treaty I sent home to the Great King your Father; here it is printed that all your Bretheren the English on this Continent may know what past, and what agreements we have entered into

The Great God above is a lover of Truth & Sincerity. He will send his vengeance down on that people or nation who deceive each other with words of peace & friendship when their hearts speak war and their tongues utter lies. You will find that the English will faithfully observe their parts of this treaty, and I hope and doubt not but your people will strictly observe the engagements they so solemnly bound themselves to.

By this Belt I expect all you who are now present will do the same on your parts Gave a Belt

Bretheren. Some of you Mohickanders were present at this treaty, and as I make no doubt but all of you are acquainted with the particulars of it, I shall therefore only put you in mind that it was then promised to send and invite all the Shawnese who live on the Ohio, and all the Delawares or Mohickanders who are scattered round about Fort Du Quesne and those parts, to come and put their hands into the same Covenant Chain. I desire to know what has been done in this affair Gave 3 strings Wampum.

Bretheren. Listen, and I will tell you the difference between the English and the French. The English desire and labour to unite all Indians into one general bond of brotherly love and National Interest. The French endeavour to divide the Indians and Stir up war & contention amongst them. Those who intend to destroy or enslave any people or nation, will first endeavour to divide them. This you and all the Indians upon this Continent know has allways been and continues to be, the endeavours of the French. But tho' this is a fact which I think all the Indians must certainly see, yet the French have found means some how or other so to bewitch their understanding as to make many of them believe they love the Indians & mean well towards them. 'Tis very strange, Bretheren, that any one man, much more any number of men, who are not

either mad or drunk, can believe that stirring up Bretheren to spill each other's blood, dividing them from one another, and making parties amongst them are proofs of love and marks of friendly design towards them. Not less unaccountable is it, Bretheren, that the French should be able to pursuade the Indians that building forts in the middle of their country & hunting grounds is for their interest and protection. I tell you Bretheren and I warn you, that whatever good words the French may give you, how much soever they may now smile on you, whatever presents they may now make you; your chains are in their pockets and when their designs are ripe for execution, they will take the Ax out of their bosom and strike it into your heads. But this they know they cannot do untill you have broken the Covenant Chain with your Bretheren the English and taken up the Ax against them. 'Tis for this reason the French are allways endeavouring by lies, by presents, by promises, to stir up all Indians to fall upon the English settlements & destroy their best friends and faithful bretheren, and many Indians have been so wicked and foolish, as, in spight of treaties and antient friendship, to become the dogs of the French, and come and go as they commanded them.

Bretheren. If the Indians do not return to their senses they will see and feel when it is too late that they have ruined themselves, enslaved their posterity and lost their country. They will find their country fortified by the French, not against the English but against the Indians themselves.

Bretheren. What I have said, and am going to say, I say not to you only, but to all Indians; and I desire you will with this Belt make it known amongst all the nations you have any acquaintance or connections with.

Tell them from me to look at the French forts built and building through the middle of their country and on their best hunting lands. Let them look at the French flaggs flying in their Forts at all the great Lakes, along all the great Rivers, in order to oblige them to trade with the French only, sell their skins, and take goods for them at what prizes the French please to put on them. And it is a thing well known to all Indians that the Erench cannot sell them goods near as cheap as the English, nor in such assortment and plenty. Gave a large Belt.

Bretheren. Let all nations of Indians know that the Great King of England, my master, is their Friend; that he desires all nations of Indians may unite together, be as one body and one blood. He offers them his alliance and protection, which all Princes & people over the Great Lakes are proud and glad of. He is ready to forgive all that has past, and to receive them with the open and tender arms of a forgiving Father and a sincere friend. He exhorts them

by me to tear off the bandage from their eyes wherewith the French have blindfolded them that they may see the true state of their Country and avoid the Chains which the French are preparing for them and their posterity. Let them rise up as one man and assist His Majesty's arms in driving the French out of their country. The Great King of England will then take care that his people shall not invade your lands, that his traders shall supply you with goods and deal honestly by you. If the Indians will do their parts herein, they & the English will be as one flesh and one blood & every Indian on this Continent may then sit under his own tree in peace, praise Him that ruleth above, smoke his pipe, and dread no enemy.

Bretheren. Let what I have now said to you sink into your hearts, publish it word for word to all your people at home, and thro' all the Nations. Make no delay, for now is the time for the Indians to chuse whether they and their children after them, will or will not be, a free, a great and a happy people.

By this Belt I fasten all the words I have said to you on your hearts. Gave a great Belt of Wampum.

Bretheren. I would be glad to have the opinion of you who are present, upon what I have said with these two Belts, and the proposal I have made of it's being published thro' the Nations.

Bretheren I must inform you of an accident which happened some days ago between Albany and Schenectady. A River or Mohickander Indian was shot by a soldier, who says the Indian first laid hold of him, abused and threatened him. The soldier is in confinement will be tried, and if found guilty will suffer. I am very sorry for this misfortune but there is no recalling the dead. All therefore that I can do is to condole with you on this occasion according to your customs, and cover his grave with these blankets strowds and stockings, & with these handkerchiefs I dry up the tears of his friends and relations; and I hope that after this, as the soldier is confined, you will rest easy and satisfied in your minds, as nothing more could be done, if the same accident had happened to me.

Here the above goods were delivered, and after a glass of rum round, to drink the King's health, the meeting broke up.

FORT JOHNSON *21 April 1757 P. M.*

PRESENT— Sir William Johnson, Bar^{t}.
Lieu^{t} Claus — Secretary and
M^{r} Guy Johnson — Interpreter as before.

The Shawanese Nanticoke and Mohickander Indians being assembled in the Meeting Room. sent Sir William word they were come to give their answer to his speech to them the 19th Ins^{t}. Upon

his taking his seat, Jonathan the Mohickander spoke in Low Dutch as follows :—

Brother, If you are prepared to hear us, please to listen to what we have to say.

Sir William said he was ready, and would be attentive

Brother, We are very much obliged to you for your kind reception of us and your concern for the bad journey we have had ; we are not discouraged thereby, having our hearts cheared with the peace and friendship our people made here with you last summer.

Gave 3 Strings Wampum.

Brother. You asked us what was done about sending your Belt to the Ohio and the Delaware Indians about Fort Du Quesne. We acknowledge that Belt was received as it was given to Tediescunt the Chief Man at Tiaogo, who is acquainted with all our friends and allies : what he hath done therein we do not realy know.

Gave 3 Strings.

Brother. You put us in mind of the Treaty of peace and friendship entered into in this Council Room last summer, between you and our Brothers the Shawanese and the Delawares of Tiaogo.

Brother. All the Nations here present for themselves and all belonging to them lay hold of the said Covenant Chain, and are determined to keep fast the same as long as the sun shines and God gives us breath.

You have told us Brother that God knows all things and the heart of every one of us.

Brother. 'Tis true, and we call God to witness the sincerity of our resolutions to keep unbroken the Covenant Chain with our Bretheren the English. We will not tell you any lies, and we assure you that when our people at home shall hear of our entering into this agreement of peace and friendship, they will, we are sure, be exceedingly rejoiced and we will not only faithfully observe it ourselves, but teach the same [to] our children yet unborn.

Gave a Belt.

Brother. All you said to us concerning the difference of conduct between the English and French and every thing you desired us to publish amongst our people and all the nations gave us great satisfaction ; and we think it to be the truth. Be assured we will not do as was done last year, refer it to another, but we will deliver your words and send your Belt with our own mouths and hands, and when we have done this we will not fail to let you know what effects it has had, and what nations you can depend on as Bretheren, and what are your enemies.

Gave a Belt.

Brother. You told us the day before yesterday that the French had put a bandage over our eyes, which you told us to remove, that

we might look about and see clearly the state of our country & our true interest. All you said to us on this subject was extreamly agreable and we thank you for it from the bottom of our hearts; it was acting like a friend and brother. But for our parts we have cast off the bandage and can see clearly round us, and which way soever we look, we can see no friends so true, no brothers so affectionate to us as the English: they have ever been so to us and to our forefathers also.

Brother. You have also told us that the Great King our Father over the sea, offered us by you, his hand of favour and protection. We lay fast hold of it and will not quit it so long as the world endures.

Brother. You have made us very joyfull by assuring us that our Father the Great King is ready to forgive and forget all past faults and misdoings. This makes our hearts happy and easy, for there have been some Indians who have done amiss, and who thought he would never forgive them. The King our Father's goodness will be great matter of joy to them and give us the most unfeigned satisfaction. Brother, we shall publish all this good news amongst all Nations of Indians with whom we have any acquaintance.

Gave a Belt.

Brother. We beg leave to add a few words. We have not perhaps been so particular as we ought, but we assure you what we have said comes from the bottom of our hearts, and that we mean more and better than we are capable of expressing. In these matters we are but as Children to you white people

Brother. We have forgot something; that is, to tell you where we now live. It is at Otsiningo and if you have at any time occasion for us or messages to send us, there you will allways find us. At Otsiningo live three principal Nations, viz^{t} the Shawanese, Nanticokes and Mohickanders, who are all Bretheren.

Brother. We have now concluded our answer to your speech to us, and must beg leave to say something to you from ourselves, and which is of great importance to us.

Brother. Please to lend us your attention a little. 'Tis now 9 years ago that a misfortune happened near Reinbeck in this Province; a white man there shot a young man an Indian. There was a meeting held thereon, and Martinus Hoffman said "Brothers "there are two methods of settling this accident, one according to "the White people's customs, the other according to the Indians: "which of them will you chuse? If you will go according to the "Indian manner, the man who shot the Indian may yet live. If "this man's life is spared, and at any time hereafter an Indian "should kill a white man, and you desire it, his life shall be also "spared."

Brother. You told us two days ago that when a man is dead, there is no bringing him to life again. Brother, we understand there are two Indians in jail at Albany, accused of killing a man; they are alive and may live to be of service, and we beg you in the name of the Great King our Father that they may be released. All we that here present, among whom are some of their nations, are all much dejected and uneasy upon this affair, and do entreat that these people may be let free, which will give us all the highest satisfaction.

Gave a great bunch Wampum.

We have now finished, and have no more to say.

Sir William told them as it was now late he proposed tomorrow to say something more to them, & give an answer upon things they had now said. The meeting then broke up.

FORT JOHNSON *22 April 1757.*

PRESENT,—as yesterday.

Sir William Johnson's Second Speech to the aforesaid Indians.

Bretheren. What you said to me yesterday in answer to my former speech to you was very agreable and pleasing to me. I look upon your words as a tree in full blossom, which I hope and expect will produce fruit suitable to it's appearance.

Bretheren. Let me again put you in mind of the Belt I have given you, and which you have promised to show to all those nations of Indians with whom you have any acquaintance or friendship, and to repeat what I have told you. As I think those things are of great consequence to the welfare of all Indians, I will again mention the heads of what I said upon my second and third Belts in my former speech: (which he did) and then added Three particular instances in which their friendship and alliance with the English was greatly more for their interest than with the French. 1st That in case their crops failed and they were destitute of provisions, that they could be easily relieved by their neighborhood to the English; whereas they were at such a distance from Canada that they might starve before they could get relief from the French. 2dly That in case they were in want of ammunition or assistance against an enemy, they might be all destroyed before they could obtain the needful assistance from the French. 3dly The same consequence with regard to trade.

With this Belt of Wampum I fix firmer upon your hearts and memories my talk and advice to you.

Gave a large Bunch Wampum.

Bretheren. Last night I wrote to the Earl of Loudoun who commands all the King's soldiers in this country and to Sir Charles Hardy Governour of this Province, concerning the request you

made of having your people discharged who are now in Albany jail. It is not in my power to give them free, but I dare say those great men will comply with your desire, if the circumstances of the affair appear to be such as reason and justice will permit it to be done.

Gave a Bunch of Wampum.

Bretheren. As you have now in behalf of yourselves and all your people laid hold of the Covenant Chain of peace and friendship with the Great King of England my master, and called the Great God above to witness that you do sincerely intend and firmly resolve that you will hereafter behave to all his subjects as fast friends and loving bretheren, into which Covenant Chain I have taken you all, your wives and children :—Therefore lest you may forget what was meant by the Covenant Chain in old times, I will briefly remind you of its obligations.—

When the Indians your forefathers first made this Covenant Chain with the English, both parties engaged to keep the ends of it fast in their hands; that they would take great care to keep it from breaking or from getting any rust or filth upon it; that they would be as one flesh and blood, so that if any enemy should intend to hurt or strike one party, the other should immediately give him notice, rise up & help him; and that a good road should always be kept open between their habitations, that when they might call for each others assistance, they could easily and speedily come.

Bretheren. As the road between us hath been opened last year by which means all logs and stones which were in the way hath been removed and made broad safe and pleasant we shall on our parts keep it so, and I expect you'll do the same on yours.

Bretheren. You have informed me that you three nations are settled at Otsiningo and that there I may allways find you. You have lived in too dispersed a manner, which must naturally weaken a people & make them of little consequence; whereas if you keep together in a body you may be strong & respectable.

Bretheren. With this Belt I girt your loins round after the manner of Warriors that whenever you are called upon you may be ready to run along this good road to assist us your bretheren, if any enemy may be coming to hurt them, and we shall do the same by you when you have any occasion to call upon us; by this means we shall become a strong body and nothing will be able to hurt us.

Gave a very large Belt.

Bretheren. I have but a few words more to say to you and then I shall conclude. If you hear of any news which concerns the safety or welfare of us your Bretheren, I expect you will give us immediate notice and we shall do the same by you.

Gave 3 Strings Wampum.

Brethern. The time of the year, the severity of the season, and

my having of late been oblidged to be so much from home, and that I did not expect you so soon, has prevented my having as great a plenty of goods as I usually have; however I shall look about, and when all business is finished I hope to find a small present for You.

So ended this Meeting.

FORT JOHNSON *23d April 1757 A. M.*

The reply of the aforesaid Indians to Sir William Johnson's speech to them of yesterday.

PRESENT,—as before

Brother. If you are ready to hear us we shall make some reply to what you yesterday said to us. Sir William answered he was ready; when the Speaker proceeded.

Brother. You told us yesterday that you looked on what we had said and the assurances we had given you as a Tree in Blossom, and you hoped it would yield good fruits.

Brother. We like the comparison. We have spoke to you from our hearts, and we hope good fruit will come from thence. On our parts we truly mean what our tongue hath spoken and we doubt not but you will on your side be as a fruitfull Tree to us.

Gave 2 Strings Wampum.

Brother. You have repeated to us and we shall not forget it, the different behaviour of the English and French towards the Indians, and you gave us instances to prove that it was greatly more our interest to keep friends with the former than the latter. Brother, what you have said hereon we are convinced is the truth and we thank you heartily for pointing out to us our true interest and welfare. What you have said has made our hearts light within us, and we will not forget it. Gave 3 Strings Wampum.

Brother. You told that last year you had opened the road between our habitations and the English and that you believed we had found nothing bad in this Road. (The Speaker here repeated what Sir William had said to them yesterday, with the large Belt.)

Brother. We have now renewed the Covenant Chain with all its obligations agreed upon between our respective forefathers. We are extreamly glad that you have made the Road open between us, and it is a very pleasant one. We are thankfull to you for tying up our blankets, and whenever you call upon us we shall be ready to stand up and come without delay; and we shall from this day forward consider the English and ourselves as one body, one head and one mind. Gave a Belt.

Brother. You have desired that whenever we hear any thing which may concern the interest or welfare of our Bretheren the English we should without delay communicate it. You may depend that we will do this and if we get any intelligence, tho' it should be in

the middle of the night, we will send off an express to you. Some of our young people are generally on the hunt and are very likely to make discoveries. Brother we are very thankful for your promise to do the same by us and to be ready to come to our assistance in case of need. Gave 3 Strings Wampum.

Brother. What you have told us concerning your writing to the Great Men about our friends in Albany jail, we have put it into our hearts and when we see our said Brothers safe in freedom it will be a convincing proof to us that we are indeed Bretheren & one People with the English.

Brother. This is all we have to say, and from this time forth we are as one body. Then the Sachems and Chiefs of the Three Nations with the Speaker, came and shook hands with Sir William and the several gentlemen present, with great appearance of joy and sincerity.

The Speaker rose up again and said:—

Brother. We have forgot something of consequence which we desire may be wrote down.

Brother. We are now become, as was said, one People; whenever therefore your people and ours meet in the woods or elsewhere, we expect they shall shake hands, and smoke together as loving Bretheren, and we shall on our parts publish all that hath past here, to all our absent people and friends we hope and desire you will do the same to yours, that none may be ignorant that from this day forward and for ever we are brothers friends and allies, and engaged on all occasions to love and assist each other.

A few words more we beg leave to say, and then we have done.

Brother. (Holding up a Belt) Last spring with this Belt the Nanticokes took us by the hand and bid us sit down by them. They said to us—"You Mohickanders and we Nanticokes will be one "people and take you Mohickanders by the hand as Bretheren and "fix you here at Otsininko, where the 6 Nations have lighted a "Council Fire and the Senecas appointed lands for you to cultivate. "Call all your dispersed Bretheren together and sit down here with "them as their habitation, and we Nanticokes assure you that who-"ever shall pinch or hurt you, we shall feel it, and the 6 Nations "shall do the same."

Brother. This Belt we propose to send amongst all our dispersed people; we have acquainted you herewith, and whenever you see any of our scattered people passing up the River, you may that they are removing to Otsiningo.

Sir William said.—

Bretheren.

I am quite pleased with the conduct of the Nanticokes, and think

it a very prudent measure; it will strengthen them, and your Three Nations together may be a considerable & flourishing people.

Brethren. As I expect all that has past here between us will be printed, by that means it will be known throughout this and the neighboring Governments.

After Sir William had done, the Kings or Chiefs of each Nation rose up and make a strong exhortation to all their respective people present to remember every thing which had past at this meeting, and to consider it as done in the presence of Him who sitteth above and seeth all things.

Sir William recomended it to them to make such an equal and upright division of the presents intended for them, (which he proposed to deliver to them in the afternoon) as none might have just cause to murmur or be dissatisfied.

A true Copy from the Original Records;

Exam^{d} by me

(signed) PETER WRAXALL

Sec^{y}.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON'S ANSWER TO THE SENECAS, &c.

FORT JOHNSON *16 June 1757. P. M.*

PRESENT—as before.

Bretheren of the Senecas, Cayougas, & Onondagas

I have duly considered the speech you made to me two days ago, and I desire you will be attentive to the answer I am now going to make you to it.

Bretheren. You tell me the reason you did not make use of the hatchet I sharpened for you last Summer, when I was at Onondaga, at which time I also painted and feathered your warriors for action, was, because you found yourselves in danger from the Messasagas, and therefore were oblidged to let my hatchet lay by you, & take care of yourselves.

Bretheren. This is the first time I have heard the Messasagas, were your enemies, & I am surprized how it came about. It is but 2 years ago at the great meeting here that you brought down the Chief man amongst the Missasagas, and introduced him to me as your great friend and ally, and told me that he and his people were determined to follow the example of the Five Nations. You then desired I would treat and consider him accordingly, which I did and gave him

presents to his satisfaction, and he took Belts from me to his people. For what reason therefore you think yourselves in danger from the Missesagas I cannot comprehend, unless it is from some misunderstanding which I hear happened in the woods some few days ago between some of your people and them.

Bretheren. An other reason you give me for your inactivity is, that you are few in number, and you dayly hear yourselves threatened by your enemies. As to your numbers, had you taken my advise given you many years ago and often repeated, you might now have been as strong people. I should be glad to know who these enemies are, and what grounds you have for these fears.

Gave a Belt.

Bretheren. You say I told you that the English would first make a trial against their enemies & that if we found that we could not do without you, that then we would call on you for your assistance. I have looked over the records where all public speeches and business with the Nations is faithfully wrote down, and I find no such thing there, and I am very positive you must be mistaken, for from the first meeting I had with the Six Nations after my return from Virginia, to this day, I have been constantly calling and exhorting them as Children of the Great King of England, as Brothers and Allies to the English, to join and assist His Majesty's Arms against our common enemy the French, and the Six Nations have as frequently assured me they would act with us & for us. And you must know you have a great number of Belts from me on this subject now in your possession. You tell me, tho' you don't know from what quarter, that you expect in a few months to be attacked by some enemy, and that therefore you think your own preservation requires you to stay at home and be on your guard. What foundation you have for all these fears so lately come upon you, you have not thought proper to inform me, and therefore I am at a loss about it, especially as I understand several parties of your young men are gone a fighting to the Southward. Formerly you told me that if you had Forts built at your towns and some men to guarrison them, you might then go to war with your Bretheren the English, and not be afraid of your old men your wives and children during your absence. These Forts, tho' very expensive to the King your Father, were accordingly built for you, and if you had applied you might have had men to garrison them. Bretheren, your conduct will in my opinion appear very ungrateful, & your reasonings very inconsistent to the King your Father and to all your Bretheren the English when they come to their knowledge as they soon will do; wherefore I would advise you to reconsider the matter, & take it into your most serious consideration.

A String.

Bretheren. I am well pleased that the Senecas, under whose di-

rections the Delawares are, have upon my application interposed their influence upon those deluded people, to stop their hostilities upon this and the neighbouring Provinces, and I expect they will exert their utmost to compleat this good work with the Ohio Delawares also.

A Belt.

Bretheren. Last winter the Governor of Pennsylvania had a meeting with Tedeuscung the Chief of the Delawares who live at Taaogo, when Tedyuscung told the Governor that one of the chief causes of the Delawares taking up the Ax against the English was, that they thought themselves defrauded and injured with regard to their lands. The Governour desired to know in what instances and by whom these frauds and injustice had been done to them, and that he was then ready and willing to hear their complaints and redress them to the utmost of his power and heartily disposed to settle every thing to their satisfaction.

Tedyuscung answered that he was not then empowered by, nor were the proper persons present, to accommodate these disputes, and therefore he proposed a meeting with the Governour this spring, when he said he would come prepared to settle all these matters. The meeting was accordingly agreed on, and I sent our Brother M[r] Croghan my Deputy to Pennsylvania, to act there in my name and see justice done to the Indians. I gave the 6 Nations notice hereof and several of them attended there accordingly. They waited a great while in expectation of Tedyuscung's arrival, but he never came, so that all the expence and trouble of this meeting did not produce the main effects intended by it. I desire to know from our Brothers the Senecas, the reasons of this strange behaviour of Tedyuscung's, which appears to me very blamable and unworthy the Character of a chief man, and I must desire that our Brothers the Senecas will talk to him, and if he is in fault make him sensible of it. The Governour of Pennsylvania hath spoke and acted like a wise and honest man, and appears sincerely disposed to do justice with impartiality of heart. The affair is of great consequence and Tedyuscung's conduct doth not appear fair and candid, by not fulfilling his own proposals & promises.

Gave several large strings of Wampum.

Bretheren. You say Captain Montour & Capt. Butler brought you a message in my name that I expected you would use the hatchet, I had put in your hands, against the French, that the message was laid before the Council of Onondaga, who said they did not expect such a message from you, as the Covenant Chain was for the common safety both of us and you, and that if you were to leave your country unguarded, it might end in your destruction.

Brethren. It is certain the Covenant Chain was made for our com-

mon good and safety, and it is well known to you all that it speaks in this manner: — *That the English and the Six Nations shall consider themselves as one flesh and one blood, and that whenever any enemy shall hurt the one the other is to feel it and avenge it, as if done to himself.* Have not the French hurt us? Is not their ax in our heads? Are they not daily killing and taking our people away? Have not some of your nations both to the Southward and Northward joined the French against us? Nay, some of you, by your own confession, have gone out by yourselves and struck the English. Have you not now several of our people prisoners amongst you, whom you conceal from me? Have you not lately suffered the Swegachie Indians to come thro' your habitations and take one of our people from the German Flatts? Let me ask you now if all this is behaving like Brethren, & whether you ought not to be ashamed when you put us in mind of the Covenant Chain? Surely you dream, or think I have forgot the old agreement between us, when you talk in this manner. I take you by the head & rouse you from your lethargy and bring you to your senses.

Brethren. You say you must take care of yourselves and not leave your country unguarded. When our Brother's house is on fire will another Brother look quietly on, smoak his pipe at his own door and say he can't help him because perhaps his own house may take fire? Does the Covenant Chain speak this language? Did your forefathers talk after this manner? Did I talk so to you when the Onondagas, Oneidas & Tuscarores sent me word last year that they expected the enemy were coming upon them? Did not I and your Brethren run thro' the ice and snow at two or three different times to their assistance? Where and who are those enemies you so much dread? Let us know do you want our assistance; if you are in danger we know the Covenant Chain and will be ready to defend or die with you. We wont tell you make one trial by yourselves and that we must stay home and take care of our own preservation.

You allways tell me 'tis for our mutual interest you go so often to Canada; I am apt to think you have brought these alarms and these fears with you from thence.

Brethren. I must tell you that my orders from the King your father are, to take care of and supply with necessaries such good & faithful Indians as will go out and fight for him and his people, and that such and their families, only, has he empowered me to arm clothe and provide for, which I shall continue to do to all such as will go out upon service, and those I dare say will in the end find they have acted more for their honour and interest, than those who stay at home and smoak their pipes. Gave a Belt.

Brethren. You have assured me that it is the unanimous Resolution of the 5 Nations to hold fast the Antient Covenant Chain

made by our forefathers and yours. Bretheren, our end of this Chain is bright and strong and we shall not be the first to let it go; but it seems to me that your end is grown very rusty, and without great care will be in danger of being eaten thro', which I should be very sorry to see, as it would be the means also of extinguishing the fire here and oversetting the Tree of Shelter. Here the Covenant Chain Belt was given.

Bretheren. I am sensible that trade is for our mutual benefit, and the taking care of it has allways been considered as one essential part of the Covenant Chain and the King your Father, expecting that you would have aided his arms as your ancestors formerly did, was determined to have put trade upon the most equitable and beneficial footing possible, for you and his people. But as public affairs now stand and whilst our enemies are suffered to pass thro your country in order to come and destroy us, without their receiving any molestation from you, it will neither be safe or prudent for our traders to go that way. Besides as you have resolved to stay at home and smoak your pipes and leave us to fight the enemy, our people must be otherwise employed, except those traders who live in Albany and Schenectady, who will allways be ready and willing to trade with you. Gave a Belt.

When this Meeting broke up

The same evening the head Sachems of the Senecas desired a private Conference with Sir William Johnson, to which they invited the Mohocks & Onondagas.

The Senecas laid down Three Belts.

One of which was a very long black one with an Ax in the middle, which they said was brought to them by the Groote Yonge, a Seneca warrior who has lived in Canada for two years past, & is since dead, from the Governour of Canada, inviting and calling on the Senecas to take up the hatchet against the English.

The Second was a Belt given by the Governour of Canada to the Delawares, for them to take up the hatchet also against the English, which the Senecas say they have now taken from the Delawares and buried with that sent to them, and acquainted the French Governour that as they had at present no cause of quarrell with the English, so they had buried the hatchet he sent them, and would let both that and the one to the Delawares lye under ground till they had just cause to use them.

The third was sent by the Delawares to the Senecas to assure them they would follow their advice, had accordingly laid down the hatchet against the English and would cease their hostilities.

CAPTAIN CROGHAN TO SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

PHILADELPHIA *March 14th 1757.*

I received yours of the 17th February by my man and shall take care to follow your directions. Some of the Susquehannah Indians are come into the inhabitants, who say the rest were gethering but could not be down so soon as I expected, from the severity of the winter in those parts, but these Indians inform that my messengers got all safe out, and that the Indians would set of, for the inhabitants, as soon as the weather would permit.

Monecatootha is not yet come. As my Lord Loudon is expected in town to day, I shall wait upon him agreeable to your instructions and then set out for Susquehannah to meet Monecatootha and the other Indians coming with him.

There is a good understanding between the Governour and me, as well as most of the gentlemen of the place, and every one seems fond of an inquiry being made into the Complaints of the Indians; except some of the Proprietary Agents, who dont seem to like it. As to their dislike I take no notice of it, being determined to enter into no dispute with them on that head.

Inclosed you have a copy of some extracts from my old journals relating to Indian Affairs, from the time of Mr Hamilton's arrival as Governour of this Province till the defeat of General Braddock; all which you may depend upon are facts, and will appear upon the Records of Indian Affairs in ye several Governments. I shall give his Lordship likewise a Copy, as the several Governors are met here at this time, that His Lordship may be acquainted with the imprudent steps taken by those Governments. I am, with the greatest esteem & regard

Sir

Your most obedient and
most humble Servant
GEO. CROGHAN.

P S. I have sent you a sadle, with holsters, a pair of brechess and a hatt, all which I hope will answer better than those I sent before.

To the Honble Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON, Bart

Mr Croghan's Transactions with the Indians previous to Hostilities on the Ohio.

In November 1748 Mr Hamilton arrived in Philadelphia, Governour of Pensylvania. During the late war all the Indian tribes living on the Ohio and the branches thereof, on this side Lake Erie, were in strict friendship with the English in the several Provinces,

and took the greatest care to preserve the friendship then subsisting between them and us. At that time we carried on a considerable branch of trade with those Indians for skins and furs, no less advantagious to them than to us. We sold them goods on much better terms then the French, which drew many Indians over the Lakes to trade with us. The exports of skins and furs from this Province at that time will shew the increase of our trade in them articles.

In August 1749. Governor Hamilton sent me to the Ohio with a message to the Indians, to notifie to them the Cessation of Arms, and to enquire of the Indians the reason of the march of Monsieur Celaroon with two hundred French soldiers through their country (This detachment under Monsieur Celaroon had passed by the Logs Town before I reached it.)

After I had delivered my message to the Indians, I inquired what the French Commander said to them. They told me he said he was only come to visit them, and see how they were cloathed, for their Father the Governor of Canada was determined to take great care of all his children settled on the Ohio, and desire they wou'd turn away all the English traders from amongst them, for their Father would not suffer them to trade there any more, but would send traders of his own, who would trade with them on reasonabler terms than the English.

I then asked them if they really thought that was the intention of the French coming at that time: They answered, yes, they believed the French not only wanted to drive the English traders off, that they might have the trade to themselves; but that they had also a further intention by their burrying iron plates with inscriptions on them in the mouth of every remarkable Creek, which we know is to steal our country from us. But we will go to the Onondago Council and consult them how we may prevent them from defrauding us of our land.

At my return I acquainted the Governor what passed between the Indians and me.

This year the Governor purchased a tract of land on the East of Susquehannah for the Proprietaries, at which time the Indians complained that the White People was encroaching on their lands on the West side of Susquehannah, and desired that the Governor might turn them off, as those lands were the hunting-grounds of the Susquehannah Indians.

At that time the Six Nations delivered a string of Wampum from the Connays, desiring their Brother Onas to make the Connays some satisfaction for their settlement at the Connay Town in Donegal, which they had lately left and settled amongst the Susquehannah Indians which town had been reserved for their use at that time their Brother Onas had made a purchase of the land adjoining to that town.

In November I went to the country of the Twightwees by order of the Governor with a small present to renew the chain of friendship, in company with Mr Mountour Interpreter; on our journey we met Mr Gist, a messenger from the Governor of Virginia, who was sent to invite the Ohio Indians to meet the Commissioners of Virginia at the Logs town in the Spring following to receive a pressent of goods which their father the King of Great Britain had sent them. Whilst I was at the Twigtwee town delivering the present and message, there came several of the Chiefs of the Wawioughtanes and Pianguisha Nations, living on Wabash, and requested to be admitted into the chain of friendship between the English and the Six Nations and their allies; which request I granted & exchang'd deeds of friendship with them, with a view of extending His Majestys Indian interest, and made them a small present. On my return I sent a coppy of my proceedings to the Governor. On his laying it before the House of Assembly, it was rejected and myself condemned for bad conduct in drawing an additionall expence on the Government, and the Indians were neglected.

At the time that the Secretary, the provincial Interpreter, with the Justices of Cumberland County and the Sheriff were ordered to dispossess the peopled settled on the unpurchased lands on the West side of Susquehannah, and on their return to my house, they met a deputation of the Ohio Indians, who told the Secretary that they had heard of a purchase that the Governor had made on the East side of Susquehannah, and said they were intitled to part of the goods paid for that purchase, but had received none, that they were come now to desire the Governor to purchase no more lands without first acquainting them, for that the lands belonged to them as well as to the Onondaga Council; on which they delivered a Belt of Wampum, and desired that the Governor might send that Belt to Onondaga to let them know that the Ohio Indians had made such a complaint.

In April 1751 the Governor sent me to Ohio with a present of goods; the speeches were all wrote by the Provincial Iterpreter Mr Wiser. In one of the speeches was warmly expressed that the Govr of Pensylvania would build a fort on the Ohio, to protect the Indians, as well as the English Traders, from the insults of the French. On the Governor perusing the speech he thought it too strongly expressed, on which he ordered me not to make it, but ordered me to sound the Chief of the Indians on that head, to know whether it would be agreeable to them or not. Which orders I obeyed, and did in the presence of Mr Montour sound the Half King Scarioaday and the Belt of Wampum, who all told me that the building of a Trading House had been agreed on between them and the Onondagoe Council, since the time of the detachment of French, under the command of Monsr Celaroon, had gone down the river Ohio and

said they would send a message by me to their Brother Onas, on that head.

After I had delivered the present and done the chief of the business, the Indians in publick Council, by a Belt of Wampum, requested that the Governor of Pennsylvania would immediately build a strong house (or Fort) at the Forks of Monongehela, where the Fort Du Quesne now stands, for the protection of themselves and the English Traders.

But on my return this Government rejected the proposal I had made, and condemned me for making such a report to the government, alledging it was not the intention of the Indians. The Provincial Interpreter, who being examined by the House of Assembly, denyed that he knew of any instructions I had to treat with the Indians for building a Trading House, though he wrote the speech himself, and further said he was sure the Six Nations would never agree to have a Trading House built there, and Governor Hamilton, though he by his letter of instructions ordered me to sound the Indians on that head, let the House know he had given me no such instructions: all which instructions will appear on the Records of Indian Affairs.

The 12th June 1752, the Virginia Commissioners met the Indians at the Logs Town and delivered the King's present to them. The Indians then renewed their request of having a fort built as the government of Pennsylvania had taken no notice of their former request to them, and they insisted strongly on the goverment of Virginia's building one in the same place that they had requested the Pennsylvanians to build one; but to no effect.

In the year 1753 a French army came to the heads of Ohio and built fort Preskle on the Lake, and another fort at the head of Venango Creek, called by the French Le Buff Rivere. Early in the fall the same year about one hundred Indians from the Ohio came from Winchester in Virginia, expecting to meet the Governor there who did not come, but ordered Coll. Fairfax to meet them. Here again they renewed their request of having a Fort built, and said altho' the French had placed themselves on the head of Ohio, that if their Bretheren the English would exert themselves and send out a number of men, that they woud join them, & drive the French army away or die in the attempt.

From Winchester those Indians came to Cumberland County where they were met by Commissioners from Governor Hamilton, and promised the same which they had done in Virginia; but notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of those Indians, the governments neglected building them a fort, or assisting them with men; believing or seeming to believe that there was no French there; till the Governor of Virginia sent Col. Washington to the heads of Venango Creek, where he met the French General at a fort he had lately built there.

In February 1754, Captain Trent was at the mouth of Red Stone Creek, building a Store house for the Ohio Company, in order to lodge stores to be carried from there to the mouth of Monongehela, by water, where he had received orders in conjunction with Cresap and Gist to build a fort for that Company. This Creek is about 37 miles from where fort Du Quesne now stands.

About the 10th of this month he received a Commission from the Governor of Virginia with orders to raise a Company of Militia, and that he would soon be joined by Col. Washington. At this time the Indians appointed to meet him at the mouth of Monongehela in order to receive a present which he had brought them from Virginia. Between this time and that appointed to meet the Indians he raised upwards of twenty men & found them with arms ammunition & provisions at his own expence. At this meeting the Indians insisted that he should set his men at work, which he did, and finished a Store House, and a large quantity of timber hew'd, boards saw'd, and shingles made. After finishing his business with the Indians he stayed some time in expectation of Col. Washington joining him, as several accounts came of his being there in a few days. As there was no more men to be had here at this time, there being no inhabitants in this country but Indian traders who were scattered over the country for several hundred miles, & no provisions but a little Indian corn to be had, he applied to the Indians, who had given him reason to believe they would join him and cut off the French on the Ohio, but when he proposed it to the Half-King, he told him that had the Virginians been in earnest they wou'd have had their men there before that time, and desired him to get the rest of his men and hurry out the provisions. Agreeable to his instructions he went and recruited his company, but before he could get back, it being 110 miles from here to the nighest inhabitants, the French came and drove his people off.

In June following when the Indians heard that Coll. Washington with a Detachment of the Virginia troops had reached the great Meadows, the Half-King and Scaruady with about 50 men joined him,—notwithstanding the French were in possession of this country with six or seven hundred men; so great was their regard for the English at that time.

After the defeat of Col. Washington, the Indians came to Virginia, where they stayed some time, & then came to my house in Pennsylvania and put themselves under the protection of this Government.

As soon as possible they sent messengers to call down the heads of the Delawares and Shawnese to a meeting at my house, and at the same time they desired the Governor of this Province, or some Deputy from him, to meet them there to consult what was best to be done.

The Governor sent Mr Wiser the Provincial Interpreter; the Chiefs of those Indians came down and met him and offered their service, but it was not accepted by Mr Wiser. He in answer told them to sit still, till Governor Morris arrived, and then he himself wou'd come and let them know what was to be done. They waited there till ve.y late in the fall, but received no answer, so set off for their own country.

This Government continued to maintain the Indians that lived at my house, till the Spring, when General Bradock arrived; they then desired Governor Morris to let me know they would not maintain them any longer; at which time Governor Morris desired me to take them to Fort Cumberland to meet General Bradock; which I did;—On my arrival at Fort Cumberland General Braddock asked me where the rest of the Indians were. I told him I did not know, I had brought but fifty men which was all that was at that time under my care, and which I had brought there by the directions of Governor Morris. He replied that Governor Dinwiddie told me at Alexandria that he had sent for 400 which would be here before me. I answered I knew nothing of that but that Captain Montour the Virginia Interpreter was in camp & could inform His Excellency. On which Montour was sent for who informed the General that Mr Gist's son was sent off some time agoe for some Cherokee Indians, but whether they would come he could not tell. On which the General asked me whether I could not send for some of the Delawares and Shawnese to Ohio. I told him I could; on which I sent a messenger to Ohio, who returned in eight days and brought with him the Cheifs of the Delawares. The General held a conferrence the Chiefs in company with those fifty I had brought with me, and made them a handsome present, & behav'd to them as kindly as he possibly could, during their stay, ordering me to let them want for nothing.

The Delawares promised, in Council, to meet the General on the road, as he marched out with a number of their warriors. But whether the former breaches of faith on the side of the English prevented them, or that they choose to see the event of the action between General Braddock and the French, I cannot tell; but they disapointed the General and did not meet him.

Two days after the Delaware Chiefs had left the camp at Fort Cumberland, Mr Gist's son returned from the Southward, where he had been sent by Govr Dinwiddie, but brought no Indians with him.

Saon after, the General was preparing for the march, with no more Indians than I had with me; when Coll. Innis told the General that the women and children of the Indians that were to remain at Fort Cumberland, would be very troublesome, and that the General need not take above eight or nine men out with him, for if

he took more he would find them very troublesome on the march and of no service; on which the General ordered me to send back all the men, women and children, to my home in Pensylvania, except eight or ten, which I should keep as scouts and to hunt; which I accordingly did.

Indorsed

"Rec^{d} with S^{r} W^{m} Johnson's letter of the 25 June 1757.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

ALBANY, *28th September, 1757.*

MY LORDS: I am honoured with Your Lordships letter bearing date the 10th of March last with which I received a Copy of the proprietors of Pensilvania Observations upon a Paragraph of a letter of mine to Your Lordships of the 10th Sept^{r} 1756.

As I have received these Observations from Your Lordships and as from the stile of them the Proprietors seem to think they are entituled to some answer from me, I herewith enclose to Your Lordships a few Remarks on the said Observations, and as they are supported by authentic papers in my hands, I hope they will at least appear to Your Lordships a justification of the opinion I formerly gave upon the Subject, and which seems to have given so much offence to the Proprietors.

I have neither time nor inclination to enter into a Dispute with the Proprietors upon the merits of their Deputy and Agents conduct with regard to Indian Affairs but I think it my Duty and I shall without fear or partiality give my opinion to Your Lordships, That not with Pensilvania only but with this and the other Governments, neighboring upon the Indian Country, the Indians are disgusted and dissatisfied with the extensive purchases of land, and do think themselves injured thereby.—That this is one main cause of the Defection from the British Interest—That this Disgust and its consequential Jealousies have been some of the cheif means made use of by the French to alienate the Indians from His Majesty's Interest, and provoke them to commit hostilities upon our frontiers, and that untill some measures can be put into execution, to make the Indians easy & remove these Jealousies, thô by temporary expedients they may be kept from breaking out into open Violence, yet they will work like a slow but certain poison. By presents & management we may be able to keep some little interest yet alive and perhaps some nations to act a neutral part, yet I am apprehensive, meer expence, Speeches & Promises (so often repeated & so lit-

tle regarded) will never be able to effect a favourable Revolution of our Indian interest, and deprive the French of the great Advantages they have over us by their Indian Alliances. I would not be understood, My Lords, to mean that there is no alternative by which we may possibly avail ourselves so as to keep an even hand with the Indians—reducing the French to our terms would enable us to give law to the Indians. Forts & levies on our frontiers if carried on with an unanimous vigorous & proper Exertion of the strength of the several Governments, if it did not over awe the Indians from attempting any hostilities might preventing their effecting any. But whilst His Majesty's Arms are attended with unsuccessful events, and our principal Efforts with regard to Indians seem rather calculated to provoke than to deter them from committing hostilities upon our Frontiers: I ca'nt but be of opinion that if measures were fallen upon to satisfy the Indians with regard to their lands, and remove the prevailing Jealousy they have of our views of settling their hunting grounds we might not only releive our frontiers from the calamities they have, they do and will I fear continue to suffer, but be able to draw off many Indians from the French influence, and perhaps raise up amongst the Indians, as efficacious a jealousy of the Designs of the French as they now have of ours. I am with Your Lordships very sensible there are many difficulties in the way to this System of Conduct, and that it is so opposite to the pretentions & interested views of many considerable claimants as must naturally distress Your Lordships to form a Judgment in what way it can be effectually & properly executed. Before I dismiss this Subject I will only beg leave, My Lords, to add to what I have said, that I am far from thinking all the claims and discontents of the Indians to be founded upon justice and that they do probably take advantage of our present sittuation, but to abler judgments I humbly submit it whether it be better policy in us (as affairs are now circumstanced) to be tenacious or make such confessions as will bring over these savages to those Views which His Majesty had & continues to have for the safety & Interest of his Dominions in this part of the World, with regard to which I conceive Indian affairs have been and will continue to be of very material consequence.

Herewith I transmit Your Lordships some Indian transactions of my Deputy M^r^ Croghan & signed by him, together with a Treaty agreed upon at a Meeting Governor Denny held at Easton in Pensilvania in conjunction with M^r^ Croghan, with Tediuscung Chief of the Delawares & other Indians. The Peace there agreed upon seems to me no more than a conditional truce. Your Lordships will also see that Tediuscung hath refused my Mediation and made choice of the Quakers for his advocates and Agents. I therefore apprehend that it is not advisable for me at present, to press my Me-

diation upon those Indians, and which I have mentioned to Governor Denny.

Gov^{r} Denny hath complained in very warm terms to me of the conduct of the Quakers, and seems with great reason to be much alarmed at it. As I doubt not he will have fully wrote to Your Lordships upon this head, & as the Face of the Proceedings & M^{r} Croghan's Report to me subjoined to them will give Your Lordships a particular information with regard to these People's behavior, I shall not detain Your Lordships with any detail of my own thereon. Permit me only to say I beleive Your Lordships will be of opinion that Indian Affairs ought to be considered and conducted upon one public Spirited plan for the good of the whole, and that either party or partial Interferings to warp them from this Salutary End is not less contrary to His Majesty's Royal & Paternal Determinations, than it will if permitted be distructive to the welfare of His Subjects and Dominions here.

Herewith I also transmit Your Lordships what has passed between the Six Nations & me, & Four Cherokee Deputies sent by their People from Virginia to my house. As this Nation is a very powerful one, as a part of them have voluntarily taken up the Ax against the French, done execution and lost some of their Warriors against the enemy, and as by some intercepted letters my Lord Loudoun has been pleased to communicate to me from the French Governor of New Orleans, it appears he is endeavouring to draw these and other Nations to the Southward from his Majesty's Interest and alliance, in which he has made a considerable progress, & if he succeeds says it will bring South Carolina & the Neigbouring Provinces within an Ace of their ruin. For these reasons I received these Duputies & treated them with particular notice & marks of friendship, and pressed those Indians of the Six Nations who were present to renew, strengthen and endeavour to extend their alliances with the Westward & Southern Indians, it being what I knew the French very much dreaded: and if the proposed meeting should happily take place I hope to lay a foundation for defeating those grand & threatening schemes which the French Gov^{r} of New Orleans denounces, but in this M^{r} Atkins must give me a helping hand. I have sent him a Copy of the Conferences & given him my Sentiments upon the Subject, and as I think it an important one, I propose to confer with my Lord Loudoun thereon when I have the honour of seeing him. The Government of Virginia treated these Indians who came in there with their Prisoners and Scalps, with, I think, an ill timed fugality which greatly disgusted them.

Since my last to Your Lordships I have heard little or nothing of moment from the Senecas, Cayouges & Onondegas who as I then informed Your Lordships declared their Resolutions to be neutral in the present war. Of the other Nations many scalping parties

have gone out & taken prisoners & scalps from the Enemy, but the loss of Fort W^m^ Henry & the victory lately gained by the enemy at Lake George, together with our disappointments from Halifax and my Lord Loudoun's return with the troops from thence and the French receiving Succors of troops & stores at Quebec has very much cooled the ardor of those Indians who were disposed to be active & rendered us of less consequence in the eyes of others.

I shall conclude this letter with the most impartial and concise account I can give Your Lordships of the present State of His Majesty's Indian Interest within my department.

Since the Meeting at my house in June last I have had no meeting with the Senekas, Cayouges or Onondagas, or heard anything material from them. It does not yet appear that the said Nations have broken their neutrality but whether they will continue strickly to adhere to it (especially some of the most distant Senecas) is more than I can take upon me to be certain of for if the French labour the point for their breaking through it, and should succeed in any considerable attemps they may make to the Southward, where I suspect they will make some attempts, it is not improbable the said Nations may find themselves under the necessity of breaking their neutraility with us.

The Tuscaroras & Oneidas have not yet made any express Declarations to me; they have promised soon to do it. The latter are divided amongst themselves & the greater part under the influence of of those of their Nation whom the French have drawn off to live at Sweegachie on S^t^ Lawrence River, and at whose scalping parties which molest the German flatts they do at least connive. Other of the Oneidas seem as yet to be hearty in our Interest.

The Murder of one of the Tuscarores last year by some of the 44 Reg^t^ still sticks in the stomacks of that nation, which together with their chief Sachems being brought over to the French Interest has cooled their affections towards us, and I have not seen any of their people for some time past.

The late murder of two Onieda Indians by one Smith a Trader at the German Flatts has given the French party amongst them a handle to encrease their influence over that part of the Nation who have been and still remain Advocates for the English Interest. And here I think it necessary to acquaint Your Lordships that I find the frenchified Oneidas are carrying on a very considerable trade for the Sweegachie Indians at the German Flatts, to which place the traders are now carrying great quantities of rum & other goods, so that the pernicious trade formerly carried on from this town with the Cagnawaga Indians is like to be revived under another dress at the German Flatts, & it is not in my power to prevent it. I have given my Lord Loudoun this information & referred it to his Consideration and Authority.

I now proceed with my object. The two Mohock Castles have hitherto stuck firm to us, thô at a very expensive præmium since the loss of Fort William Henry, they have renewed to me the strongest assurances of their zeal & fidelity & I think they are sincere thô our present sittuation makes them very mercenary & some of them as well as the other Nations, not a little insolent.

A number of the six nations who are settled at Aughquaga on the Susquehanna River, also a small body settled at Schoherie in this Province, have always, and during this War constantly, shewn themselves firmly attached to our Interest, & no Indians have been more ready on every summons to come and join His Majesty's Arms. They are a flourishing & encreasing people for many of our friend Indians amongst the Six nations, who are disgusted with the ruling Politics of their people, leave their castles & go and settle at Aughquaga. These Indians if no cross accidents prevent may I think be depended on. They have also since the loss of Fort Wiliam Henry (to the releif of which several of them who were at my house marched with me) given me the strongest assurance that this fresh misfortune did not shake their former resolutions, and that they were determined to live and die with us. The professions carried all the appearances of sincerity with them.

As to the Delawares and the other Indians settled at Tiago on the Susquahanna River, the Negotiations which have lately been carried on between the government of Pensilvania and them, seem to have put matters rather upon a conditional truce than a final pacification & treaty of mutual aid offensive and defensive, so that their assistance is a point of uncertainty, I fear the unhappy divisions in Pensilvania have infected their Indian proceedings and that without a proper and prudent Interposition they will throw all the Indian politics left to their management into confusion and perhaps into a Flame which may not be easily quenched.

With regard to the Shawaneise, Mohikanders, Nantikokes & some other tribes settled at Otsiningo on one of the Branches of the Susquehanna, if they are at liberty to act according to their Inclinations, I am persuaded we may have considerable assistance from them, but as they look upon the Senekas as their Patrons & are in the neighbourhood of that and the Cayouge Country, they will probably be very much governed by the influence of those Indians, however I am of opinion a number of these people when called upon will fulfill their Engagements.

The Indians settled at Stockbridge and on the Boarders of New England I look on as our fast Friends, they have given me notice that they had some matters of importance to lay before me and that they would speedily do it.

Thus, My Lords, I have without disguise & in the most candid manner I could given Your Lordships a general view of His Maj-

esty's Indian Interest this way as it appears to me under our present circumstances.

Your Lordships will please to consider the peculiarity of the Indians' character and that they do not look upon themselves as principals in the present war, therefore I conceive it is both natural and reasonable to expect that these Peoples attachment to us & the assistance they will be disposed to give His Majesty's Arms will be proportionable to our success & the appearances of it.

I have acquainted the Earl of Loudoun by my letter to his Lordships of the 3d Inst that our affairs not altering for the worse & having three weeks notice given me I could march from Fort Johnson with between 3 or 400 Indians of several Nations.

I have the honour to be, My Lords,
Your Lordships most obedt & most faithful
humble Servant
Wm JOHNSON.

To the Right Honourable The Lords of Trade and Plantations

JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN GEORGE CROGHAN, AND THE TREATY AT EASTON, &c., 1757.

NEW YORK.

Proceedings of George Croghan Esqr and Treaty held with Tediuscung & other Indians at Easton in Pennsilvania in July and August 1757. with Mr Croghan's Report to Sir William Johnson of the Behaviour of the Quakers at the aforesaid Treaty.

May the 24th 1757. I set off from Lancaster to meet the Cherokees at Fort Loudoun.

The 26th I got to John Harrisses where I overtook the 6 Nations that was going home by Fort Augusta, under the care of Captn Thomas McKee in good temper.

The 28th I got to Carlisle where I met Col. Armstrong who was just come home after visiting the Cherokees at Fort Frederick, he informed me that the Cherokees desired him as they were going to Winchester in Virginia to receive a present, to send an Express to them when I came up with the present from this Government, and promised they would meet me at Fort Loudoun.

June 2d Colo Stanwix came to Carlisle when Colo Armstrong let him know that the present sent up for the Cherokees was not sufficient, nor any ways in quantity to their Expectations, which Col. Stanwix gave me orders to purchase as much more as would complete it to £300 and draw on the Government for the money, which I accordingly did.

June 3d I sent off an Express to Winchester to let the Cherokees know that I would meet them the 10th at Fort Loudoun where I would deliver the present from this Government.

The 9th I got to Shippensburgh in company of Colo Armstrong and several Officers with a Detachmt of the Provincial Troops.

The 10th We received an account of Lieut. Holliday with 24 men being surprized in the big Cove, himself and six men killed or taken

The same day I received an Express from Mr Atkin the Superintendant for the Southern District by which I found he was displeased with the Proceedings of this Governmt and Maryland, taking upon them to treat & make presents to any Indians belonging to his District, and let me know that the Indians had set off to meet me without his knowledge, and desired that I might not transact any business with them till I see him and desired I would come to Winchester to him.

The 11th I set off from Fort Loudoun with Colo Armstrong to Winchester to meet Mr Atkin. The Cherokees returned from Fort Frederick that day to Winchester when they heard I was gone up.

The 12th We got to Winchester where we met Mr Atkin and abt sixty Cherokees, all of them were determined to set off immediately home, as they had met with such a disappointment.

The 14th Mr Atkin and we had a meeting with the Indians when he agreed to deliver to them about £100 worth of Wampum, Silver Truck, Calliere, Vermillion in the name of this Government as a Reward for their past service here on my promising him to reimburse him in Goods the same value, which I did.

The Indians received it kindly, seemed well satisfied and said as soon as they had rested themselves at home, they would return with more Warriors, and come and visit their Brethren here, on parting I made Wahatche a present of five pound in dollars, which pleased him extreamly well as he said he wanted a horse to carry home his present.

The 15. At 11 o'clock at Night came to town an Express from Fort Cumberland with an accot that 6 Cherokees was arrived here from Fort Duquesne who saw a large body of the enemy, French and Indians, with waggons and artillery set off, and by their Rout suppose they intend to attack Fort Cumberland.

The 16 I sent an Express to Col. Stanwix with the above Intelligence.

The 17 came an express from Fort Cumberland giving an account than another part of Cherokees was arrived, who had fallen in with a party of ten French about 30 miles this side of Fort Duquesne, had killed two Officers and three men, and brought in a French Ensign prisoner. The Swallow their head Warrior was killed.

The 18 another party arrived at Fort Cumberland who had killed and scalped one Indian man and two women so near Fort Duquesne

that they fired the cannon after them, they say there was not less than 500 french and Indians set off from Fort Duquesne with about 100 bagage horses, that they took the Pensilvania Road, but that they had no waggons or Artillery with them.

The 19. About 60 Cherokees came to Winchester with french Ensign Prisoner.

WINCHESTER, *June 20th 1757.*

The Examination of Monsr Belestre a French Ensign taken before the Honble Edmund Atkyn Esqr His Majtys Agent for, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, in the Southern Department. In presence of

Colo Washington and
George Croghan Esqr Depy to Sir Wm Johnson

He says that he is a native of Canada and served Monsr Vaudreuil, that he come last from Fort du Quesne with a party of 40 Indians and 12 White men, 3 of which were Officers, that he left that place the 17 of May with orders to reconnoitre Fort Cumberland, and entice out small parties, in order to make them Prisoners, that they did not then take or kill any, but drove off a good number of horses that then the Indians seperated themselves from them, and dispersed themselves on the frontiers of the Neighbouring Colonies to get scalps and prisoners. That they then set off homewards being 10 in number all French when they were attacked about half way between Fort Cumberland and Fort Duquesne on the 30th day of last month, and that two Officers and three soldiers were killed and himself taken prisoner. That when he left Fort Duquesne there was a Garrison of 300 men one half of which were Regulars and the other half Militia, that they daily expected a reinforcement of 300 more from Montreal which were to be stationed there till next Spring to enable that garrison to resist any attempts the English might make against it this summer. That a great body of Indians to the number of 1500 composed of the Illinois, upper Cherokees and Creeks was also expected which he supposed was arrived by this time, who were to be employed in Scouting Parties to annoy the Frontiers of three Neighbouring Colonies. That the Indians who now harass the Frontiers are not the same who have hitherto done it, for they are now neuteral, but that they are more distant Nations who are now employed in that Service. That when he left Fort Duquesne he heard nothing of an Expedition intended on any of the Frontier Settlements or the Out Forts, they having no Artillery to enable them to conduct such an Expedition, the whole they have being 8 Six pounders and Six four pounders which were mounted at Fort Duquesne.

That only 100 of the Garrison at Fort Duquesne are quartered within the Fort the rest lodging in barracks without. That the train of Artillery taken from General Braddock was sent down after

his defeat to Niagara, and that it was the same train the French had used at the taking of Oswego. That at the battle of Monongehella there were 200 French and 600 Indians, and that the total killed and wounded on the side of the French amounted to 30 only, that they then made only 8 prisoners, 3 soldiers and 5 women. That 3000 Soldiers arrived last winter at Montreal from France, but that he did not know of the arrival of any Troops at New Orleans by the way of Missisipy, that country being so distant that they had no accounts from thence but at the same time he said that they were supported at Fort du Quesne with Provisions from the Illinois country as well as from Fort du Droit. That they keep 100 men in Garrison at Fort Prisquisle being apprehensive that the English and their Indians might attack them there. That they have no Ports or Settlements on the Ohio, below Fort du Quesne, but several above. That the French give nothing for scalps but a little Spirits.

N B. The Commanding Officer's name at Fort Duquesne is Delignery.

The 21 of June M^r^ Atkin called a meeting when he delivered the Indians a present, very trifing, it consisted of half thicks, about one shirt and one pair of stockings a Man, some Calliere, Callimancoes and small truck; The Indians seemed much displeased when they saw the present and was determined to set off being in a very ill humour. I thought if they went away dissatisfied it might be of ill consequence to His Majesty's Indian Interest, and then took the Opportunity of those Alarms from Fort Cumberland to apply to him for those Indians to come with me to meet Col. Stanwix who was providing carriages to march to the Frontiers, and promised M^r^ Atkin that I would give them the Present from this Government to which he agreed. Then it was proposed to the Indians, who readily agreed to come with me, in expectation that they should get something worth while to take home with them. M^r^ Smith the Interpreter told me that he was very glad that I had engaged the Indians to come down where they would get some presents for their services as he said he was of opinion, had they gone away displeased, it would be of fatal consequence to the English Interest, as he knew they had great Offers made them by the French, and indeed they told that to M^r^ Atkin themselves and that they came this way to make a trial and see how their Breth^n^ the English in those parts would serve them, before they would listen to the French, with whom they had but a slender acquaintance.

*The 28^th^* I delivered them the present put into my hands by this Government for them with the Governour's Compliments to them, and then condoled with them for the death of the Swallow their Chief Warrior, who was killed in taking the French Ensign.

They received the present with Satisfaction and returned thanks, but at the same time told me by Mr Smith the Interpreter that they

did not think themselves sufficient rewarded for their Services, thó they said they could not blame this Government as they had done no services here for what they had already received.

The 29. The Mohawk Sachem who went up with me to meet those Cherokees delivered them the message sent by him to them from the Chiefs of the Six nations, the purport whereof was as follows

The Six nations first brightened the chain of friendship with them, then desired in the strongest manner they could express that their Brethren the Cherokees would hold fast by the chain of Friendship subsisting between them, the English and the six Nations, and join their united forces, in order to defeat the dark Schemes their common enemy the French and their Indians had formed against them and assured them by a large belt of Wampum that they might depend on their brethren the Six Nations for that they had taken up the hatchet in defence of their brethren the English, and were determined never to lay it down while there was a Frenchman on this side the great lake, and hoped that their brethren the Cherokees would act on the same principles. Then he gave a large War belt to the Young Warriors desiring them to be strong and prosecute the War against the French on the Ohio, while the Six Nations would do the same towards the Northward, and said, perhaps next Spring we may both join together and strike a stroke which may make the French repent their past conduct.

The Cherokees after considering what had been said to them by the Mohawk Chief returned answers to the speeches made them in which answers they expressed great Satisfaction in having from the mouth of the Six Nations that they were so hardy in our Interest, and promised to join them and prosecute the war agst the French as long as they had a man able to fight and said they would send three of their men home with them to the Six Nations to confirm their words, and that early in the Spring they would bring a large Body of their warriors to those Parts, if their Brethren the English would desire them, and that constantly this Fall they would furnish parties on those frontiers to annoy the enemy, but said they would expect to be supplied with cloaths from their Brethren the English, and presents to carry home to their women and children, as they could not subsist without, for while they were employed in War they would loose their hunting which was their Employment at home, and by which industry they supported their families and cloathed them, and they desired that this Mohawk would recommend it strongly to their Bretheren the English here, with whom they had no acquaintance as yet, to be generous to them and they should soon find that they would deserve everything their Bretheren would give them.

The 29th about 12 o'clock Mr Smith the Interpreter received orders from Col. Stanwix to take those Indians out to scour the woods about Rays Town and from thence to Fort Cumberland.

The 30th Mr Smith spoke to them and let them know that the Commanding Officer of the King's troops in those parts had desired them to do such services to which they agreed but told Mr Smith that they expected I would engage to give them some presents to take home to their Families, as by their Staying here now, they would lose their Fall Hunt, and said you have seen how our Bretheren of Virginia have served us, after promising us a great deal of goods, they have not given us Cloaths for ourselves, thô we have been 5 months in their Country and have killed some of the Enemy, likewise there has been killed some of our own Men in their Quarrel, but we expect better usage from you.

As I found the Good of His Majesty's Service required their stay on those frontiers agreeable to Colo Stanwix's Orders, and a great Body of the Enemy being on our Borders, I promised to recommend it to the Governments of Pennsylvania and Maryland to reward their services generously, and told them I made no doubt but they would on which they agreed to go out to morrow.

After which they insisted that I should let four of their Chief Men go with me to see Colo Stanwix whilst the rest was on service in the woods, which I agreed to, then they applied to me and said that they would want some horses to help them home asked me if they found any horses whether they might have them or not. I told them I had several horses of my own running about Wray's town and if they could find any of them they should have them or any others that had no owners.

July 2d I arrived at Carlisle with some of the Chief of ye Cherokees

3d Col. Stanwix received them in his camp with the whole Battalion under arms, and after drinking a Glass of wine with them at the head of the Battalion he made them the following Speech.

Brothers and Warriors of the Cherokees,

With this String of Wampum I take you by the hands and bid you welcome to my camp in Pennsylvania, and do assure you that I shall strongly recommend it to the Provinces that you may be generously rewarded for any services that you do, and have no doubt but the presents promised shall be delivered to you within the limited time.

Brothers,

I shall be glad to see any of your people or any other of our Friends on these Frontiers to join us in the War against Our common enemy the French and their Indians, and I shall think it my duty to recommend it to the provinces that you may be supplied with every thing necessary for the war and well rewarded for your services.

The 4th I set off from Carlisle in Company with the Mohawk and the three Cherokees who was going to the six Nations country.

The 7th I arrived at Philadelphia when the Governour acquainted me that Tediuscung with about 200 Delawares and Shawanese were arrived at Fort Allen, and that 100 Senecas were hourly expected.

Sunday the 17th I set off from Philadelphia for Easton where I arrived

the 18th, and met Tediuscung with about 200 Delawares, men, women and children, who had been there some days, just after I arrived the Senecas came in number 109, men, women and children.

The Chiefs of the several Tribes met together and bid me welcome to their fire, after which I spoke to them agreable to the ancient Custom, and after wiping the Tears from their Eyes, and the Sweat from their Body, and pulling the thorns out of their Feet, I let them know that I was heartily glad to see them meet together, and acquainted them that their brother Onas was on the way coming to meet them at this Council fire, which he and his brother Tediuscung had kindled last year, when they both undertook the good work of peace, which I hoped at this meeting would be settled to the mutual satisfaction of both parties.

Thursday 19. This day I spent in getting what Intelligence I could of the disposition of the French and their Indians.

I was informed by several Indians of Reputation that the grand Council of the Six Nations which set two Months was broke up, and had unanimously agreed to oppose the French measures, and to hold fast by the chain of friendship subsisting between the English and them, and that most of the Members of that Council was gone down to Sir William Johnson to acquaint him of their Determination.

I was informed that the French at Niagara was very scarce of Provisions, that some Munsey Indians with the King of that tribe who went there this spring had differed with the French Commandant and told him that they could no longer be amused with his false speeches, for we now see your designs: You look on us only as your Dogs ; for every old man who is scarce able to walk, or a young boy, who comes among you, you immediately give him a hatchet and say, here child take this and go and kill the English, while you stay at home Yourselves and laugh at us, but I tell you we will be Fools no more. You put the Hatchet into our hands, and I would have you take care how you behave or perhaps you may feel it soon.

I likewise hear from Ohio that the Delawares and Shawanese are differing much with the French, they have declared that as soon as Tediuscung and the Susquehanna Indians make peace with the English that they would come and join the English and strike the French. I understand that it is the Lake Indians that is annoying the frontiers at present with perhaps one or two Delawares with

each party, as Pilots; The News I had from the Ohio during the Conferences at Lancaster, that the French and Cunniwagoes had differed, and that a number of each was killed is now confirmed by those Indians, who say it happened at Crown Point, that 40 Indians was certainly killed but they cannot tell how many French, they were not all Cunniwagoes but of several Tribes; of this the Cunniwagoes complained to the Six Nations at the great Council and further informed the six Nations that the French had formed a scheme to reduce the Six nations to Slavery.

French Margret's husband a Six Nation Indian and a man of good character says that a principal man of the Senecas with a party of Warriors went this Spring to Niagara and demanded of the commanding Officer where he got the hatchet he was giving the Indians to go to war against the English. The Officer made answer he could not tell where it was got it was sent him from the Governor.

To which the Seneca chief said, In old times and when we made peace with the French and took them for our fathers we agreed to sink the bloody Hatchet in the Bottomless Pit and it was agreed whoever took it out and made use of it, all nations should rise up and strike him that took up the Hatchet as a disturber of the public peace and tranquility of his Neighbours. As soon as the Chief returned to his own Country their Council sent a Deputation to the Governor of Canada to know where he got the hatchet; This man adds that all the Six Nations seem impatient for the return of their Messengers, as they are to take their measures from the Answer they receive. An Indian that I sent to Ohio for intelligence is returned and informs me that the French are determined to attempt the reduction of Fort Augusta as they think that will cut off the Communication between the English and their Bretheren the Six Nations Delawares and Shawanese, as they have no other Indians to depend on but the lake Indians.

They have formed a plan that, if they cannot reduce the Fort, they will send a small party to scalp and then expects the garrison will make a Sally, and so draw them into an Ambuscade, so at least cut off the Party.

They have gone so far as to bribe a party of Ottowas to watch the Road Tediuscung came down to attempt the killing some Indians to prevent the success of this meeting. He says that the Chief of the Delawares was sincerely disposed for peace as far as he could find, and much displeased with the French. That Delaware George who is settled on one of the Branches of Bever Creek was rejoyced when he heared that the English inclined to make peace and told him, tho he was no King, yet if I would send for him he would rise up both him and his people, and come down to his Bretheren the English and live and dye with them, he said he had between forty and fifty men besides Women and children, who never struck

the English. He says the French use all Artifices to give the Indians an ill opinion of the English, they brought a packet of letters which they told the Indians contained a scheme for destroying all the Indians and that all the English Governours had agreed to it and signed the papers, the letters came this Spring from Canada, and were shewn to all the Indian Nations on the Ohio, and was told them that they were taken from an English Soldier who was made prisoner about Fort William Henery. That Sir William Johnson and myself only pretended to take care of the Indians in order to draw them down to a treaty, and then kill them all, some of the Indians were much alarmed at this News at first, but Delaware George and some of the most thinking Indians suspected that the French had forged those letters to deceive them and told their Minds in Council, which was generally beleived to be truth by all the Indians before he left that, except the Ottawas who will beleive nothing but what the French tells them.

He intended to have gone to Fort Duquesne but was persuaded against it by his friends who told him that if he went there he would certainly be put to death, on which he came by the way of Veneango, where he says the French is going to build a strong Fort, to see a great quantity of timber cut ready for hawling.

He says during his stay upon Ohio there was but ten canoes came down the river to Fort Duquesne which were loaded with Provisions.

During his stay at Bever Creek about 50 miles from Fort Duquesne some of the Delawares and the French commander differed, they broke open his store, his own lodging room and took out his wearing cloaths and tore them to peices, and took what they pleased from him.

By this we may see that Garrison was not very strong this Spring, nor does it appear by this Conduct that the French is in much esteem with the Indians.

CAPTAIN GEORGE CROGHAN TO SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

To Sir William Johnson *Baronet.*

Sir: I think it is my Duty to report to you the conduct of some of the People of Pennsylvania at the late Treaty, which I held at Easton in Conjunction with the Governour of that Province by Your orders, with Teedyuscung the Delaware King or chief, and the Deputies of the ten Nations he represented there, as some things

happened during the course of that Treaty that seemed to me very extraordinary and like attempting to wrest the Management of Indian affairs out of the hands of those whom the King had been pleased to appoint to that service at this critical juncture.

July 18. 1757. I arrived at Easton where I found the Indians were all gathered waiting the arrival of Governor Denny and myself, I immediately called a Meeting of their several chiefs and after the usual Ceremonies were over I acquainted them that I was ordered by you to attend that Treaty and hear what complaints they had to make against the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, or any other of His Majesty's Subjects, that I had brought a Clerk with me to take down the Minutes of the Treaty and that they might depend on the strictest justice being done them, that if their Complaints should appear to be justly grounded they might depend on your taking the most speedy and effectual Measures to have their grievances amply redressed.

Teedyuscung took some time to consult his Counsellors then made me the following answer.

Brother,

We return Sir William Johnson our thanks for sending you here on this occasion we all know he is appointed by the great King to take care of all the Indians in this Country, and it is from him we expect justice, when we have made our complaints we will send them by you to him, that he may know how we have been used, that he may write to the great King, and whatever he and Sir William Johnson will please to order us for our lands we will receive as a full satisfaction, and as soon as our complaints are put on this footing we will be ready to confirm a peace with you and all our Bretheren the English, and we are very glad you have brought a Clerk with you as there was at the last Treaty we held here some confusion by too many writing at onest.

On the 20. The Governour, his Council, the Speaker of the Assembly and the Provincial Commissioners arrived in Town and a great number of Quakers.

The 21 Tedyuscung desired a private Conference with the Governor at his Lodging where they had two more on the 22[d] and 23, what past at those Conferences I refer Your Honour to the Treaty where they are at large.

The 22 in the Evening after the Conferences was over I met some of the Provincial Commissioners in the Street who asked me if the Governor had allowed the Indians a Clerk, I told them that Teedyuscung was well satisfied that none but the Clerk I had brought with me should take down the Minutes: On which M[r] Galloway and M[r] Masters two of the Provincial Commissioners said, if the Governor did not allow the Indians a Clerk, they would set off

home, and take the Provincial present with them and not give a single shirt to the Indians. Now as I found Tedyuscung and his Council was well Satisfied without one, both before those people come to town and in the Conferences this day, I can't help thinking that those people have insinuated to him that Justice would not be done him, and put him on asking one to carry something that might favour themselves in some of their Views, and indeed I was the more confirmed in this Opinion when I found he had chosen a quaker schoolmaster for his Clerk. As to his having a Clerk or not having one I think it a matter of little consequence, but the having a Clerk was not the thing.

Those People, by his having a Clerk, they had a Counsellor for themselves, to put Tedyuscung in Mind what they wanted him to say, and it appeared very clearly one day when he had got his Speech drawn up in writing, and desired his Clerk to read it off as a lawyer would put in a plea at the bar, which I beleive your honour will think very extraordinary and the most unprecedented procedure ever known at an Indian treaty before this made. I was oblidged to object to and oblidged Teedyuscung to deliver his Speech himself and I can't help thinking had not those People interfered, that ever Tedyuscung would have thought of chusing M^{r} Norris for their Agent to send home their Complaints but the whole conduct of the Quakers seemed to me as if they wanted to make themselves popular with the Indians, and carry the management of Indian Affairs out of the channel His Majesty had ordered them to go in, indeed they took every step in their power to distinguish themselves, as a seperate Body of people from all His Majesty's Subjects, notwithstanding the Governour before he left Philadelphia let them know by letter that their former conduct had given great Offence to His Majesty's Ministers, and that my Lord Halifax had wrote to the Proprietaries letting them know that the conduct of the Quakers in Pennsylvania was very extraordinary in holding Conferences with the Indians and taking upon them the making peace with foreign Princes, or distinguishing themselves as a particular body of people who was only on the same footing with the rest of His Majesty's Subjects, that it was the highest Invasion of His Majesty's Prerogative Royal (his letter to them I referr you to the copy of in the letter Book). This they paid no Regards to but called the Indians together on the 6th of August and delivered them a considerable present from themselves separate from the Governors which conduct appeared to me no less than their endeavouring to Alienate the Affections of the Indians from all the rest of His Majesty's Subjects, how far such conduct might tend to the good of His Majesty's Indian interest I leave you to judge, and during the time the Governor and I was confirming the Peace or Treaty with Tedyuscung in behalf of the King and all his Subjects Israel Pemberton told

the Governor's Sec^{ry} that I should not handle the peace Belt which appeared to me as if they had in view to make a separate Peace for themselves only.

I believe the whole of the Proceedings at that Treaty will appear to Your honour very extraordinary, all parties in that Government seeming only to endeavour to carry their own private views and Interest, and neglect the general Interest. This conduct of theirs has in a great measure destroyed His Majesty's Indian Interest to the Westward, it is very well known that during the late War all the Western Nations of Indians was stedy in the British Interest, and carried on a considerable trade with his Majesty's Subjects, no less advantageous to them than to us, but in the beginning of the troubles in America before the present war was declared when those Indians called on the Government of Pennsylvania particularly to protect their trade and prevent the French from settling and building Forts on Ohio, they were deaf to all entreaties, their chief Views then seemed only to be making extensive purchases of land and settling the Indian Country which conduct drove the Indians into the Arms of the Enemy. After the defeat of Col^{o} Washington that Government rejected the services of the Western Indians when they had offered their services. What could those Indians do who had no trade with us that time, and the Enemy seated in their Country? They were obliged to go into the Service of the enemy, in my opinion contrary to their Inclinations.

Your honour will see there is a peace or rather a truce made with the Delawares, how long it may continue I ca'nt tell or what Regard the Indians may pay to them Engagements as they see how divided his Majesty's Subjects was in that Government, but I shall not wonder if I hear of their committing fresh hostilities on his Majesty's Subjects whenever they want a present of goods.

I assure you I have done everything in my Power without any partiality or private attachments to promote the good of his Majesty's Indian Interest during my stay in that Government, and I hope my Conduct will deserve Your Honours approbation. I am with great Esteem and Regard

Your Honours most obedient humble Servant

GEO. CROGHAN

[circ. September.]

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON'S REMARKS RESPECTING PURCHASES OF LANDS FROM THE INDIANS.

Remarks upon the Observations of the Proprietors of Pensilvania on a Paragraph of Sir William Johnson's letter to the Right Honourable The Lords of Trade and Plantations bearing date the 10th September 1757.

The whole Paragraph of the above letter which gave birth to the Observations is as follows.

"I think I have before now hinted to Your Lordships my opinion "that the Hostilities which Pensilvania in particular had suffered "from some of the Indians living on the Susquehanna did in some "measure arise from the large purchase made by that Government "two years ago at Albany: I have more reason every day from "talking with the Indians to be confirmed in this suspicion. I am "inclined to be beleive that this purchase was publicly consented to "at Albany, *some* of the six Nations are disgusted at it, and others "repent their consenting to it, and that part of them do underhand "connive at the Disturbances between the Susquehannah Indians "and the Province of Pensilvania whose raising forces and building "Forts on the Susquehana, tho it hath very plausible pretences is "at the bottom bad policy and really intended to secure Lands, "which it would be more for the true Interest of the Community to "give up at least for the present. I conceive the most effectual "method of produceing tranquility to that Province would be a "voluntary and open surrender of that deed of sale, fix with the In-"dians in the best manner they can the Bounds for their settle-"ments, and make them Guarantees to it.

"The Proprietors are pleased to introduce their Observations with "a challenge to Sir William Johnson and all the world to shew any "one Instance of their conduct that has given dissatisfaction to the "Six Nations and which they those Nations will readily acknowl-"edge in any free Conference."

Thô the real Intent of the above paragraph from Sir William Johnson's letter was, and its obvious meaning is, to assign a cause to which he suspected the Indians' Hostilities in Pensilvania were in a great measure owing. Yet upon Sir William Johnson saying he was inclined to beleive &ca. The Proprietors are pleased to sound this unprovoked challenge, which thô to answer as well as to have given is departing from the main Argument Yet Sir William Johnson begs leave to say some what in answer to it.

First, He will now presume to assert that from any Private Conversations he hath hadd with severall of the chiefs of the Six Nations, they are not satisfied with the conduct of the Government of

Pensilvania in general, nor with the aforesaid purchase in particular.

Secondly, He will adduce some facts publick and upon Record in support of the above assertion.

At the Treaty of Lancaster in the year 1744 the six Nations complained to Governour Thomas that the Connoye Indians had not been satisfied for their Lands. The Governour promised redress. In the year 1749, the six Nations renewed the aforesaid Complaint to Governor Hamilton.

(N B. It doth not appear upon Record that the Connoye Indians are to this day satisfied)

In the year 1750 Connageriwa a Sachim of the Six Nations living on the Ohio came at the head of a Deputation from thence to M^r^ Croghan's house, and told M^r^ Peters he was sent down from Ohio to inquire about the purchase they had heard the Governour had made on the East side of Susquehannah the year before, from the Onondaga Council and said they were entitled to part of the Goods paid for those Lands as well as the Onondaga Councill but they had received no part.

That they were come down to desire the Governor to purchase no more Lands without giving them notice and desired the Governour might send that Belt of Wampum to the Onondaga Council and let them know what the Ohio Indians had said on this head. Gave a large Belt.

The Indians of the Six Nations who were settled on the Ohio were so dissatisfied with the Albany purchase made by the Proprietary Agents and saw such bad Consequences arising from it that they left the Ohio and returned to their own Countrey.

In a Speech of the Six Nations at a publick Meeting with Sir William Johnson on the 3^d^ July 1755 They said

Brother, You desire us to unite and live together and draw all our allies near us, but we shall have no land left either for ourselves or them, for your people when they buy a small piece of land of us by stealing they make it large. We desire such things may not be done and that Your people may not be suffered to buy any more of our lands. Sometimes its bought of two men, who are not the proper owners of it. The land which reaches down from Osweigo to Schahandowana (Wyoming) we beg may not be settled by Christians. The Governour of Pensilvania bought a whole track and only paid for half, and desire you will let him know that we will not part with the other half but keep it. These things makes us constantly uneasie in our minds and we desire you will take care that we may keep our land for ourselves.

At a Meeting between Governour Denny, George Croghan Esq^r^ Sir William Johnson's Deputy, and sundry Six Nations and other Indians held at Lancaster in May 1757, a coppy of the proceedings of which lay before the Board of Trade. There is a Speech of the

Six Nations bearing date Thursday 19th May from the whole letter and Speech of which it appears that the Six Nations have been, and are, very far from that satisfaction of mind, with the conduct of the Province of Pensilvania, which the Proprietors boast of and sound their challenge upon.

The Proprietors are further pleased to add to their challenge this assertion, that the Six Nations will readily acknowledge the truth of it in any free conference.

As the truth of this Assertion can depend only upon a Contingent event, Sir William Johnson begs leave to be of a very different opinion, and from a variety of Circumstances is well perswaded the Six Nations never will be reconciled to the conduct of the Proprietors, their Deputys and Agents unless the deed of the Albany purchase be surrendered and the claims founded thereupon in a great measure given up.

The Proprietors say they cannot conceive that the last purchase made of Land to the Westward of Susquehana could possibly be the cause of the hostilities committed by the Indians living on that River &ca.

Sir William Johnson gave it as his opinion that the hostilities which Pensilvania had suffered from some of the Indians living on the Susquehana did in some measure arise from the large purchase made by the Governour two years ago.

This is the Point to be proved and more than this it is apprehended will be proved by the following Quotations from authentick Records and Papers.

"Before the year 1742 the Delaware Indians complained that they "were defrauded out of some lands or not paid for them.

"It is well known that the purchase made at Albany 1754 gave "a great uneasiness to the Susquehanna Indians and from the time "the County Surveyor began to survey on Juniatta, and at the "Susquehana: The Delawars, Shawanese, and Nanticokes then "settled on the River began to remove farther back, some to Tiya-"hoga some to Ohio.

"The Ohio Indians at a meeting with Mr Weiser (the Pensilvania "Interpreter) at Aughwick, after the defeat of Colo Washington "asked Mr Wiser how those Lands came to be sold. He said in "answer that the Six Nations had only made over their right of "sale, and taken an earnest price, and that when the lands came to "be settled, that they should receive a consideration for them. At "the same time John Schecelany, a Delaware Indian, burned some "Houses that were built on Penns Creek (below Shamokin on the "West side) and said there should be no plantations made on their "hunting grounds, and all the Indians at Shamokin seemed very "uneasie, and indeed oblidged the Surveyor to come away, and quit "Surveying."

In the Spring 1756 Governor Morris sent several Messages with Belts and strings of Wampum by an Onondaga Indian to the Five Nations, amongst which is the following just and remarkable Confession

"That he found by woful experience that making purchases of "Lands was the cause of much blood having been shed, he was de- "termined therefore to buy no more."

As a Confirmation of Sir William Johnson's said opinion he refers himself to the following extract from Margaret Williams' deposition who was a prisoner amongst the Delaware Indians, sworn before him the 8th day of September, 1756

"The said Margaret says she often heard the Indians say and de- "clare most solemnly they would never leave off killing the English "as long as there was an Englishman living on their Lands that "they were determined to drive them all off their lands, naming "Minisinck almost to the North River East (in the provinces of New- "York and Jersey) also Bethlehem and the lands on a parallel line "to it West which the English have cheated them out of."

In further support to his opinion Sir William Johnson refers himself to the Treaty Governour Denny held with Tediuscung the Delaware chief at Easton last Autumn, and which is before the Board of Trade.

Sir William Johnson also refers himself to the Extract from a Speech of the Six Nations to Govr Denny and Mr Croghan (before mentioned in these remarks) in answer to their earnest call upon the Six Nations to assign if they knew the cause of the hostilities and Discontents of the Susquehana Indians.

The Indian proceeding this summer which past at Easton between Governour Denny, Mr Croghan and the sundry Indians therein mentioned, and which Sir William Johnson transmits herewith to the Right Hononrable the Lords of Trade puts beyond dispute and demonstrates the Truth of what Sir William Johnson gave as his opinion in the aforesaid letter to the Lords of Trade and he apprehends it doth very fully evidence the conclusions of belief which he then drew from that opinion.

Lastly Sir William Johnson refers himself to the following Extract from the examination of John Morris of Lancaster County, who was taken by, and made his escape from, the Delaware Indians sworn before him the 27th August 1757.

The Examinant says he often heard the Delawares say that the reason of their quarrelling with and killing the English in that part of the Country was on account of their lands which the people of Pensilvania Government cheated them out of, and drove them from their settlement at Shamokin by crowding upon them, and by that means spoiled their hunting and that the people of Minisinck used to make the Indians always drunk whenever they traded with them

and then cheated them out of their furs and skins, also wronged them with regard to their lands. This he has heard from many of the Chief and Oldest Men amongst them both in the English and the Delaware Language which he sufficiently understands.

The Proprietors say that as the Six Nations are not well satisfied with the sale of those lands on the Ohio, they are willing to wave that part of the Treaty provided &ca.

As Sir William Johnson has never seen the deed of sale for the Albany purchase, he cannot to his knowledge tell how far the purchase extends, but he hath in his possession a Report of several Indian Transactions, relative to the Government of Pensilvania signed by George Croghan Esq^r^ who was for several Years employed as an Indian Agent by that Government, in which report M^r^ Croghan says as follows

"I never understood from any of the Six Nations that they "deemed the Lands West of the Susquehana as a purchase, but "rather as a Deed of Trust, and received 1000 Dollars as an Earnest "price, and looked on it that when the lands came to be settled they "should receive the Consideration and the Commissioners who "were sent from Pensilvania to make that purchase at Albany in "1754 viz^t^ M^r^ Norris & M^r^ Peters with the Interpreter M^r^ Wiser "have repeatedly acknowledged to me, *that tho the land West of Alle-*"*gany Mountains cross to Lake Erie was included in the deed of 1754,* "*that it was neither purchased nor paid for, and which will appear by* "*a private conference in M^r^ Peter's hands at the time of signing.*"

Certainly the Proprietors are not apprized of the fact here asserted, or they would not have made an Offer to relinquish Land they have never purchased, nor allowed it to have been put in a Deed of sale.

In answer to Sir William Johnson's opinion about the Government of Pensilvania raising Forces and building Forts on the Susquehana River.

"The Proprietors say this Insinuation is without any sort of "Foundation, as it never would have been attempted had not the "Chiefs of the Indians living on Susquehannah and Delaware River "on their own motion entirely desired they should be built at Sha-"mokin and near Wyoming for their own security.

"In this the Proprietors must certainly be misinformed for none "of the Indians on Susquehanna or Delaware ever requested any "Forts to be built there. Indeed after the defeat of General Brad-"dock, Scahrayade, Cayseuntenego, and two or three more Ohio In-"dians, who had left their Country on the first approach of the "French in the year 1753 did desire the Government of Pensilv^a^ to "build a Fort at Shamokin, in order to protect their interest with "the Susquehanna Indians, but the request of those four or five "dispossessed Indians, can never be fairly construed as an authority "of application from the Six Nations, or any other Body of Indians.

"Neither did these Indians at that time desire War might be de-
"clared against the Ohio Indians. However this request for a Fort
"was not complied with at that time."

In a Message Sir William Johnson received the 23[1] May 1756 from the Onondaga Indians they say as follows.

"Tell our Brother further that since we took the hatchet out of
"the hands of the Delaware and Shawanese they have told us there
"is an army of the English coming against them, (they mean the
"Provincial Troops of Pensilvania under Colonel Clapham) and
"that they think it unreasonable and unnatural for us to hold them
"in Our arms, and prevent them defending themselves when People
"are just on their backs to destroy them."

"We are informed the English are building a Fort at Shamokin.
"We ca'nt comprehend the method of making war which is made
"use of by our Bretheren the English. When we go to war our
"manner is to destroy a Nation and their's an End of it. But the
"English chiefly regard building Forts, which looks as if their only
"scheme was *to take Possession of the Lands.*"

Here is an evident proof of the jealousy which the Pensilvania levies and Fort building occasioned, and a strong hint of the Ends intended by them, as it stood in the minds of the Indians.

Sir William Johnson well knowing how extreamly tender the Indians in general are with regard to Forts, near to their Country or hunting grounds and naturally judging a body of armed men, to support as it were the building of those, at a time, and in places, where he had many reasons to beleive the neighbouring Indians (as it hath since fully appeared) were dissatisfied with the Government on the score of lands, and encroaching, by their purchases, on their hunting grounds, and crowding too near upon them by their extended settlements he judged this conduct in the Government of Pensilvania was impolitick, and he must beg leave to be still of the same Opinion, and as he looked upon those proceedings to be contrary to the true interest of the Community, he did suspect they were pushed forward upon other motives.

And to conclude, Unless the Province of Pensilvania is both able and willing to maintain their land pretentions by force of arms against the Indians. Sir William Johnson hath not altered his opinion but doth with a yet stronger degree of conviction than formerly, humbly offer his conception of the matter in the same words as before. Namely "that the most effectual method of producing
"tranquility to that province would be a Voluntary and open sur-
"render of that Deed of sale, to fix with the Indians in the best
"manner they can the bounds for their settlements, and make them
"Guaranties to it."

MINUTES OF CERTAIN PROCEEDINGS OF THE LORDS OF TRADE.

At a Meeting of His Majesty's Commissioners for Trade & Plantations. Wednesday Dec^{r} 21. 1757.

PRESENT—Earl of Halifax M^{r} Hamilton,
M^{r} Jenyns, M^{r} Sloper.

Their Lordships took into Consideration the letters from M^{r} Charles, mentioned in the minutes of the 16th instant, and after some time spent therein, M^{r} Charles, who was attending without, pursuant to notice given him by the Secretary for that purpose, was called in, and he desired that Mr. Franklin, lately arrived from Pennsylvania as agent for the People of that Province, together with M^{r} Wedderburne, M^{r} Charles' Counsel, and several other gentlemen, whom he stated to be interested in what relates to the subject matter of his letter mentioned in the minutes of the 18th of November last, might be permitted to be present, which request was comply'd with, and they were accordingly called in, and M^{r} Charles after having questioned the propriety of the Orders and Resolutions of the Board with respect to the delivery of Copies of papers, and the conduct of their Officers in relation thereto, and also complained of the Conduct of the Secretary of this Board upon occasion of an application made by M^{r} Charles for leave to have Copies of certain papers in the Office—he proceeded to state what he had to offer respecting the several matters contained in his letters of the 17th and 28th of November last.

With respect to the first of these Letters M^{r} Charles stated the grounds whereon he founded his claim of right to have a copy of the Paper of Observations made by the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania upon an extract of a letter to their Lordships from Sir William Johnson Bar^{t} Agent for Indian affairs, respecting the effect which the purchase of lands made by the said Proprietaries from the Indians in 1754 had had upon the general interests of the Crown amongst the said Indians.

With respect to his letter of the 28th of November last, concerning the proceedings with the Indians at Easton, in Pennsylvania, in July and August last, being informed by the Board that the minutes of those proceedings had been transmitted to them by Sir William Johnson, he moved for a copy of those minutes provided the same were not printed Minutes.

With respect to his letter of 28th of November concerning a matter in which he states himself to be misrepresented, M^{r} Charles proceeded to enter into several remarks and animadversions upon the Representations and Reports of this Board to His Majesty and

to the Lords of the Committee of Council, respecting the Boundary line between the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, and also between the Provinces of New York and Massachusetts Bay, and more particularly as to those parts of such Representations or Reports where he is stated to have submitted the determination of those matters to the Crown and its Ministers.

Mr Charles having been reprimanded for his improper and indecent behavior in the several matters stated by him, he submitted the whole to the Board, and then the several persons present having been ordered to withdraw, Their Lordships upon full consideration of what had been offered by Mr Charles, were of opinion that the Resolution of the Board on the 17th of November last, not to grant him a copy of the Paper of Observations mentioned in his letter of the 18th of November was just and proper.

That Mr Charles request of having a copy of the minutes of the proceedings with the Indians at Easton in July and August last be granted, and that a Copy thereof be accordingly made and delivered to him.

That Mr Charles' conduct in desiring to appear before this Board in order to make remarks and animadversions upon Reports and Representations long since made by their Lordships to His Majesty, and to His Council, is irregular and unprecedented, inasmuch as those Reports and Representations are now under the Consideration of His Majesty and His Council, and that such behavior is also arrogant and indecent with respect to the Board, and unbecoming his Character as an Agent.

That the calling in question the propriety of the rules & orders made by this Board with respect to the delivery of Copies of papers, and to the Conduct of their officers in relation thereto, is highly insolent and indecent, and that Mr Charles' Complaint against the Secretary with respect to a declaration made to him by the said Secretary concerning a Motion which Mr Charles desired might be made to the Board for leave to have Copies of Certain papers is groundless and injurious; inasmuch as it is the Secretary's duty to arrange the Business for the Board, and to bring the several matters before them for their Consideration in such method time and place as he shall judge best for the convenience and despatch of business, or as their Lordships shall think proper to direct.

DUNK HALIFAX.

At a Meeting of His Majesty's Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. Thursday Decr 22.

PRESENT—Earl of Halifax Mr Hamilton
Mr Jenyns Mr Sloper.

Their Lordships took into Consideration their Resolutions of yesterday, respecting the matters stated by Mr Charles, and also Mr

Charles' letter of the 7th instant, mentioned in the minutes of the 16th instant, together with a letter from him dated the 20th instant, desiring to be informed whether the articles of Surrender of New York to the Crown of Great Britain in 1664 are upon record in this office and that he may have a copy of a letter from the President of the Council of New York to this Board, about the year 1719, or an extract thereof, so far as relates to the Boundary line between the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, and after some time spent therein, ordered the Secretary to write the following letter to Mr Charles. vizt

Sir,

I am directed by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to acquaint you that so soon as yourself and the other gentlemen who attended them yesterday were withdrawn, they took the several matters offered by you into Consideration to the end that they might acquaint you with their Resolutions thereupon, but being informed that you had left the office Without waiting for their Lordships determination, I have now their directions to acquaint you that they are of opinion that the Resolutions of the Board of the 17th of November last, not to give you any copy of the paper of observations made by the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania upon the Extract of a letter to this Board from Sir William Johnson, Agent for Indian affairs, was just and proper. Their Lordships have given directions that a copy of the minutes of the Proceedings with the Indians at Easton in July and August last, as transmitted by the said Agent, should be made and delivered to you.

I am further to acquaint you that their Lordships have this day taken into Consideration your letter of the 7th instant, desiring Copies of the Grant of New Jersey to the Duke of York, and his grant to Lord Berkely Copys of which I am also ordered to prepare and deliver to you, but as to your application for Copys of papers in the Office relative thereto, their Lordships cannot form any judgment of the propriety of so general a request, but if you think proper to particularize any papers, their Lordships will Consider what may be proper for them to do.

Their Lordships have also considered your letter of the 20th instant, and I am directed to inform you that the Articles agreed upon at the surrender of New York to the Corwn of Great Britain in 1664, are upon Record in their office and that they have given directions that an extract of the Letter to this Board from Mr Schuyler in 1719, so far as relates to the affair of the line, be made and delivered to you.

I am Sir,

Your most obt Servant

JOHN POWNALL

To Robert Charles, Esqr *Secy.*

SECRETARY PITT TO THE GOVERNORS OF NORTH AMERICA.

Secretary Pitt to the Governors in N°. America except Georgia, Nova Scotia, & Newfoundland.

WHITEHALL. *29. Dec^r 1758.*

SIR: In transmitting to you the inclosed Duplicate of my letter of the 9^th^ Inst: I have the King's particular commands to renew and enforce, in the strongest manner, the necessity of a punctual compliance with the orders therein contained; and you will accordingly urge, in the most expressive terms, to the Council and Assembly of your province, the importance of their exerting themselves in the present critical and decisive moment, in which, their own interests and security are so nearly concerned, that It would seem superfluous to add the further motives of their duty to the King, and of the gratitude they owe to this Country, for the very great expence, and succours, supplied for their immediate defence, and for the future safety of all their rights and possessions in America; & the Levying the Men, to be furnished by the several Provinces, without any delay, and in such time, that they may not fail to be at the Rendez-vous that shall be appointed for them, so as to be ready to commence the operations by the 1^st^ of May, is so essential, as well for preventing the extraordinary efforts, which, it is supposed, the Enemy is preparing to make, to stop the further progress of His Maj^ty's^ arms in America, as for pushing, with success, the ensuing Campaign; that it is the King's pleasure, that you do employ the utmost diligence, & every means in your power, to forward, and expedite this service in the most effectual manner, and avoid any disappointment happening form the slowness of the Levies, or from the Men, who shall be raised, not proceeding in due time to Rendez-vous.

With regard to the expences, incurred by your province, for the last Campaign, I am further to acquaint you, that as soon as the agents of the respective provinces, duely authorised, shall produce the necessary documents, the same will, without delay, be recommended to Parliment, for a reasonable compensation, agreable to the gracious assurances, which the King was pleased to allow me to give, in my letter of the 30^th^ Dec^r last year.

I am ettc.

W. PITT.

CAMPAIGN OF 1758.

The Marquis de Montcalm having arrived on the 30th of June at Carrillon, where the eight battalions were encamped,

2nd July. Seven of them were sent to encamp at the Carrying place and Falls, and the Marquis joined them on the 3rd.

3rd M. de Bourlamaque, commanding the battalions of La Reine, Guienne and Béarn, encamped at the head of the Carrying place, learned from scouts that about sixty bateaux were on Lake St. Sacrament. He immediately detached three hundred and fifty men, under the orders of Captain Trepesec, of the Bèarn regiment, to go by land to observe the route they should take.

6th In the morning the Marquis de Montcalm, who was encamped at the tail of the Carrying place with the Royal Rousillon battalions and the first Béarn, had advice that the lake was covered with bateau within three leagues of the Carrying place. He immediately sent orders to M. de Bourlamaque to fall back, on whose arrival he joined to the five battalions those of La Sarre and Languedoc, which were encamped on the left bank of the lake falls.

About two o'clock in the morning a great fire of musketry was heard near the Portage, an eighth of a league beyond the Falls; it proceeded from M. de Trepesec's detachment, which had been surrounded on endeavoring to return to its camp; about one hundred of them escaped, 144 were taken, and the balance remained on the field of battle. Colonel d'How, who commanded the English detachment, was killed in this encounter.

At night the Marquis de Montcalm retired under Fort Carillon, where he bivouacked through the night with his troops.

7th In the morning he hastily intrenched himself on the heights of Carillon, where he had abatis formed in advance; this labor was not interruped during that entire day.

8th At day-break, the troops put themselves under arms behind their intrenchments, constructed of timber, piece above piece. The Marquis de Montcalm sent volunteers out to observe the enemy, and ordered each battalion to render the intrenchment it occupied as complete as possible, and to keep its arms at its side, so as not to be surprised.

The enemy did not delay their appearance; they deployed in four columns at one o'clock in the afternoon. Our main guards and grenadier companies, whilst firing, retired in regular order behind the intrenchments. Thereupon, all the troops took their posts, and the soldiers who happened to be in the fort at Carillon, ran to the intrenchments at the signal of the gun.

The second battalion of Berri had orders to remain in the fort to

deliver and to convey all the ammunition necessary for defending the intrenchments. The enemy opened their attack by a most brisk fire of musketry, and immediately advanced to fight with the cold steel, but our fire was so well sustained and directed, that it was impossible for them to approach nearer than 15 or 20 paces. In this way the fight continued until four o'clock, the enemy constantly bringing fresh troops against us, and from four o'clock until seven, they kept up a fire at a greater distance. They finally retreated after a considerable loss.

Waited until next morning to visit the field of battle; the Marquis de Montcalm did not give orders to do so until he was assured that the enemy thought no longer of returning and were hastily embarking to go home. About 1,200 men were buried; the number of wounded carried off has been about 3,000. We have had 14 officers killed and 20 wounded in this action; 92 soldiers or Canadians killed and 248 wounded.

The enemy's army was composed of 15 @. 16 thousand men; of these seven thousand were Regulars. Our's was 3,000 Regulars and 500 Canadians. This brilliant day may be said to have saved the Colony.

The enemy, on arriving at Fort George, detached a body of troops on an expedition against Fort Frontenac, which they reduced on the 26th August, and after demolishing it, and burning the sloops, except two which they employed, returned to Choueguen. The garrison was sent prisoners of war to Montreal, and exchanged for the same number of men that we had in the Colony.

25th August. The English reduced Louisbourg and made the garison prisoners of war.

14 September. A force of 800 English was defeated by a detachment of Canadians and Indians, within sight of Fort Duquesne, which they were coming to reconnoitre, thereby checking the march of an army of 6,000 men, who were on their way under General Forbes to besiege it.

Captain de Ligneris, of the Marine troops, who commanded at that fort, having had orders to burn and remove the artillery, warlike stores, and provisions on the approach of the enemy, executed those instructions in the month of October, on learning that they were within at most, two days march of him, and retired to Fort Marchault. The enemy contented themselves with building a small fort enclosed with palisades on the River Malengueulée, a short distance from Fort Duquesne.

Nothing of interest transpired the following winter.

M. DE VAUDREUIL TO M. DE MASSIAC.

MONTREAL, *28th 9ber, 1759.*

MY LORD: I learn this moment the arrival at Quebec of the schooner *La Nanette* and receive the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 24th June last. I hasten to answer it so as not to delay that schooner, which M. Bigot is getting ready to sail as soon as the courier returns.

I am, my Lord, extremely sensible of your goodness in inhancing to the King the advantages gained by the different detachments which I have kept in the field during the winter; the assurance you give me of the satisfaction entertained by his Majesty of my services, can only increase the desire I feel to render him more important ones, and furnish him new proofs of my zeal and industry in seizing every occasion to humble his enemies.

M. de Bellestre's success last fall in burning the Palatine village and carrying the forts which protected it, would indeed have been, my Lord, a great help to the Colony, had it been possible to remove the considerable portion of provisions of all sorts found in that village. I had particularly provided for that in the orders I gave that officer; but circumstances were not favorable enough to admit of their execution.

1. M. de Bellestre being much exposed to be pursued and perhaps cut off by a force infinitely superior to his own, was under the absolute necessity of using the greatest activity in his operations, success depending essentially on that. He was consequently unable to moderate the attack of his detachment. This was made by one party with all possible vigor, whilst others were busy firing the houses, barns &c.

2. The 500 horses lost by the enemy in this affair were not exactly captured. The greater portion of them was killed or wounded, and M. de Bellestre brought with him but a very small number, which was of very great service to subsist his detachment on his return.

3. Had he had all those horses and all the provisions at his disposal, he could not absolutely have profited by them, either because it was prudent for him to hasten his retreat, or because the transportation of the provisions had been utterly impossible, both on account of the difficulty of the roads and by reason of the rivers to be passed, and the impossibility of feeding the horses.

I have nothing to add, my Lord, to the reports I had the honor to make to M. de Moras of my arrangement on the opening of the campaign, and of the great resources I found in the good will and zeal of the Canadians in supplying the provisions of which we were but too much in want. I can not sufficiently express to you, my Lord,

the pain I feel at not being in a situation to give full scope to my plans, the object of which was to anticipate our enemies by quickness, render their operations very undecided, to be able to observe them and to profit by lucky opportunities to gain new advantages over them. I regarded them as certain in the Corlac district, whither I had destined Chev. de Levis, in consequence of the good dispositions I had placed the 5 Iroquois Nations in, who were desirous of joining him. The friends I have among these Nations did not prove false to the attachment they have vowed to the French; they have constantly contrived obstacles to the views of our enemies, as soon as they have had an inkling of them; but the expedients which succeeded so well with them during winter, became insensibly fruitless, in consequence of it being really impossible for me to dispel their apprehensions, and place them in a position not to observe any longer any terms with the English.

Nothing less, my Lord, than the success of the detachment I had confided to Sieur de La Durantay, was necessary to make our enemies renounce their projects and preparations for scaling Carillon in winter. Mess^rs^ La Durantay and de Richerville having been included in the promotion of 1757, as ensignes *en second*, I employ them in the propositions I have the honor to submit to you this year, as ensigns on full pay. I have also placed Sieur de la Chevrotière as ensign *en second;* I have anticipated his Majesty's favorable disposition towards them, by making them participate in the 6,000^ll^ he has granted on his list of 1757 to those who have distinguished themselves the most. I gave each at first 200^ll^. You will perceive, my Lord, by one of my letters, that I have not as yet received that sum. Our officers are generally penetrated by the attention with which his Majesty has honored their services and the rewards he has been disposed to grant them. I lost no time in informing them thereof.

Mr. Robert Rogers, who was at the head of the detachment defeated by our cadets, had the knack to escape when he saw his ruin imminent; he left on the field of battle, his coat, and even the order he received from his General, which gave me every reason to believe that he had been killed, the rather as an Indian assured me he had himself killed him.

I cannot, my Lord, but defer to the exactness with which M. Bigot has rendered you an account of the provisions which have reached us in different ships; from that you will be able to judge of our situation. I must, however, have the honor to observe to you that the scarcity is increasing from day to day in the Colony; the consumption of provisions has been only too great, notwithstanding our economy. The transportation in bateaux of the provisions sent to victual all our posts as far as Fort Duquesne, could not be effected without very considerable loss occasioned by the rains and severity of the season.

I have nothing to add, my Lord, to what I have had the honor to observe to you on the necessity of having the provisions reach us here early; on that depends mainly the safety of the Colony. It is due to my obligation and zeal to have the honor to repeat that to you, in addition to all the other demands I have already had the honor of making in my letter, in cipher, of the 7th of last month.

I have had the honor, my Lord, to render you an account, in one of my private despatches, of M. de Boishebert's campaign at Louisbourg, and in the Bay of St. George; that officer returned to Quebec only on the 18th instant. I can render you only very good testimony of his zeal in the execution of the orders I had given him; he has always, in accordance with my intention, some detachments watching the enemy on the River St. John and seizing opportunities to harass them. These detachments have been too feeble to undertake great enterprises; I have never been convenient enough nor sufficiently able, to send him any other forces.

Sieur de Boishebert was not at the head of the 50 Acadians who after having been in the neighborhood of Port Royal, were pursued by a detachment of 200 English. These Acadians had themselves elected their chief and equipped themselves at their own expense, as I have had the honor to report to M. de Moras.

M. de Ligneris has written to me from Fort Duquesne on the 30th of last month; he continues to have parties out, who brought him two prisoners on the 30th, from whom he learned that General Forbus was immediately expected at Royal Amnon; where there were more than 2,000 men, under the command of Colonel Bouquet, with 8 pieces of cannon on field carriages and several mortars; that a fort had been built there of piece upon piece, and one saw-mill; as for the rest, they are ignorant whether Fort Duquesne is to be attacked this fall; that the Provincials had orders to go into winter quarters; that they had been since countermanded, but that people still spoke of dismissing them; that there are no more horned cattle at Royal Amnon, but plenty of provisions of flour and salt meats; that the English suppose us to be very numerous at Fort Duquesne. I am not sure, my Lord, whether the enemy will organize any expedition this fall, or wait until spring; the advanced season and the two advantages we have gained in succession over them, would lead me to hope that they will adopt the latter course. 'Tis much to be desired, for 'twould not be possible for M. de Ligneris to resist the superiority of the enemy's forces. Meanwhile, he will use all means in his power to annoy them; embarrass their communications and intercept their convoys. It is a great pity that he has been absolutely obliged, by the scarcity of provisions, to reduce his garrison to 200 men; fortunately, the messages he has delivered in my name, to the Delawares and Chawenons of the Beautiful river, have confirmed these nations in their attachment to the French. The Delawares

of the mountains have also favorably received the messages sent to them, and are beginning to remove their villages to our territory. I have renewed my orders to all the posts to procure for M. de Ligneris, early in spring, all the assistance in their vicinity. I beg you, my Lord, to be pleased fully to assure his Majesty that I will neglect nothing to preserve for him the possession of the Beautiful river and of this Colony in general; that it will not be my fault, should our enemies make, eventually, any progress; but in fact and strict truth, the salvation of this Colony will depend on the prompt arrival of the succors of every description which I have had the honor to demand of you.

As my last dispatches are the most interesting, I profit by this opportunity to transmit to you the quadruplicates thereof, the vessel by which I calculated to send them being armed as a privateer, and having no fixed destination.

I flatter myself, my Lord, that you will have the goodness to pay the most serious attention to everything I have had the honour to observe to you respecting the situation of this Colony, and to the propositions I have submitted to you in favor of our officers; I cannot sufficiently impress upon you the importance of your obtaining his Majesty's approval thereof, and of your having the goodness to transmit to me by several of the first ships a list *en commandement* of the promotion.

I am with the most profound respect, my Lord, your most humble and most ob't serv't,

VAUDREUIL.

MEMOIR ON THE POSITION OF THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH IN AMERICA.

Memoir respecting, first, the position of the English and French in North America; secondly, what is absolutely necessary to send there, so as to be able at least to attempt some defence. [*January, 1759.*]

The English have had in North America, during the last campaign, sixty-three thousand men, 23,000 of whom were troops from Old England. They have sent some more there since, and their latest papers announce the departure of ten thousand Scotch for the New World.

They have in their Colonies the greatest abundance of provisions, horses, oxen, munitions of war, Indian goods, and more than 350 leagues of coast open to succors from Europe.

Their troops are at presented distributed in winter quarters, as follows: At Louisbourg and Halifax, on the banks of the Hudson river, on the Mohawk river, at the head of Oneida lake, on the banks of the Ohio and its tributaries, thereby announcing the plan of attacking us simultaneously by the River St. Lawrence, Lake Champlain and Lake Ontario.

Eight French battalions which will hardly number, at the opening of the campaign, 3,400 men, twelve hundred troops of the Marine, at most, five or six thousand Militia. Such are our forces. The Indians cannot be included in the account. English presents, our poverty, our prodigious inferiority—what motives to abate their ardor! Besides, being independent, never making two expeditions consecutively, even should the first have resulted only in raising one scalp; ill qualified for defence; afraid of death; what benefit can be expected to be derived from them?

No stronghold in the country; Niagara, the most tenable of the whole, cannot, if properly attacked, hold out more than three weeks. Shell alone will force Carillon to surrender; a small, narrow right angle, inasmuch as its longest side is 54 toises and the small one 39, without casemates; besides, all the other bicoques, which are called forts, are scarcely proof against a sudden assault. I do not except even Mont-Real and Quebec, if the foot of their walls be once reached.

We are in want of provisions, that is to say, by carefully economising the little we have, it will be hardly possible to enter on the campaign and subsist throughout its first month.

We are in want of powder, to such a degree, that if the English come to Quebec, there is not six days' supply for the cannon. Almost all the guns are iron, and bad. Mortars are wanting, and still more so, shell, of the calibre of those we have.

For the service of all the forts and of several bodies of troops, scattered over more than five hundred leagues of country, there are in the whole Colony only two Engineers, without any draughtsmen, eight artillery officers, five of whom are from France, eighty-six gunners, including 4 sergeants and 10 cadets; these last are useless in a service of urgency, not a single man having the remotest idea of mines; not a mechanic of any sort whatever.

Goods, to trade with the Indians, are almost entirely wanting.

Under these circumstances, 'tis evident that France, should she send ten thousand men, with munitions of war and provisions proportionate to such a force and to the actual necessities of the Colony, would not place herself again there on anything near a level with the enemy.

But this expedition would require at least one hundred sail, and such a fleet would run the risk, either from the danger of unfortunate encounters, or forcible delay from ice, of not arriving at all,

or of arriving too late, and find the campaign already opened and the Colony perhaps invaded.

It appears then, that this armament cannot be thought of, and we must confine ourselves to treating Canada as a desperate disease is treated, in which the sick man is supported by cordials until he either sink or a crisis save him; that is to say, to send thither only what is absolutely necessary so as to be able to try and make a defence.

Now, What is absolutely necessary?

1st Provisions; to freight ships with them on account of the King; to encourage the contractor, who fits out, in this way, very considerable armaments in order that his ships may have crews; to send *poudre alimentaire* tested at the Invalides.

2nd Munitions of war; a train of artillery; Artillerists and Engineers. In the first place, the largest quantity of powder possible; nine and twelve-inch mortars, and the greatest quantity possible of shells of the same calibre; all the ships ought to be ballasted with them. In the second place, a train of field artillery, and to work them a detachment with the troops of the Line, composed of four Engineers and two draftsmen, fifty gunners, fifty bombardiers, 4 sergeants included, thirty workmen, wheelwrights, joiners, carpenters, and smiths, including 5 sergeants or corporals, with an overseer of workmen, twenty miners, including two sergeants and two corporals, with one overseer of miners; observing, that the two aforesaid overseers be junior officers to those detached from the Royal corps in 1757 for Canada. In the third place a great number of guns, flints and powder-horns, which save half the consumption.

3rd Indian goods. Some must be sent and in considerable quantity. These articles are extremely necessary, if it be desirable to preserve any Indians.

4th Recruits, viz^{t}: First, at least one thousand with their arms and 18 month's provisions; secondly, some miquelets, troops of no use in Europe in the present war, and who will render the greatest service in Canada. Thirdly, 150 Scotch, Irish and Germans to encourage and attract deserters of these Nations, who, in that case, will join us in great numbers.

Observation.

Relative to the preceding articles, it may be, 1. Ordered, that every privateer or vessel belonging either to the contractor or merchant demanding permission to proceed to Canada, take ball and shell as ballast; moreover, on the King's account, a cargo of munitions of war, provisions, guns, Indian goods and some recruits; 2. Negotiated, that the Spaniards, Portugese, Dutch, Irish and English even, carry thither warlike stores and provisions, and that arrangements be made particularly for this object, with Sweden and Rus-

sia, who are situated so much the more advantageously in this regard, as the Baltic and Norwegian ports are nearly in the latitude of the Straits of Belleisle, and therefore their ships would be almost certain not to meet any English vessels.

What arrangements can the Court make ? What orders send to Canada for the next campaign ?

1. Threatened with being attacked by a superior army simultaneously at three points, 'tis evident that if the ten thousand men who compose our force, be divided into three corps, 'twould be the means of being annihilated, without even making the slightest effort.

The Court must therefore order that they be all kept concentrated in a sort of centre, with bateaux, warlike stores and provisions all ready on the three routes, in order to repair rapidly and in force to the first point attacked ; or, if many be attacked at the same time, to that one the defence of which will offer us the most advantages, and there combine stratagem with the most determined boldness.

2. Orders must be issued that of all the Militia divided into three classes, good, middling, bad ; the first make the entire campaign, incorporated for that time into our battalions and those of the Marine ; the remainder constituting the special Militia corps. This arrangement is absolutely the only one whereby any profit can be derived from these Militiamen. In regard to the two other classes ; to order that they have in their houses, accoutrements, a gun, one pound of powder, two pounds of ball, ten days' supply of biscuit and pork, a certain number bateaux, kettles and *prelats* per parish, in order that in case of urgency, all the men march when commanded. The monks, priests, civil officers and women will perform the field labor,

In regard to the defence of Quebec, the Court ought

1st To send four flyboats or merchantmen, to be stranded in the places to be pointed out by Sieur Pelegrin, Captain of the Port of Quebec, to serve as batteries and forts there. It will be productive of this other great advantage for the general defence of the country, that the crews of these ships, which people will endeavor to have commanded by officers of merchant vessels, who have made the voyage, will receive orders to man the navy that is to defend Lakes Champlain and Ontario.

2nd To order the construction of batteries, 1° at the Eboulement, at Point *aux Bouleaux*, and nearly opposite that, at *La Prairie* on Isle aux coudres ; 2° at *Cape Torment*, which will batter the ships that must, in order to pass the Traverse, proceed one by one, and remain exposed to its fire, within short musket range, over a quarter of an hour ; 3° on the Island of Orleans, one at St. Francis, and the other at *St. Laurent*. An intelligent officer would be required on board the fleet, with orders, in case the ice or contrary winds should detain it near the above mentioned place, to have constructed during that detention, the proposed works, in whole or in part, by the recruits, gunners, and even the crews.

3rd To order the construction of the redoubts and lines proposed in 1757, in a Memoir sent to the Court.

4th To order the preparation, without delay, of brulots, crafts, bateaux mounted with cannon, and redoubts similar to those already constructed by Sieur Jacau, Colonial Captain of Artillery.

5th To order that Messrs Pellegrin and Le Vasseur be consulted, and their advice followed in all this maritime defence.

6th That the women, children, magistrates and all those persons that embarrass the defence, be immediately sent to Three Rivers, and that the greatest supply possible of provisions and munitions of war be collected there, storing them in private houses and even in the churches if necessary.

Now comes the Question, Quebec taken, is Canada reduced?

Yes, without a doubt, since: 1. There is not in a second line any place of strength, any spot having in depôt any warlike stores and provisions; 2. Canada cannot sustain herself by herself and without succors from France.

This second question will be asked: If Canada be lost, can France keep Louisiana?

No, in the actual condition of Louisiana. 1. Because there is not in that country either a General of any experience in war, or disciplined troops, or Engineers, or Artillery officers and soldiers in sufficient number. 2. Because, Canada once lost, Louisiana would be invested by English forces, without being able to receive any succor from France, except at one confined port, which could be easily blockaded by superior naval power.

From the solution of these two questions, I conclude

1st That the Court, foreseeing the case of Quebec being taken, and even the inevitable loss of the Colony, if the army be beaten, and the other frontiers forced, should send to its Governor-General full power to capitulate for the entire of Canada, and its instructions on the kind and nature of such capitulation. Otherwise, that country, entirely exposed, will be wholly sacked, the inhabitants dispersed or destroyed, the Colony irrecoverably lost to the King. Humanity and the interest of France dictate a seasonable capitulation.

2nd Let the Court send orders to the French staff, to the remnant of the eight battalions with the colors, to the Engineers and Artillery corps attached to them, to the best soldiers of the Marine to be incorporated into the battalions, to Indian Interpreters and selected Canadian Voyageurs, to start for Louisana twenty-four hours before a parley be called.

The advantage of this plan, which is proposed only because it is feasible, is, 1st That it will preserve to the King a good body of troops. 2nd Save Louisiana, because then 'twill be possible to make a stand there some time, even without succors from France. Pro-

visions can be drawn from Illinois, and by means thereof our Upper country posts and Indians preserved; provisions will be obtained also from the Spaniards. 3rd And confer honor on the French nation. The retreat of the Ten thousand immortalized the Greeks.

But in order that this plan be put into execution, it is necessary: 1. That the Court send express orders to the Marquis de Montcalm, leaving him always at liberty to derogate therefrom, should unforeseen circumstances render its execution impossible, with an open letter to the troops, whereby his Majesty makes known that the expects this courageous manœevre from them, and forbids the infirm or aged officers and soldiers undertaking that march, which would be beyond their strength.

2. Let the Court order the Governor-General to keep in store at Mont-Real two hundred and fifty bark canoes, and at the head of the Rapids seventy days' provision of buscuit and lard for two thousand five hundred men; powder and ball, wampum belts, a certain quantity of vermillion and some Indian goods.

3. Let the Court authorize the Marquis de Montcalm, or whomsoever will represent him, a Brigadier or an inferior officer to command at Louisiana.

4. The most profound secrecy respecting this project to be observed in France and Canada.

Finally, when should the ships be dispatched?

In the first days of March—the 10th, at the earliest—the 15th, at the latest.

The ships to be ordered to cruize on the banks, if the gulf be still closed; if open, to enter immediately south of *Anti-Costi;* if the ice still block up the upper part of the river, to wait until the ice come down, anchor the large ship *at Bic;* the smaller at the *Brandy pots.* In these two anchorage grounds they have nothing to fear. From the *Brandy pots*, to send the Generals by land, the dispatches from the Court. If the gulf be closed, to order a vessel, steered by the pilots of those roads, whom I have brought with me to France, to take the gût of Canso; land there, in some cove known to them, some Canadians, good walkers, to whom I have had dispatches given, who will travel by land, and carry to the Generals the orders from the Court, which it is essential they should know betimes.

I conclude this Memoir with the following observation:

If France desire to fit out a stronger expedition to relieve Canada, such an effect would be produced more certainly by a diversion than directly.

The fleet sent Quebec would run the risk of being intercepted or arrive to late, and these two misfortunes would be equally bad.

The landing for a diversion could be made nowhere better than at *Carolina.*

1st The English do not fear such thing on those coasts, and it would be easy to give out some other object for the expedition.

2nd Carolina is at a distant from all the forces the English have on that Continent and from every point where they wish to attack us. Danger seems greater at a distance.

3rd Carolina and the neighboring provinces are full of negroes. What advantage could not be derived from that circumstance?

4th The landing force, in case it would not be able to maintain its ground, could retreat by the River of the *Cheraquis* to Louisiana.

M. DE VAUDREUIL TO M. BERRYER.

MONTREAL, *30th March, 1759.*

MY LORD: M. de Ligneris has not ceased having French and Indian scouts to watch the English. M. de la Valtrie informs him that the English were building a small fort on the river Mananguailée, a little above Fort Duquesne.

He learned at the same time by some Delaware Indians, who are beginning to become familiar with the English, and go frequently to see them, that 2 (*a*) 300 men were to remain at that fort during the winter.

That General Forbes had returned with his army to Loyal Hannon, where he had stationed a strong garrison to support that of Mananguailée.

That the remainder of his army was to be sent to winter quarters in different provinces.

That it was asserted that this General was to return this year to Europe.

It would not be difficult, my Lord, to drive the English from their fort on the Mananguailée or to take them, were there plenty of men and provisions, but M. de Ligneris is in want of both to such a degree that he will have considerable difficulty to pass the winter.

The Iroquois, Chaouanons and Loups of Kanaouagon, far from responding favorably to M. de Ligneris' invitation to go and attack the English, continue to solicit him to vacate Fort Machault and to retire to Presqu'isle, continually representing to him that he has too few men to resist the English who were assuredly to come and attack him this winter.

He obtained, however, from those Indians, [a promise] that they would go to the English only with a view to learn their plans against the French, to inform him thereof; they likewise promised him to summon them to withdraw very speedily to the other side of the mountains.

But there is reason to presume that the Indians would wish there were neither French nor English at the Beautiful river, and that they are heartily tired of the war.

What confirms me in this idea is, the Council the English held on the 26th of November at Cachekacheki.[1]

The English have had recourse to the most affecting and most pressing language; they requested the Indians to forget the past; to renew the alliance of their ancestors with them; to let them settle their differences with the French, and to recall their young men who are with the latter.

To enforce this proposition they told those Indians, that they had closed the Canada river, consequently the French could not give them any assistance; that the King of France had already twice sued for peace, which had been always refused by the English; they requested the Indians to communicate their words to the Nations who are in alliance with them.

The Delawares have answered the English anew, that being allies of many different Nations, a reply could not be given immediately to their speech; and that they should not become impatient if the answer was a long time coming, as their relations were at a distance.

Moreover, if the English were desirous that their speech should be listened to, they must retire to the other side of the mountains and leave the Indians their lands free; otherwise no alliance would be entered into with them.

At another council held with the same Indians at the Forks by the English, the latter consented to retire home, not to make any settlement on the Beautiful river, and that they would all depart within eight days.

M. de Ligneris placed no confidence in the promises which the English made the Indians.

In fact, their language changes very fast. The Canaouagon Indians told M. de Ligneris, on their return from the English, that the latter were to come with a considerable force and attack him in the month of February.

What gave rise to the suspicion that such was their design, was, the arrival of 120 men at their fort on the River Manangailée, where they were in immediate expectation of 300 more.

Were M. de Ligneris in a situation to make a movement to drive away the English, the Nations on the Beautiful river would not oppose it directly; if they saw that we were in a condition to dispense with their services, I doubt not many would join him, notwithstanding their conferences with the English.

The latter have been again summoned by those Indians to retire

[1] Kuskuskees at the Forks of Beaver Creek, Beaver County, Penn. *Mitchell's and Pownall's Maps.* Compare Post's Journal. *Pennsylvania Archives*, III., 560.

to their own country, but entirely forgetting their first language, the English have assured that they should not leave the Beautiful river; that it belonged to them from its source to its mouth.

That positive answer from the English has rendered M. de Ligneris only more vigilant in observing their movements, more especially as some Indians have reported to him that the English are building a great many bateaux at the fort up the Mananguailée and on the River Attiqué.

These preparations having given offence to our Indians, they demanded an explanation thereof from the English, but the latter curtly answered, that they were preparing to go to Fort Marchault, that they would have 6,000 men at the end of March, to drive off the French.

M. de Ligneris has left nothing unsaid to persuade the Nations on the Beautiful river, that it was for their own interest to place limits to the ambition of the English; he has prevailed on the Loups to assemble again at Cachecacheki; the latter have assured him they were taking that course only to have a better opportunity of striking the English, if he organized any expedition, and of more easily joining the French on the Beautiful river, supposing it were in spring, in sufficient numbers to drive the English thence.

I have written M. de Ligneris that the change of the English from extreme suavity to the greatest threats, must have naturally made the deepest impressions on the Indians of the Beautiful river, who must conclude therefrom that the principal object of the English is to deceive them, and that if they were not under the protection of the French, they would be very soon reduced to slavery, and probably to something worse; that therefore it is for their own interest to sovereignly despise all proposals of neutrality; to be inseparable from the French, and to be more ardent than ever to fight the English.

I recommend him also to impress strongly on those Indians the critical position they would be placed in, abandoned to themselves, had they no help to expect, except from the English, who would not treat them any better than they had treated the Abenakis.

As I am aware of the designs of the English against Niagara, I write M. de Ligneris that, supposing that place to be really besieged, M. Pouchot will retain under his orders 300 Canadians whom I had designed for the Beautiful river, and that, according as he will find it necessary, he will call to his assistance all the forces from Detroit and the other posts, whom I have ordered to rendezvous at Presqu'isle.

Under these circumstances, I recommended to him, in relation to the straits he should find himself reduced to, and in regard to his situation, to manœuvre so as to have the enemy continually before him. I observe to him that, if the Indians of the Beautiful river

remain faithful to the French, and act in consequence, he will not fail to afford work to our enemies.

That, in other respects, he will fall back on the River au Bœuf and successively on Presqu'isle, paying attention to what position he will find himself in, to play with and to set snares for the enemy, according as they advance, to be, above all things, vigilant wherever he be, so that none of his bateaux fall into the hands of the English.

I likewise notify him that M. Pouchot will, with pleasure, embrace the opportunity of corresponding with him, and that, according as circumstances will be favorable, that is to say, if Niagara be not menaced, that he would reunite under his orders not only the forces and succors which will rendezvous at Presqu'isle, the 300 Canadians that I have destined for him, but in addition, all the forces and other assistance M. Pouchot will have it in his power to forward to him.

I am, with the most profound respect, my Lord,
Your most humble and most obedient servant,
VAUDREUIL.

SUMMARY OF THE FRENCH PLAN OF GENERAL OPERATIONS ON THE OHIO FOR THE CAMPAIGN OF 1759.

M. de Ligneris has had orders to remain at Fort Machault, on the Oyo; 1st To support the Nations; 2nd To annoy the English; 3rd To force them to a diversion; 4th To cover Lake Erié and force the enemy to march only with an army, which would entail considerable preparations, whence arise serious difficulties for victualing of all sorts in a country where the ground is capable of being defended inch by inch.

The scarcity of provisions prevailing in the Colony has determined me to send orders to the Illinois and Detroit to foward the Presqu'île all the men these two posts can furnish.

I had, early last autumn, designated the same place as the general rendezvous of the Canadians and farmers from the Illinois, Detroit, of all the French and different Southern Nations, in order to have them when required.

M. MALARTIC TO M. DE CREMILLE.

MONTREAL, *9th April, 1759.*

SIR: May I flatter myself that you will be pleased to permit me to have the honor of communicating to you the events which have transpired in the Colony since the end of autumn?

We obtain some new advantages on the Beautiful river, at the close of the month of October. The English repaired in force, on the 23rd of November, to within three leagues of Fort Duquesne, which was abandoned after having marched out of, and burnt, it; the artillery has been sent to the Illinois, by desending the Beautiful river which empties into that of the Ouias, the latter flowing into the Mississipi, which is ascended thirty leagues to reach the Fort of the Illinois; and the garrison retreated to Fort Machault, where it still remained on the 8th of March, according to intelligence received on the day before yesterday: it has orders to continue there. Should the English march thither, as is probable, it will fall back on Niagara, always vacating and burning the posts, not one of which is tenable. M. Pouchot, who is going to command at the latter fort, and has already arrived at La Présentation, will have, for the defence of that frontier, as considerable a body of troops as the scantiness of our means and of our resources will permit. Scarcity of provisions and the bad position of Fort Duquêne have compelled its abandonment. The consequences may become unfortunate, if the Indians pronounce in favor of the English. Although they hesitate, they appear still attached to us; 'tis to be hoped that they will remain at least neutral. M. de Ligneris, who commands at Fort Machault, writes that the English are constructing forts at Attiqué and Royal Hannon; that the Indians are become very familiar with them; he flatters himself, however, that he will induce them to strike, if he receive reinforcements capable of controlling them; the greatest part of them are on the way.

Various obstacles have prevented the reëstablishment at Fort Frontenac. During the winter two sloops have been built three leagues above La Présentation—a work which might have been, and would have been essential to have done in the month of September—in order to endeavor to retain possession of Lake Ontario, the loss of which is to be apprehended through the destruction of Frontenac and the reconstruction of Chouaguen at which the English are, perhaps, already busy. They have a considerable force in that quarter, and threaten to come and burn our sloops and La Présentation. M. de Pouchot, who has set out on the ice to secure the post against a coup de main, writes that the sloops will be launched without delay, and that he is going to begin an intrench-

ment. Last week one hundred bateaux went to him with reinforcements, rigging and everything he may stand in need of; as soon as the sloops will be equipped and armed, he will embark with the troops destined for Niagara. He has two parties out in search of news of the enemy, whose designs are unknown to us.

Our enemies have not made their appearance at Carillon in the beginning of the winter, but came there last month to the number of 350, surprized 15 workmen who were in the woods, killed four and captured seven of them, after which they took a plan of the intrenchments and of the fort. Some Indians and volunteers went in pursuit, killed some of their men and took one prisoner, who says that troops are arriving daily at Fort Lydius, where immense preparations are making to come early and besiege Carillon; we on our part are expecting them there, and that they will attack us by the Beautiful river, Lake Onthorio and Quebec; we have but few troops to oppose them; such is our position. 'Tis to be hoped that the news from France will render it better, that we shall be as fortunate as in the last campaign, and that no mistake will be made similar to that of having allowed Fort Frontenac to be taken, which, with a little foresight, might easily have been preserved.

Distress has been nigh as severe this winter as the last. Although the arrival last summer of provisions has been immense, the administration and management have been so bad, that the supply is not abundant. Not knowing the fate of my letter, your employment of which does not give me any uneasiness, I cannot prudently inform you of what remains to be said. How many things to be related on this head, which I hope to have the honor of explaining to you *viva voce*.

The winter has been one of the coldest; the river broke up some days ago and begins to be navigable; the ice has backed up to such an extraordinary degree and with such violence, as to throw down a house.

Our destination for the campaign about to open is not yet decided. Our generals, who unfortunately, do not always determine it, and are not consulted on the measures to be adopted, cannot yet learn where they will require us; I believe they would wish to be able to multiply us and send us everywhere. There will be work to do for everybody, apparently in more than one quarter. Nothing is wanting to the glory of the Marquis de Montcalm and the reputation of the troops, but the achieving of good business this year. Notwithstanding the critical state of the Colony, prudence and science on the part of the General, and good will on the part of the troops, are alone required; there is reason to expect that they will be forthcoming.

You will find my letter long, Sir; counting on the continuance of the indulgence with which you have frequently honored me, I have

entered into all the details I thought you would be glad to be informed of. I greatly desire that they may have the good fortune of pleasing you, and that they will contribute to make me deserving of your protection, which constitutes all my ambition. I hope to have the honor of soliciting it personally this year. Though pretty well recovered from my wound, I require to go and take the baths, not being in a condition to do much on horseback or afoot. I propose demanding permission to leave at the end of the campaign, which I should regret not making, and hope that you will be pleased to grant me your approbation.

I have the honor to be, with respect, Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MALARTIC.

M. DE MONTCALM TO M. DE CREMILLE.

MONTREAL, *12th April, 1759.*

SIR: I profit by the departure of a vessel which had been dispatched last December and prevented by the ice from proceeding any farther than the Isle aux Coudres.

Our last news announced that the English would force us to abandon Fort Duquesne. Captain de Ligneris, of the Colonists, who was in command there, after having ordered the place to be blown up, retired on the 23rd November, to a pretended fort called Fort Machault.

The English are negotiating with the Delawares and Chaŝanons, whom they are endeavoring to attract to themselves; whatever people may say about it, 'tis to be feared they will succeed. The Five Nations, on which I, contrary to M. de Vaudreuil's opinion, never placed reliance, appear inclined to the English.

Men have been employed this winter in building two sloops at La Présentation, on Lake Ontario, to repair, as much as possible, the very serious error of the last campaign, the allowing Frontenac to be taken, and the navy we had on Lake Ontario to be burned. 'Twill be very good of the English if they allow us to launch those two vessels, without an effort on their part to burn them.

We have not had anything of interest this winter; some parties on both sides, in the neighborhood of Carillon, to obtain news respectively. Captain d'Hebecourt, of the regiment of La Reine, who has been entrusted with the command of them, has behaved with a great deal of intelligence and application. The accounts we re-

ceive of the enemy from all parts, incline us to presume that the new General (Amherst) wishes to take the field early, with a large force. The provincial assemblies met in December to demand of the particular governors their contingents of men and provisions. They were held the year before, in February. The deliberations were in favor of granting them. Our forces and means are different, but I dare be answerable to you for the good resolution of our troops, for the zeal of Chevalier de Levis and M. de Bourlamaque, and of our principal officers, to second me effectually. M. de Bourlamaque will be able to make the campaign. He is tolerably recovered from his very serious wound.

I cannot tell you precisely how we are off for provisions and warlike stores. Ordinarily, I learn the facts only from the public, which informs me that we are badly off for the one and the other, unless we receive powerful succors from Europe.

The war has changed character in Canada. The vast forces of the English, our example determines them on continuous operations in a country where the Canadians thought they were making war, and were making, so to speak, hunting excursions. Our principles of war, considering our inferiority, ought to be, to contract our defensive, in order to preserve at least, the body of the Colony, and retard its loss; to combine with the system of European tactics the use to be made of the Indians. This is what I am always saying, but the prejudices or councils of quacks are followed. No matter, I serve the King and the State. I shall always express my opinion. I shall execute to the best of my ability; last year I did, indeed, dare to accept battle with an order in my pocket to avoid a general engagement. To retreat would be the ruin of the Colony; to lose the battle, would be to lose both it and myself likewise, who would have been met by the order issued to me. This last did not stop me. I can well sacrifice myself for the [public] good. M. de Vaudreuil, to whom I submitted, on the 20th of March, a Memoir on the campaign, has at length just communicated his plan to me. We do not agree on all points. I shall not the less exert myself, as I have always done, to be successful. I wish, with all my heart, that I may be deceived; that he may be able to sustain himself everywhere, that the English may not come to Quebec, or that the navigation of the River St. Lawrence, often difficult, may afford him time to take those precautions which have been neglected, and might, in my opinion, have been taken beforehand.

M. Bernies, Commissary at War, who has succeeded M. Doreil, and who appears to me qualified to acquit himself well of the duties of his station, will render you an account of the actual strength and condition of our battalions and of the soldiers, which I shall determine, on reflection, ought to be sent to the Invalides; but 'twill not be by this vessel, not being able to make the review of our battal-

ions until they will enter on the campaign. He will address you, likewise, some representations on the important subject of the high price of provisions, the impossibility of supporting themselves, under which our officers labor, unless you have had the goodness to procure for them an augmentation of pay; and whatever augmentation you grant them, you will never be able to make them live in this country unless sufficient nourishment be allowed them, or at least they be paid in bills of exchange of the first class. I beg you to pay great attention to this Commissary's Memoir, which has passed under my eyes, in order to solicit the Minister of the Marine on the subject. If M. Doreil be in Paris, he will be able to enlighten you, should that Memoir contain anything doubtful or obscure, always observing that every article has doubled since his departure, and is now tripled.

Perhaps the Marine, on considering the expenses superficially, will think the troops of the Line cost an immense sum in Canada. I proceed to explain that to you. If excessive expenses are incurred, they are placed under the name of *Depenses pour les troupes de terre*, although they regard us not, because in Canada the Intendant's ordinance is the only authority for everything, without being a *piece probante*. It only remains for me, Sir, to request the continuation of your former kindnesses; you have flattered me with them at all times; the post you occupy enables you to make me sensible of their effects, and I believe I deserve them by my zeal for the service, my attachment to your person, and the respect with which I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most humble and

most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

P. S. I annex to this despatch, Sir, an exact return of the English troops which are to be employed on this Continent. I beg of you to have the kindness to lay it before Marshal de Belle Isle; it is exact, as well as the interesting postscript I add in cipher, in support of that article.

According to news we have received, the English are building a fort at Chouaguen, and wish to construct one at the Bay of Cayugas; this proves that the English want to be masters of Lake Ontario, and the fruit of the capture of Chouaguen will be lost by that of Frontenac, which the English effected last year. Should the English ever take Canada, the only means the King will have to secure to the Canadians the preservation of their rights and prevent them being transplanted, as has been the case with the Acadians, is to declare that Hanover and the Hanoverians, and the country of the King of England's allies, will be treated in every respect as the English treat Canada and the Canadians.

M. DE MONTCALM TO MARSHAL DE BELLE ISLE.

MONTREAL, *12 April, 1759.*

Canada will be taken this campaign, and assuredly during the next, if there be not some unforseen good luck, a powerful diversion by sea against the English Colonies, or some gross blunders on the part of the enemy.

The English have 60,000 men, we at most from 10 to 11,000. Our government is good for nothing; money and provisions will fail. Through want of provisions, the English will begin first; the farms scarcely tilled, cattle lack; the Canadians are dispirited; no confidence in M. de Vaudreuil or in M. Bigot. M. de Vaudreuil is incapable of preparing a plan of operations. He has no activity; he lends his confidence to empirics rather than to the Generals sent by the King. M. Bigot appears occupied only in making a large fortune for himself, his adherents and sycophants. Cupidity has seized officers, store-keepers; the commissaries also who are about the River St. John, or the Ohio, or with the Indians in the Upper country, are amassing astonishing fortunes. It is nothing but forged certificates legally admitted. If the Indians had a fourth of what is supposed to be expended for them, the King would have all those in America; the English none.

This interest has an influence on the war. M. de Vaudreuil, with whom men are equal, led by a knavish secretary and interested associates, would confide a vast operation to his brother, or any other Colonial officer, the same as to Chevalier de Levis. The choice concerns those who divide the cake; therefore has there never been any desire to send M. de Bourlamaque, or M. de Senezergues, commandant of the battalion of La Sarre, to Fort Duquesne. I did propose it; the King had gained by it; but what superintendents in a country, whose humblest cadet, a sergeant, a gunner, return with twenty, thirty thousand *livres* in certificates, for goods issued for the Indians on account of his Majesty.

This expenditure, which has been paid at Quebec by the Treasurer of the Colony, amounts to twenty-four millions. The year before, the expenses amounted only to twelve or thirteen millions. This year they will run up to thirty-six. Everybody appears to be in a hurry to make his fortune before the Colony is lost, which event many, perhaps, desire, as an impenetrable veil over their conduct. The craving after wealth has an influence on the war, and M. de Vaudreil does not doubt it. Instead of reducing the expenses of Canada, people wish to retain all; how abandon positions which serve as a pretext to make private fortunes? Transportation is distributed to favorites. The agreement with the contractor is un-

known to me as it is to the public. 'Tis reported that those who have invaded commerce participate in it. Has the King need of purchasing goods for the Indians? Instead of buying them directly, a favorite is notified, who purchases at any price whatever; then M. Bigot has then removed to the King's stores, allowing a profit of one hundred and even one hundred and fifty per cent, to those who it is desired to favor. Is artillery to be transported, gun-carriages, carts implements to be made? M. Mercier, commandant of the artillery, is the contractor under other people's names. Every thing is done badly and at a high price. This officer, who came out twenty years ago a simple soldier, will be soon worth about six or seven hundred thousand *livres*, perhaps a million, if these things continue. I have often respectfully spoken to M. de Vaudreuil and M. Bigot of these expenses; each throws the blame on his colleague. The people alarmed at these expenses, fear a depreciation in the paper money of the country; the evil effect is, the Canadians who do not participate in those illicit profits, hate the Government. They repose confidence in the General of the French; accordingly, what consternation on a ridiculous rumor which circulated this winter that he had been poisoned.

We have been driven out of Fort Duquesne at the end of November. One might hope that such an operation would have been deferred by the English until April, but the enemy knew, by their Indians and our deserters, the too public order of M. de Vaudreuil, to evacuate. I have never had communication either of the instructions or news relating to the operations of the war, with which neither I nor Chevalier de Levis have been entrusted. If I have often proffered my advice, even in writing, it has been upon what I learned, the same as the public. Despite of all that will be written, the Indians of the Upper country are beginning to shake and to negotiate with the English. The Five Nations are ill disposed. M. de Vaudreuil alone has wished to persuade the court, that they had pronounced, and that such was his work. In managing in the best manner, neutrality might be expected; I have always written that this would be a great deal.

The loss of Fort Frontenac is a deadly blow, in consequence of the capture of our navy on Lake Ontario. Three months have been spent in deliberating, where new sloops should be constructed. We shall have two within twenty days, if the English do not come and burn them; our Iroquois Indians fear it. M. de Vaudreuil was told and reproached, in full council, that they had notified him three weeks before, respecting Fort Frontenac. They said to him; *You are asleep; where is our War Chief?* I was then at Quebec. At last Captain Pouchot, of the Bearn battalian, is going to command at Niagara; he ought to have been sent off last fall; he was capable and agreeable to the Indians. Such was promised me, but

how resolve to dismiss a Canadian officer, however incapable and disagreeable to the Indians he might be?

All the preparations at Orange and Lydius announce that the English will come early to Carillon with a large force.

The enemy can come to Quebec, if we have not a fleet; and Quebec, once taken, the Colony is lost. Yet is their no precaution; I have written, I have spoken, as also have M. de Pont le Roy, the Engineer, an excellent man, and Sieur Pelegrin, captain of the Port of Quebec, a good seaman, for his part; I have offered to introduce some order, an arrangement to prevent a false manœuvre; on the first alarm to repel it; we shall have time.

I know nothing of M. de Vaudreuil's projects, still less how many Canadians he will be able to bring into the field, or how we are off for provisions and ammunition. The public tell me, we are badly off both for the one and the other, and the same public always believe the department of provisions ill governed. I ought to consider myself fortunate, under the circumstances, not to be consulted; but devoted to his Majesty's service, I have given my advice in writing for the best, and we shall act with courage and zeal, Chevalier de Levis, M. de Bourlamaque and I, to retard the imminent loss of Canada. It is foreign to my character to blame M. de Vaudreuil and M. Bigot, depositaries of his Majesty's authority in Canada. I am even attached to M. Bigot, who is an amiable man and a near relative of M. de Pussieux and of Marshall d'Estrées, who honor men with their friendship. But I must write the truth to my Minister, to the Statesman.

I have written it to M. de Moras; I do not write anything to the present Minister of the Marine. 'Tis for my Minister to make use of what I write to him for the good of the state without compromising me. If the war continue, Canada will belong to the English, perhaps this very campaign, or the next. If there be peace, the Colony is lost, if the entire government be not changed. The maxims of the book entitled *L'ami de l'homme*, must be followed: to disgrace those who will return from Colonies with wealth, and to reward those who will return from them with the staff and scrip with which they had gone forth.

The general census of Canada has been at last completed. Though it has not been communicated to me, I think I'm correct, that there are not more than 82,000 souls in the Colony; of these, twelve thousand, at most, are men capable of bearing arms; deducting from this number those employed in works, transports, bateaux, in the Upper countries, no more than seven thousand Canadians will ever be collected together, and then it must not be either seed time or harvest, otherwise, by calling all out, the ground would remain uncultivated; famine would follow. Our eight battalions will make

three thousand two hundred men; the Colonials, at most, fifteen hundred men in the field. What is that against at least fifty thousand men which the English have!

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

FORT JOHNSON, *5th June 1760.*

MY LORDS: As I am in doubt whether Your Lordships have received my letter of the 17th May 1759 and my proceedings with the Confederate Indians before I took the field last year with Brig^r^ Gen^l^ Prideaux there being no mention made of them in Your Lordships last letter, I now send Duplicates of both, among which the Treaty at Conojohary may shew to Your Lordships that my Labours have not been in vain, it being concluded on at that time, by a Gen^l^ Convention of the 6 Nations & their allies, after many Solicitations and interesting Arguments suggested to them by me, to join us against the Enemy, which they did last year to the amount of above a thousand fighting Men at Niagara, from whence I sent them home loaden with the spoils of the French, and thô the enemy put me to a deal of trouble, when their army was near upon us, by sending some of their Indians under pretence of parley with ours, but rather to inveigle or intimidate, I found means to retain even them, who thô come into our Camp under French influence, made them fight against their Old Friends, and after the Surrender of the Fort, & I had settled the Garrison &c necessary to be left in it, I employ'd these Indians very successfully in sending them to the foreign Nations on the over side of the Lakes and elsewhere to invite them to come into me at Niagara & Oswego, where I appointed, which they did, and made friends with us, declaring they were sufficiently tired of the war, & sorry for the part they had acted against us.

I am now to acknowledge the honour of Your Lordships' letter of the 13th Decem^r^ last with his Majesty's order in Council relative to the Complaint of Tydeuscung, the Delaware Chief, copy of whose letter I also inclose, which was made to me in consequence of my apprizing him that his Majesty had signifyed his intentions "That I should look into and hear his complaints against the Proprietaries of Pensylvania concerning Lands, & transmit them to Your Lordships to be laid before His Majesty" You will see by his letter that business is postponed, as he has taken on with the Governor of that Colony to convene some of the Western Indians to a Meeting, which when ended may be so late as to interfere with the Military Branch of my Office this Campaign, and may somewhat hinder my bringing

the Indians in general togéther this Summer for actual Service althô well inclined, Thereupon cannot help remarking to Your Lordships, That if the Indians are admitted to be under a complicate and multifarious influence or Management, especially at this time, it must make any application to them uncertain, the service liable to many Inconveniencies, & render the Indians more difficult to treat with, while the power of acting seems to be divided and the plan of Directing them not mutually concerted by me, & those who affect and assume, to be supernecessary.

I must beg leave to repeat to Your Lordships the necessity there is of redressing the Complaints of the Mohawks with regard to their Lands, which they are incessantly murmuring about & very troublesome to me as they live so contiguous.

The Mohigan Indians living in Connecticut Colony, have also intreated me to represent their case to Your Lordships, that their Lands may be ascertained to them, or at least paid for; I understand they have formerly præferred a Petition to his Majesty in Council, from thence am apt to beleive their affair is better known to Your Lordships' Board, by means of their former Agent, than they can explain it to me, so shall not trouble Your Lordships with a further Detail.

Enveloped with this is the Substance of the Mohawks complaints from both Castles, made at a Conference at my house & by letter from Conojohary, Extracted from the Records in the Office of the Secretary of Indian Affairs to which Office I have appointed M^r^ Richard Shuckburgh, after the decease of Capt. Wraxall, who died the 11^th^ of last July, & would be glad Your Lordships would procure for him a Warrant or Commission for that purpose; the late M^r^ Wraxall's I believe was issued from the Secretary of State's Office: The above mentioned gentleman has resided many years in this country is acquainted with the Customs of the Indians & every way qualified to discharge the Duty required, thereupon recommend him for Your Lordships approbation: I acquainted Gen^l^ Amherst when I appointed him & he readily agreed to it; should any interest themselves against this Recommendation, I hope Your Lordships will discountenance their Solicitations, as it may be presumed I am the proper Judge of an Officer so near me as the Secretary of Indian Affairs.

I have now only to acquaint Your Lordships that I have the most favourable answers from the Six Nations & their Confederates on a Message I sent to them some time agoe to hold themselves in readiness, till the time I receive the General's orders for them to join the army, & have sent this Spring both to Niagara and Oswego Presents to the Foreign Indians I treated with last autumn at those Posts, as well as to the six Nations, to be given at the Discretion of the commanding Officers there, & I expect to muster more Indians for

the service this summer than I did last Campaign by far, having great Expectations from the assurances given to me by y^e^ Ottawawas, Missiagos, Chippeways, &c (who where in the French Interest, till the surrender of Niagara) that they will join his Majesty's Arms this Campaign, some of whom I have already employed with several of the six Nations, who are now out on Parly in the French Country.

I am, with all due respect,
My Lords,
Your Lordships most obedient
and most humble Servant
W^m^ JOHNSON.

To the Right Hon^rble^ The Lords Commissioners of Trade & Plantations.

TYDESCUNG TO SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

BERTH^m^ *in Northampton County & Province of Pensylvania*
April 8^th^ 1760.

Brother, I rec^d^ Your Letter by my son and was glad to hear that King George had been so good to take my matters to heart, and I thank you for your love and care in sending me so early word. But as I am to morrow setting off from here, being desired by the Governor and other Gentlemen of this Province to go to the Wiandot Nation, & others, to invite and convene them to a Treaty at Easton. Therefore at present I can neither appoint time or place to confer about the complaint I made about Land affairs, But when I return shall take the first opportunity to let you know, & am your sincere Brother, that wishes you good luck against his Majesties Enemies.

Tydescung Chief Sachem of the
Delawares, his mark.

To Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON.
A true Copy from the Records
Examined by Rich^d^ SHUCKBURGH
Secr^y^ of Ind^n^ Affairs.

EARL OF EGREMONT TO THE GOVERNORS IN AMERICA.

Governor's of:

New Hampshire	New York
Massachusetts Bay	Maryland
Connecticut	Pennsylvania
Rhode Island	Virginia
New Jersey.	N° and S° Carolina.

WHITEHALL *Dec^r 12. 1761.*

SIR: The King having taken into His most serious consideration, how highly essential it is to the interests and security of his subjects in North America, that the Regular Regiments, serving in that Country, be recruited, with all convenient expedition, to their full complement of Effectives, and at the same time, seeing the impracticability of compleating them from Great Britain, considering how this Country is drained, by the great number of Men, furnished for the various services in all parts of the world; I am therefore to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you do, immediately on the receipt of this letter, exert your utmost influence to induce your province to carry into the most speedy and effectual execution this very important object, by immediate compliance with any requisition, which Sir Jefferey Amherst shall, in consequence of His Maj^ty's orders, make for furnishing on certain conditions, which he will explain to you, such a number of Recruits, from your Province as he shall demand as their quota, towards compleating the regular Regiments, which have been sent to America, for the defence and protection of the possessions of his Maj^ty's subjects there; and the King cannot doubt, but that the Provinces will chearfully and readily comply with this reasonable demand, so obviously calculated for their own security and advantage, at the same time, that your zeal for His Maj^ty's service will naturally excite you to use all your influence and power in bringing effectually to bear a measure, which his Maj^ty has so much at heart, and with regard to which, any failure or disappointment would be extremely disagreeable

I have it also in Command from the King to acquaint you, that tho' the present situation of affairs, would have fully justified, the having required of the Provinces, as large a number of Men, as they ever have raised for any of the former Campaigns, instead of the quota, which was demanded the last year; yet, His Maj^ty considering the high importance of the service, which makes the subject of this letter, and being desirous to ease the burthens of his faithful subjects, as far as shall be consistent with their own safety, has

been pleased to require only the same number of Men, as for the last year, in order thereby to facilitate a measure, so essential as the compleating the Regular Regiments, by Recruits to be furnished from the Provinces in N° America; and the King is persuaded that the said Provinces, duly sensible of His Majᵗʸ's tender and paternal care for their welfare, will in return, readily, and chearfully comply with the orders now sent you.

I am ettc.

EGREMONT.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO SIR JEFFERY AMHERST.

(Copy) JOHNSON HALL *18 Decemb. 1762.*

SIR: I have the honor to transmit Your Excellency minutes of the proceedings of Lieut. Johnson with the Indians at Onondaga from when he arrived here on the 13ᵗʰ instant.

As the Senecas did not attend, he, agreeably to my orders delivered what he was to say to the Chiefs of three of the Six Nations, who not only expressed much concern at the murder, but promised that in case the Senecas did not deliver up the murderers they would go in quest of them themselves as will appear by the minutes; and from the warmth with which the rest of the Nations expressed themselves, as well in public as in private conversation, they appear determined to do us justice.

On the return of the Mohawk Deputy, whom I now daily expect from the Senecas Country, I shall be able to acquaint Your Excellency what farther is done therein; and I am confident from the behaviour of the rest of the Nations that they will do every thing in their power for the apprehending the criminals, tho' they expect, and I am likewise of opinion they may meet with some opposition therein, from many of the Senecas, who still retain the advice and councils of the French Emissaries resideing amongst them, and do not yet appear heartily disposed towards us.

Some time ago I received a letter from Lᵗ Govʳ Fauquier of Virginia, with an answer to a message of the Six Nations, desiring a passage through that country against the Southern Indians; in which answer he acquaints them of the Peace made between the English and Cherokees, & therefore advised them to pass thro' the back parts of that Government by Shamokin, and so by the Western foot of the Allegheny mountains; with all which the Indians were made acquainted at Onondaga.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost esteem

Sir

Your Excellency's &ᶜ

Wᵐ JOHNSON.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO SIR JEFFERY AMHERST.

JOHNSON HALL, *6th June, 1763.*

SIR: I have been honored with Your Excellency's letter of the 18th Ultimo, a few days before the receipt of which, Four Deputies from the Six Nations arrived here, charged with a Message and several belts of Wampum to the Governor of Connecticut, to desire he would cause his people to desist from the settlement on the *Susquehanna* River. They desired that some Mohawks should accompany them, as also that I should send a Deputy with them, to take care of them on the road, and prevent imposition. I accordingly sent Lieut Johnson, together with an Interpreter, in compliance with their request; They likewise informed me that a very considerable number of the Six Nations were on their way hither in order to have a Meeting with me.

The 21st—139 of the Sachims and principal Warriors of the several Nations arrived here; and the following day they opened the Conference with me, and after going through all their usual ceremonies, and delivering several belts, I returned their Compliments in the usual Manner, and they parted for that day.

They assembled again on the 26th, when forty-five Chiefs and Warriors of the Chenusios arrived. The Onondaga Speaker, in the name and on behalf of the whole Confederacy, then addressed me, repeating our first Agreements with the Indians, and the promises then made by both; all which, in the name of the whole, he renewed and strengthened; then requested I would join them in entreating the General to preserve the same Inviolable, as they intended to do on their parts, otherwise the chain might break. They next gave a Belt, to desire we might consider well the State of the Chain of Friendship, and not let it slip, least a Judgment should be inflicted on us, and after declaring that they were as much concerned as we could be at the late murder, and had taken every method since, for procuring us satisfaction, they said that they found it impossible to persuade the Nations to deviate from a custom which was their law; neither had the English ever pushed them so much on that head formerly: That several of their people had been from time to time killed by us, though they never sought for revenge after the English had condoled with them thereon in the usual manner; that therefore they could not help attributing our present urging to some other cause, namely, that of obtaining their lands, which the great Spirit assigned for their habitations, and which they would hardly imagine the King, after his several declarations, had any design upon; they therefore requested we would observe and follow our old Argument with them. They likewise repeated our promises

made at the commencement of the War, of removing the French, and returning them their land, that our hands should always be open to them, if they would take up the hatchet, and that as we were a wealthy and trading people, we should be able to supply them with goods at a very reasonable rate; all which they expected would have been performed, but they find themselves greatly mistaken, for instead of restoring lands we were erecting more Forts in many parts of the Country notwithstanding the French were *dead*, (as they called it,) and goods were still sold so dear that their warriors and women were very uneasy, and apt to beleive every bad report concerning the intentions of the English, and as they had declared theirs of keeping up the Friendship subsisting between us, they were induced to expect we would fulfil the promises we had made, as a means of convincing them of our honest Intentions.

They next repeated that at Oswego, which was formely the place of Trade for both far and near, the Indians formerly found better treatment than they do any where at present; that the distant Indians often came to them to enquire into the cause of it and the dearness of goods, and the great scarcity of Powder, and that they the Six Nations apprehend these foolish rash People might do something that was bad to the people who go so far into their Country, to prevent which they advised that no Trade should be carried on with them except at *Oswego*, *Niagara*, and *Detroit*, and that, on the most reasonable terms.

Then mentioned all the trouble they had, in endeavouring to procure us justice, and that they had at length persuaded the Senecas to come down, who now with a proper belt opened and cleared the road from *Chenussio*, hither, saying they would have their eyes fixed thereon for the future, and should be ready to attend whenever called upon. After this the Chief of the Senecas told me that he was, on behalf of his Nation to inform me that they were under such concern for the murder (which they considered as done to themselves,) that they would not rest 'till they had procured us a plaister for the wound, and therefore hoped we would rest satisfied with the assurance given in presence of all the Nations.

On the 27th I answered their Speech in every particular as far as I was able; argued upon the unreasonableness of their custom in not delivering up the offenders, by which only, they could give us satisfaction; at the same time telling them that I should acquaint your Excellency with the purport of the Meeting, and submit the several matters therein to your Consideration. This gave them much satisfaction, and they repeated their declarations of perserving peace and good order for the future. I am also of opinion that the manner in which we have insisted on their giving up the Murderers has sufficiently alarmed them to prevent their repeating such behavior, and I hope the Senecas will still fall on a method of making us proper satisfaction.

As to the Intelligence communicated in Your Excellency's letter of the 29th Ultimo, I cannot better account for the same than by acquainting you that an Indian just now arrived here from Canajoharie, despatched by the Sachems on the news having arrived by express from Oneida of the design of the French from Mississippi, who, 'tis said have ascended that river and invested some of our Posts to the Westward, and that they had sent a large belt of Wampum, with some English scalps, through the Southern Indians to the Six Nations to desire their Assistance, which has been refused by some of the Nations. Although the Indians here are positive that this intelligence is true. I am of opinion the French are neither able nor desirous as yet, to attempt a thing of that kind, but that the belt said to be sent from them must have been some time ago, and may have lain in the hands of some of the Nations through which it passed, for their consulting thereon, which often happens; and that some of the Nations desirous to associate with the French, may have sent the Belt to the Miamis, which was said to have come from the Senecas. However, I shall immediately send to Onondaga, and through the Nations, to cause strict enquiry to be made into the affair, as well as to speak to the Indians in such a manner as may check their designs (if they have any such,) in the Beginning. and hope to be enabled to give Your Excellency some further accounts thereof, within a short time—although I cannot avoid thinking from what I hear from all quarters, that many of the Nations will never be perfectly at rest, without we continue to dispense some favours amongst them, which they beleive the French, if once introduced again into the Country, would bountifully bestow on them as they formerly have done.

I have the honor, &c.

(sd) Wm JOHNSON.

His Excellency, Sir JEFFREY AMHERST.

SIR JEFFREY AMHERST TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

(Extract) NEW YORK, *23 July, 1763.*

"The present disturbed state of the back settlements, by the depradations committed by the Indians does not admit of putting the orders for the disbanding and reducing the troops, into immediate execution; and I have thought proper not to make the least alteration of the Troops in Canada, but to leave every thing there in its present state, till the Regiments arrive from the Havanna,

My last letter to your Lordship was of 27 June, by Major General Moncton, when I gave you an account of the Mischiefs committing by the Savages, who have continued to extend their ravages on the Frontiers, and have treacherously massacred an officer (Lieut. Gordon,) with a small Garrison at the Port of Venango, where they were received as friends. The blockhouse at Presqu' Ile, has also fallen into their hands, by their having persuaded the officer (Ensign Chistie) with a garrison of 24 men to Capitulate with them, and they murdered him and the greatest part of his garrison. Ensign Price who commanded at Le Boeuff with 13 men, was obliged to abandon his Post, and retreated to Fort Pitt, where he brought in 7 of his party and left six in the woods.

Although the accounts from Venango and Presqu' Ile, are not from Absolute Authority, yet there is too much reason to believe they are true; and it is equally amazing that one officer should permit such a number of Indians to come in upon him as friends, and put himself in their power; and that another should be so infatuated to capitulate with them, or have the least Confidence in their promises or Mercy. These three small Posts are between Fort Pitt and Lake Erie, The Savages have absurdly made a show of attacking Fort Pitt, and some of the Posts below, but have not made any impression on the smallest post on that communication.

Your Lordship will see by the papers I do myself the honor to enclose to you, all that has passed regarding the Indian affairs, and that it appears the Six Nations (Senecas excepted) will remain quiet.

The Province of Pennsylvania has, on this Occasion, Empowered the Governor to raise Seven Hundred Men, but it is only with a view of getting in their Harvest, which entirely frustrates the Public good that might be expected from such a number actually raised; whereas, these in effect are only Farmers and reapers, which the Assembly mean by their vote to arm to defend their own fields.

* * * * * * * * * *

I have the honour, &c—
(signed) JEFFREY AMHERST.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO SIR JEFFREY AMHERST.

JOHNSON HALL, *July 8. 1763.*

SIR: I have been honored with your Excellency's letter of the 26th Ult° together with the several enclosures therewith transmitted, and I shall use every means within my power, at the meeting which I mentioned in my last was to take the place shortly at the German-

Flatts, to engage some Indians to assist His Majesty's Troops, or to act by themselves against the Enemy, as at that place I shall have an opportunity not only of sounding their sentiments in general, but also of proposing it to the several nations, and flatter myself my endeavors may not prove ineffectual, although it is a request of such a nature as cannot be agreeable to them in general.

Yesterday I received an account from the Mohawks who were all at my house, that the Oneidas had sent to acquant them at Conajoharie, that the Garrison at *Venango* has been cut off, and that some French partizans sent from the Governor of New Orleans have been very busy amongst the Western Indians for some time past, but that many of those Indians and also some of the Delawares and their neighbors were apprehensive of the Six Nations joining against them, and therefore did not express much Alacrity to assist the rest. These Frenchmen have been very lately amongst them, and I am certain, however extraordinary it may appear, that the French have been principally instrumental in creating the present disturbances; I expect hourly the arrival of the *Oneidas* here, when I shall be more particularly informed on that head.

As the Indians will at the intended meeting, expect your Excellencies answer with regard to the several points concerning the posts, of Trade, &ca, mentioned in my letter of the 6th Ultimo, I must request to be favored therewith, that I may be enabled to satisfy them therein. I should likewise be glad to have it in my power at the same time to deliver them something of your Sentiments and Resolutions on the present disturbances, as well as what you would in general, desire from them, together with the Encouragement you think proper to Offer. The treating them with the appearance of Confidence will be considered as a great Compliment, and prove a means not only of removing many groundless Suspicions, but of disposing them the better to relish the proposals which I purpose to make them.

I have wrote to Captain Claus to use all his endeavors amongst the Indians in Canada to engage some in our assistance, and hope to be able after my return from the German Flatts, to inform your Excellency of the success of that meeting.

I cannot conclude without representing to your Excellency the great panic and uneasiness into which the inhabitants of these parts are cast, which I have endeavored to remove by every method in my power, to prevent their Abandoning their Settlements, from their apprehensions of the Indians. As they in general Confide much in my residence, they are hitherto prevented from taking that hasty measure; but should I be obliged to retire (which I hope will not be the case,) not only my own tenants, *who are upwards of 120 families*, but all the rest would immediately follow the Example, which I am

determined against doing 'till the last Extremity, as I know it would prove of general bad consequence.

I have the honor, &c—

(signed) Wm JOHNSON.

His Excellency Sir JEFFREY AMHERST.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO SIR JEFFREY AMHERST.

JOHNSON HALL, *July 11. 1763.*

SIR: Since my last, a number of the Oneidas arrived here, and acquainted me with the manner in which *Venango* had been surprised, which was effected by the Indians entering the Fort as friends, after which they put the garrison to the sword.

This Morning *Thomas*, a *Canajoharie* Chief, who was one of the Messengers I sent with the Message, and to invite the Six Nations to meet me at the German Flatts, arrived express, and after informing me that all the Chiefs of each Nation, (except the *Senecas* who refused to attend,) were on their way to the place appointed, he told me that 2 Onondagas who were sent about 20 days ago by their Sachems, towards the Ohio, to enquire into the cause of the present troubles, had returned and confirmed the account of the taking of *Venango*, which was done by a party of *Chenussios* residing in the neighborhood thereof, and that after putting the Garrison to the Sword, they made the Officer write the reasons which induced them to act as they had done; which were—First, the scarcity and dearness of Powder for these two years past, being obliged to pay 2 *Deerskins* for a gill of powder, and so in proportion, for other articles, and that when they complained they were ill treated and never redressed. Secondly that the many posts which the English kept possession of induced them to believe they intended to possess all their Country, for all which they were determined to destroy them. After writing this, *they put the Officer to death*, and sent the paper with a party of Warriors then going towards Fort Pitt, in order to do mischief on the Communication, where they proposed to drop it, that it might be found by the English.

The Mohawk Express further informed me that the *Onondagas* had, in the presence of all the nations assembled, declared their Resolutions of living and dying by the English, let the Consequence be what it would, and had absolutely rejected every proposal made to them by the *Senecas*, &ca. That they had received the Account that the *Twightwees*, *Ottawas*, *Hurons*, *Delawares*, &ca, had destroyed Six forts, of which he mentioned the following Viz^{t} *Detroit*,

Michilimackinac, *Miamis Sandusky*, and *Venango:* He added that at the meeting at which he was present at Onondaga, the Senecas spoke with three Belts of Wampum to the rest of the Confederacy, acquainting them that they had given a loose to their Warriors against the English, and desired they would do the same, but that their request was totally rejected by the Onondagas and the Rest, on receiving my Message first; and that Nation in particular had sent a very large belt to the Senecas, desiring them immediately to desist, although it is my opinion it will have but little effect on them.

Just now I am favored with your Excellency's letter of the 7th instant, by Lieut Montressor, with the several enclosures, and am really surprised at the loss of *Presqu Ile*, as I look on it to be a work very Capable of making a defence against any attack with small arms, and with a small loss; I therefore presume the scarcity of ammunition or provisions must have occasioned its capitulating.

I am hopeful that the Detroit is still safe, Notwithstanding the report to the Contrary. I however expect to hear something further at the Conference at the German Flatts, for which place I shall set out to morrow morning, and on my return shall make your Excellency acquainted with the Success which I may meet with, as I shall use every Endeavour within my power to render those people who are still our friends, of some use to His Majesty's Service.

I have the honor, &c,

(signed) Wm JOHNSON.

His Excellency Sir JEFFREY AMHERST.

P. S. The Mohawk has also informed me that the *Chenussios* six days ago sent parties to *Irondequat* & Sodons to way lay any boats going to or from Niagara, of which I have given Notice to Major Duncan.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO SIR JEFFREY AMHERST.

JOHNSON HALL, *July 30, 1763.*

SIR: Since I had the honor of writing to your Excellency on the 24th I have received letters from the Detroit and Niagara, by one Van Eps, a Schenectady trader, who was taken on Lake Erie at the Commencement of Hostilities, and together with Lieut McDougall made his escape from the Ottawaes into Detroit, during the investment of that place. He is an intelligent person, and gave me many particulars, but as he informs me that Major Gladwin has wrote your Excellency fully on every subject, I therefore presume you are acquainted therewith. From his knowledge of the Ottawa lan-

guage, he had an opportunity during his confinement at a Frenchman's house near Detroit, (where the Indians and French in their interest used to hold their conferences,) to hear the various arguments made use of by the latter to encourage the rest, by assuring them that a French fleet and Army were then at Quebec, and an army marching to their assistance from the Mississippi and Illinois. Several of these Frenchmen have since gone to that place, perhaps to avoid punishment, on finding their attempts on the Detroit ineffectual, and the Indians, some of whom begin now to see their Errors, would, I believe for the most part, stop their designs, which appears the more probable from their delivering up several of the English, whom they made Prisoners.

The alarm of which I informed your Excellency in my last, is in a great measure blown over for the present; however I have several Indian scouts out towards the frontiers, but from the repeated cautions and advice I have received, that many of the distant nations are determined to cut me off, I have begun to surround my house at this place with a good stockade, well flanked, for the defence of which I could wish I had a small party of men. As I have already represented to your Excellency that, my removal would infallibly occasion that of all the Inhabitants in this quarter, I should choose to be enabled to stand and keep my ground. If therefore your Excellency judges it necessary, (as regular troops are at present not conveniently to be had,) I would raise a few men for that purpose, provided I knew what pay would be allowed them.

The Mohawks, (like true friends) came a few days ago in a body to my house on this occasion, and declared that should matters go to extremities, they would to a man join me against any Nation which might attempt to put their threats into execution. I am in great want of some Ammunition to supply scouting parties &c, with, and wish your Excellency would please to order me a couple of barrels of powder &c, for that purpose. It is so scarce an article in the Country, that even the Militia cannot procure the quantity they are ordered to have.

I have the honour to be, &c—

(signed) W^m^ JOHNSON.

His Excellency Sir JEFFREY AMHERST.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO JEFFERY AMHERST.

JOHNSON HALL, *August 4^th^ 1763.*

SIR: I have been honored with your Excellency's letter of the 28^th^ Ult^o^ and am very happy in finding that the steps I have taken have merited your approbation.

The Stockbridge Indians (from their implacable hatred to the rest, particularly to some of the Nations) I imagined might have been made serviceable, when with good officers and along with other corps; however as Your Excellency does not think proper to employ them I shall return them thanks for their offers and acquaint them that it is not apprehended there will be any necessity at present for their assistance. But from what I know of Indians in general, I am only apprehensive that the Canadian Indians and many others will always be desirous to engage either on the one side or the other, and cannot easily be persuaded to remain quiet when the rest are concerned.

I most heartily wish Your Excellency may receive good accounts from above, and success in your endeavours to procure a reinforcement in the manner you have mentioned, as the same will be very necessary at this juncture, more especially so as the inhabitants are universally alarmed at the repeated reports of the enemys designs.

If your Excellency's leasure will permit, I shall be glad to be honored with your answer concerning the several articles mentioned in mine of the 24th and 30th Ult°. and I beg leave to assure you, that every effort which my power and situation can enable me to make, shall be made use of for the protection of the country and the good of His Majesty's service. But as this is time of harvest in these parts I am much afraid that any attempts of the enemy will be but too successfull, unless supported with troops disengaged from any such care.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, Sir
Your Excellency's &c°

Wm JOHNSON

His Excellency Sir JEFFERY AMHERST

LORDS OF TRADE TO SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

WHITEHALL *Aug. 5. 1763.*

Sir Wm Johnson Bart Agent for Indian Affairs in the Northern District of America.

SIR: His Majesty having been pleased upon our report to him of the arrangements necessary to be taken in consequence of the Cessions made to his Majesty in America by the late Definitive Treaty of Peace, to direct that the Agents for Indian Affairs should correspond with Us in all matters regarding their departments, and should transmit all such informations as we should require from them, we take this opportunity of acquainting you with His Maj-

esty's commands, not doubting of a regular & exact continuance on your part of that correspondance with this Board which has already produced so much usefull information and intelligence of the true state of Indian Affairs.

A regular and constant correspondence upon these points, at all times usefull and important, is now become essentially necessary from the great number of hitherto unknown tribes and nations, which are now under His Majesty's immediate protection, and the necessity there is of speedily falling upon some method of regulating the Indian commerce & policy, upon some more general and better established system than has hitherto taken place.

It is with a view to this object that we have proposed to His Majesty that a proclamation should be issued declaratory of His Majesty's final determination to permit no grants of lands nor any settlement to be made within certain fixed bonds under pretence of purchase or any pretext whatever, leaving all the territory within these bounds free for the hunting grounds of the Indian Nations, and for the free trade of all his subjects.

In what manner this free trade is to be regulated, and by what general plan the interests and politics of the Indians are to be form'd and directed, will in a great measure depend upon such opinions and proposals as we shall receive from you and His Majesty's Agent for the Southern district, upon this subject: and therefore we desire you will apply your utmost thought and attention to this important object, and that you will as soon as possible transmit to us a very full and particular report of the present actual state of Indian Affairs within your department, describing with as much accurancy as possible the several Nations or Tribes of Indians, their different interests claims & dispositions, and stating the true causes of their present apparent discontents, with your opinion by what means those causes may be removed and the public tranquillity restored, and what will, in your judgement, be a proper plan for the future management and direction of these important interests, to the satisfaction of the Indians, the benefit of free trade, and the security and interests of His Majesty's dominions. We are &c

ORWELL
BAMBER GASCOYNE
SHELBURNE
ED. ELIOT
GEO: RICE

SIR JEFFERY AMHURST TO SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

NEW YORK *27 August 1763.*

SIR: I am this moment favored with your letter of the 20th instant, and am to thank you for your opinion in regard to the most prudent manner of punishing the Senecas. Our not being able to take immediate revenge of that ungratefull tribe, shall not screen them from our just wrath, for I am firmly determined to make every Nation that has been engaged in the present insurrection, severely feel the punishment due to such treacherous and unprovoked barbarities as have been committed by them on the unfortunate persons who have fallen into their hands. I cannot but approve of your meeting the Six Nations at their intended Conference at the German Flatts. That meeting will be over before this can reach you, so that I need not give you any hints relative to your conduct on that occasion. I shall only say, that it behove the whole race of Indians to beware (for I fear the best of them have in some measure been privy to and concerned in the late mischief) of carrying matters much farther against the English, or daring to form conspiracys, as the consequence will most certainly occasion measures to be taken that in the end will put a most effectuall stop to their *very being.*

I have nothing new from the Detroit since Captain Dalyell left Presqu' Isle; but yesterday I had the satisfaction to receive letters from Colonel Bouquet acquainting me of his arrival at Fort Pitt on the 10th instant; having on the 5th and 6th been attacked by a very large body of Indians near Bushy Run, engaged them from noon to night, the first day, our men keeping their ground and always driving off the Savages; but came back at night to cover the provisions and the wounded. The next day the Indians surrounded our little army and advanced to the attack very furiously, but Colonel Bouquet had made such a disposition to receive them, and the behavior of the troops was so firm and resolute, that the Savages gave way, had not the courage to support their attempt, and were pursued for a considerable distance with great slaughter. Captain Basset, who brought me Col: Bouquet's dispatches, and was present in both actions, assures me that there were at least 50 or 60 Indians slain and a great many wounded in the pursuit. He likewise says that the three principal persons who began the mischief on that side by murdering Capt. Clapham &c viz' Kikyuscung and the Wolf were killed, and Butler met with the same fate at Fort Pitt: which if true appears to be a very providential piece of justice.

This service has not been affected without loss on our side, altho' I must say Colonel Bouquet with his little army, considering

the large convoy he had made his care, has done every thing I could have hoped for, on the Indians forming so large a body to oppose him. Capt. L. Graham and Lieut. M^{c}Intosh of the 42^{d} with a Lieut. of the Rangers, killed; Captain Graham and Lieut. Duncan Campbell of the 42^{d}, Lieut. Dow of the 60th, Lieut. Donald Campbell of the 79th and Volunteer Peebles wounded. Our loss, including officers, is 50 men killed and 60 wounded.

Some random shots were fired on the army between Bushy Run and Fort Pitt; but this seasonable check I believe will put an effectual stop to any further mischief being done on that communication; particularly as Colonel Stephen with 4 or 500 men of the Virginia Militia is advanced as far as Forts Cumberland and Bedford, with a view not only of covering the frontiers, but of acting offensively against the Savages. This publick spirited Colony has also sent a body of the like number of men under the command of Colonel Lewis for the defence and protection of their South West frontiers. What a contrast this makes between the conduct of the Pennsylvanians and Virginians, highly to the honor of the latter, but places the former in the most despicable light imaginable.

I enclose you a Copy of what passed between Captain Ecuyer and the very villains who were afterwards engaged in the action against Colonel's Bouquet's Detachment. I approve most fully of Captain Ecuyer's answer to them; but I should have been better pleased had he not treated with them when they came to the Fort soon after the first mischief happened, by giving them not only provisions, but other tokens of friendship, which entitled them to come again to the Fort; altho' their conduct ever since, and the whole tenor of their speech, plainly prove that their designs were bad; and I must own I should not have blamed him had he put every one of those who were in his power to death.

I am with great regard,

Sir &^{c}

Sir William Johnson Bar^{t} JEFF: AMHERST.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO SIR JEFFREY AMHERST.

Johnson Hall, *14 September 1763.*

Sir: I have had the honour of your Excellency's letter of the 27th Ultimo, together with a Copy of the proceedings between Captain Ecuyer and the Indians who engaged Colonel Bouquet, whose success and arrival at Fort Pitt gives me infinite Satisfaction.

I enclose your Excellency part of my proceedings with the Six

Nations at this place where they have now been for several days, to the amount of the 326, and I hourly expect above 200 more from the Susquehanna River, whose business I am not yet acquainted with.

Your Excellency will observe by my proceedings, that the rest of the Nations were accompanied by six Senecas, belonging to the Castles on this side of *Chenussio*, who, I cannot learn have as yet acted against us; the meeting lately held by the rest of the nations with that People whom they have brought to a sense of the ill behavior of the rest, and you will also observe that the *Seneca* Villages called *Kanadesseg'y* and *Canadasaggo*, are said to be in our interest, for which reason the Indians appear very desirous that they might be continued amongst the number of our friends, as they have not committed hostilities, and that they had given assurances to the Indians of these Villages that they would endeavour to make their peace with the English, which prevented them from acting against us: On this I spoke to them very fully, but shall expect your Excellency's opinion and sentiments before I can give them a definite answer. The declarations and behavior of the rest is very agreeable to me, and I hope may prove so to your Excellency, but that of the *Coghnawageys* deserves being particularly noticed, and has had great weight at this meeting. From the private conferences I have had with that people, as also from the letters which they have brought me from Canada I plainly find they have a great inclination to engage against our Enemies and that many of them only wait our requisition to fall upon them or join our troops. I was therefore unwilling to check a proceeding, which from the power and warlike turn of these people might prove of infinite advantage to us, and have accordingly given them the war belt, as your Excellency will see in my proceedings as also, at the request of some Chiefs, sent warrants, (but not subject to pay,) for two Chief Warriors in Canada, as I had done during the time which I was used to send out Parties—all which, I hope, may prove agreeable to your Excellency.

The occasion of the arrival of the *Coghnawageys*, was principally to lay before me a complaint concerning a tract of land Six Miles in length, and one and a half in breadth, which the Jesuits claim, by virtue of a Patent as they say, from Lewis XIV. which tract now in question adjoins to that concerning which Governor Gage lately passed sentence in their favour, but their being some circumstances relative to this Patent which prevents the Governor from deciding the matter, the Indians request I may lay their demand before His Majesty; and I am of opinion the affair may be made very easy to them, now that the society is broke in France, and can consequently hold no lands as a body—their Grant becoming void. I told them I should immediately comply with their request, as I

would willingly preserve them in the good disposition they are in, well knowing the unanimity of the several nations in Canada renders them a respectable people, and their behavior, together with that of the *Ottawaes* near *Michilimackinac*, and the *Sakis*, &c., if rewarded with some favours from us, will I beleive, bind them to us, and make them of great use against a people whose numbers and situation render it extremely difficult for us alone to reduce them to that state which only can secure a lasting Peace, since I am convinced they will never want for assistance from the French to harrass and keep our Frontiers in continual alarms, be their situation ever so remote, or their prospect of advantage ever so inconsiderable; and I am apprehensive that our greatest care and precaution will scarcely be sufficient to prevent the French from supplying the Indians our Enemies with ammunition, by the way of the *Mississippi*, as I well know that distance is little regarded by Indians, especially where they have so many fine rivers and communications by which they can be supplied; and which will enable the French to engross a great part of the trade. Our friendly Indians will naturally expect a continuance of trade; but least others might partake thereof, and thereby be the better enabled to continue their hostilities, I believe your Excellency will be of opinion that the same for the present should be carried on at a very few places, and those under immediate inspection, where our Enemies will not venture on a trading footing, as at Fort Stanwix on this Communication, and not further.

The Trade from Canada up the *Ottawawa* River appears to me from all accounts to be of a dangerous nature, many villanies having been carried on through that channel; and our friendly Indians in and about Canada can be sufficiently supplied at Montreal. And as many of our Enemies live in the neighborhood of Fort Pitt, I apprehend it will be advisable to discontinue the trade in that Quarter.

The loss of one of the Vessels on Lake Erie is very unlucky at this juncture, and I am very apprehensive of the fate of the other the ensuing winter; a small party having it in their power to burn her when the Frost sets in, without the Utmost precaution.

Since writing the foregoing, 246 Indians from *Susquehana* and its branches as low down as *Owegy* are arrived here. They are principally come to assure me of their Resolutions to remain our Friends and that they have taken the utmost pains to prevent their people from joining the Enemy, which has occasioned all the ill disposed to leave that quarter. They likewise express great satisfaction at hearing the good Resolutions of the 5. Nations.

I had not closed my letter till this day, being the 16th instant, when I have been honored with your Excellency's of the 9th and 10th instant, in the former of which you was pleased to transmit the paragraph of

Lord Egremont's letter relative to my department, and pointing out a particular sum of Money not to be exceeded, to which I shall pay due regard, so far as is in any wise consistent with the service and the present state of Affairs—but I am of opinion that as matters have gone a much greater length than was perhaps expected in England when His Lordship wrote, His Majesty will not probably at present choose to limit the Expense, but rather leave it to your Excellency's discretion, and that of those whom he has appointed to that department, who, I flatter myself he will consider as proper judges thereof, as I can sufficiently make it appear that it is with the utmost reluctance I obey the dictates of necessity by incurring any considerable expenses on account of the Indians, and which my desire of lessening the public expenses, and my love of ease and quiet would induce me to avoid if possible, None but those who have experienced it, can be truly sensible of the troubles which must be undergone at this time, with the Indians; if they did they would readily believe that these troubles would certainly be avoided; but that the urgency of affairs make it the duty of every servant of the Crown to do all that is necessary for His Majesty's service, that it may not be hereafter suggested we owe any future troubles to a mistaken Enemy. And I believe your Excellency is of opinion that I shall never run into any expense but what the good of His Majesty's service, and the safety and welfare of the Public shall render indispensably necessary. I am hopeful that in a short time we may hear of some success in the neighborhood of the Detroit, and I believe your Excellency's judicious arrangement of the troops will secure that important post to us during the Winter, although I apprehend the 42^{d} Regiment will hardly arrive there before that time.

Agreeable to your Excellency's favour of the 10th instant, I shall apply to L^{t} Col. Campbell for a Sergeant and 12 Men, who shall be kept strictly to their duty, and detained no longer than occasion requires.

The Attempts against the *Shawanese* is certainly very necessary, and I heartily wish Colonel Stephen Success in his Expedition: His chief danger will be in his retreat up the River; besides I am informed that the Shawanese have moved back from the Ohio this good while past, and that one Village is established about 90 Miles up the Scioto River, where numbers of the Delawares and others have lately joined them.

I flatter myself the conduct of the Canadian Indians will leave no room to doubt of their Sincerity. There are many of them now ready to join our troops if required and they have formerly been very steadfast to the part on which they were engaged, which they assure me they will evince in their Attachment to us.

I am at a loss to consider how those *Ottawaes* and friendly Indians in the neighborhood of *La Bay*, *Michilimackinac*, &ca can be

conveniently supplied with trade during the continuation of the present hostilities, without which they certainly will be greatly disgusted, and can see no other method but by their Coming for goods to Montreal; The Indians likewise about the *Illinois*, who have not, as yet, intermeddled in the present troubles, will expect a trade whenever we shall be able to take possession of that Country, which is of great importance to us, as I could venture to affirm that the French in that quarter have been considerably instrumental in setting the present hostilities on foot, with the rest, and I much fear they will occasion us great difficulty in getting there by means of the Indians.

As the *Senecas* came hither under the protection of the rest, by whom I know the same was well meant, I was under a necessity of stifling my resentment, for the present; and I thought it best to treat them as a people who owed their protection entirely to the other Nations.

The Indians have only in general spoke of the outposts as in part the Cause of the defection of the *Senecas* &c, and I heartily wish they may be established in such a manner as shall prevent their falling into the Enemies hands, should they hereafter commence hostilities.

M^r^ Croghan, who will have the honor to deliver your Excellency my letter, arrived here a few days ago, in order to lay before me the necessity he is under of going to England, on his private affairs, for which he had before solicited my permission; and now repeated his desire of going as soon as possible. I have therefore referred him to your Excellency for an answer to his request.

I have the honor to be, &c

WM JOHNSON.

His Excellency Sir JEFFREY AMHERST

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

JOHNSON HALL *Sept^r^ 25. 1763.*

MY LORDS: Since I had the honour of writing to your Lord^pps^ the first of July last, I met the Indians at the German Flatts, as I mentioned in my letter, I should then shortly do.

At that conference all the Nations attended except the *Senecas*, who together with some *Ottawas* and others took *Prisque-Ile* la *Bœuf* and *Venango* about that time, the rest of the Indians renewed the Covenant, and expressed themselves in the most friendly manner, and as a proof of their inclination for peace, agreed to send the

Chief Men of each Nation Deputys to bring the Senécas to reason, which was done accordingly, and about the beginning of this month, the Five Nations arrived here to the amount of 320 in order to acquaint me with the result of their negociations, in which they informed me that they had success, having brought to friendship and peace the two first Seneca Castles, as a proof of which they were accompanied by 6 Seneca Indians.—At the same time 270 Indians of several Tribes living along the Banks of the Susquahana and its Branches arrived here, to renew the Covenant Chain, and acquaint me, that all the Indians inhabiting that quarter, so far down as *Owegy* were our Friends, & determined to remain so.

Deputys from *Coghnawagey* in *Canada* were also present at the meeting and expressed themselves in a most friendly manner to wards the English in a spirited speech to the rest, and after intimating to me their desire of being concerned in punishing our Ene mies, I gave them the War Hatchet according to custom, which they received with great pleasure, and I do assure your Lord^{pps} that I have great reason to expect the Indians in Canada who consist of eight Confederate Nations will give us good proof of their inclination towards Us, ever since we received them into our alliance or the reduction of Canada—and from the private conference ettc, which I have had with the rest, I flatter myself that not only the majority of the Five Nations, but many others will be readily induced to act offensively against our Enemies, provided they meet with proper encouragement, and a due Regard be had to their respective Services, which I am well convinced, will be far from being inconsiderable, if they engage heartily in the cause, of which I can have no doubt from the many particular offers which have been made me, which I shall accept of, so soon as I am properly authorized so to do, as a few Indians, will do more mischief and create more uneasiness amongst our Enemies than many hundred of our own people can ever do; but I greatly fear that Indians have been in General considered as too inconsiderable for some time past, and I most heartily wish we may have no occasion to attribute any future hostilities to such away of thinking, which must produce neglect and disregard on our sides, and discontent and Revenge on theirs, the consequence of which will be, a recommencement of hostilities.—I have always offered my sentiments with a freedom and candour becoming a faithful servant of the Crown, and as such I flatter myself they will always meet with your Lord^{pps} indulgence.—At the expence of my health, Ease and neglect of my private fortune I have during 25 years experience acquired some knowledge of the power and abilities of the Indians, and the principles on which they Act; and I have the satisfaction of finding that my sentiments have generally met with a favourable reception from your Lord^{pps}.

This great encouragement emboldens me to offer some further re-

marks, without which I could not acquit myself in my own opinion as a faithful servant to His Majty and a very obliged friend to your Lordpps, whose office entitled you to my sentiments, and whose experience enables you to make such an use thereof as your wisdom shall suggest.

If we had no occasion for frontier posts, back settlements and an Indian trade, we might rest tolerably secure in our present possessions, without being at any expence in cultivating the Friendship and affection of the Indians; but as these things are essential to the prosperity of the Provinces, and the increase of his Majesty's Revenue, we must, I humbly apprehend, endeavour to possess them [by] such means, as shall be most conducive to the welfare of the one, and the extention of the other. Now as the Indians, who possess these Countries, are by numbers, considerable, by inclination Warlike, and by disposition Covetuous, (which last has been encreased from the Custom in which the French have bred them) I find on all hands; that they will never be content, without possessing the frontiers, unless we settle limits with them, and make it worth their while, and without which, should they make peace to morrow, they would break the same the first opportunity. Your Lordpps well know that the several out-posts, must consist of but few Men and that they are environed with numbers of Savages at too great a distance to receive succours from Us. as also the great expence, and difficultys attending their being supplied with provisions Ammunition and other necessaries, and which can not even be effected if the Indians are our Enemies, but by keeping a very large Regular Force at a monstrous expence to the Nation, and that without being neccessitated to have recourse to their ancient weapons, the Indians will never fail of supplys from the French, who will thereby, be enabled to engross a great part of the fur trade, as there are so many fine communications to the Missisipi, the distance of which will never be regarded by Indians.—These Indians conscious of their own strength and scituation, will, unless kept in the best temper by us, be easily persuaded to commit depredations on the Traders, whose goods are a temptation to the Savages; thus once embarked, they will not stop till they have spread havock, over all our frontiers, an instance of which is now before your Lordpps in their having taken and destroyed no less than eight Forts, murdered great part of the Garrisons, killed great numbers of Her Majty's subjects on the Frontiers, and destroyed their settlements, and that in about the compass of a month.—Many people in America, have been too apt to despise the Indian strength, till fatal necessity has convinced them of their abilities, thus by entertaining a contempt for them merely, becaused they are not civilized. and that they have never experienced what a few Indians (engaged in what they look upon,

their own cause) are able to accomplish, they neglect the necessary precautions to be taken against the most contemptable people.

The Indians, I do assure your Lord^pps are no wise inferior to us in sagacity and stratagem, qualities most essentially necessary in this Country; their ideas of courage are different from ours, and they are only deficient in that courage which the nature and scituation of their country renders less necessary amongst them, as they attack by surprise, and on failure of success (of which they never neglect taking advantage) are able to repeat their attacks, at the next advantagious place they meet with, killing many of our people in each encounter, with a very small loss on their side, this, the most partial accounts, which are generally made of our actions with them will sufficiently evince.—During the times in which the French possessed garrisons in their several countrys, many of their Traders were plundered & killed, but the expence which the French were at to conciliate the affections of the Savages, alone prevented any overt Act.—I know, that many mistakes arise here from erroneous accounts formerly made of Indians; they have been represented as calling themselves subjects, altho, the very word would have startled them, had it been ever pronounced by any Interpreter; they desire to be considered as Allies and Friends, and such we may make them at a reasonable expence, and thereby occupy our outposts, and carry on a Trade in safety, until in a few years we shall become so formidable throughout the country, as to be able to protect ourselves, and abate of that charge; but until such measures be adopted, I am well convinced, there can be no reliance on a peace with them, and that as interest is the grand tye which will bind them to us, so their desire of plunder, will induce them to commit hostilities whenever we neglect them.

My Lords, I consider it as a duty indispensable on me to make you this faithful representation of Indian Affairs, which I could represent still clearer, but that in so doing, I should much exceed the bounds of a letter; what I have humbly offered at this time, as well as in my former letters, will, I hope, be considered by Your Lord^p. as the faithfull report of a servant of the Crown, who has the honour of his Majesty, and the welfare of America strongly at heart, and that as from the nature of my department, I have no right to conceal my sentiments on this subject; Your Lord^pps will therefore pardon the plainness and freedom with which they are offered.

There are still some Nations who are averse to hostilities, and, the behaviours of the *Sakis* and of the Ottowaes of *Arbre Croche* near Michilimacinac, who, tho' in the midst of our Enemies, not only rescued and protected several of our officers, with their garrisons, but brought them down under a large escort, together with a considerable quantity of Traders goods to montreal, will, undoubtedly appear praiseworthy to your Lord^pps, and entitle them to our

thanks and a public reward, these people, with others are to come down the Country in the spring and I am of opinion, a good use may be made of them against our Enemies, in order to bring them to punishment if properly encouraged.—Notwithstanding the present pacific disposition of the Five Nations, the Indians in Canada, and many others, yet they are much discontented, particularly the former on account of Land disputes and encroachments, wherein I am sorry to say, the Mohawks have chiefly suffered by the unconscionable grant called *Kayadarosseras* alias Queensborough of above half a million of acres, which I several times laid before your Lord^{pps} the Claim of the Corporation of Albany on their dwelling place at Fort Hunter, and also, that of Mess^{rs} Livingston and others on their planting grounds at Canajohare or the upper Mohawk Castle, in none of which cases the common Law can give them redress; these and many other affairs, have occasioned the Five Nations to express themselves desirous of sending Deputys to lay their complaints before His Majesty. I shall in my next give your Lord^{pps} a more full account of the particulars, of their respective complaints, and in the mean time I must beg leave to request the honour of your Lord^{pps} sentiments and Instructions on any occurring subjects, for my better Govern^{t}, that my measures may be entirely correspondent with your Lord^{pps} intentions, which has always been the sole aim of my proceedings.

I am with the most profound respect
My Lords,
Your Lord^{pps} most obedient
and most humble servant.
W^{m} JOHNSON.

P. S. This moment I have received an express, informing me that an Officer and 24 Men, who were escorting several waggons and Ox Teams over the carrying place at Niagra, had been attacked and entirely defeated, together with two Companys of Coll: Willmot's Reg^{t} who marched to sustain them. Our loss on this occasion consists of Lieut^{ts} Campbell, Frazier and Rosco of the Regulars, Capt^{s} Johnson and Lieut^{t} Deayton of the Provincials, and 60 privates killed, with about 8 or nine wounded; the Enemy who are supposed to be Senecas of *Chenussio*, scalped all the dead, took all their cloaths, arms and amunition, and threw several of their bodies down a precipice. I am greatly apprehensive of the fate of the Detroit, they being in much want I fear of that Garrison, and as all our Cattle ettc which were at Niagara are either killed or taken, it will be impossible to get any necessaries transported over the carrying place for the remainder of this season. I shall immediately send Belts to all the friendly nations, and use every effectual measure for preventing the destruction of our settlements from the Enemy

Indians, who are but too much encouraged from their repeated successes.—

W. J.

SIR JEFFERY AMHERST TO SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

NEW YORK, *30 September 1763.*

To Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON, Bar[t]

Sir, I am to acknowledge the favour of Your letter of the 14[th] & 16[th] instant, enclosing Extracts of your Proceedings with the Indians at the late conference, which I have carefully penned, and am now to give you my opinion thereon.

I must always submit to your better judgment with regard to the treatment of Indians, but the behavior of the Senecas has been so glaringly bad, that I own I should have been for keeping any of that nation at a distance, and showing them that we considered them as infamous scoundrels whom we despised—However, from what you mention of the two Castles, *Kanadaseegy*, and *Canadaraggo* and the Five friendly tribes interceding for them, I am glad to treat them as friends; and I have wrote to Major Gladwin and the Commanding officer at Niagara, in any offensive operations that may be carried on against the Senecas, not to molest the Indians of those Castles; but I have at the same time cautioned those officers not to take any notice of this to the Indians in general, lest the Guilty may immediately take shelter there, and by that means evade the punishment they so justly deserve, and which, I trust, they will meet with.

The Delarations and behavior of the Canada Indians give me great satisfaction, and your answers to them have my thorough approbation. But I can by no means think of employing them upon this Occasion: The retaining them in our interest is very necessary: Their assistance is a rather dangerous expedient, and by perseverance and proper measures, I have no doubt but we shall by our own Strength which is the most natural one, reduce the savages who have commenced hostilities to such a low ebb, as will effectually deter them from attempting to disturb us hereafter. The lateness of the Season, the unfortunate death of Captain Dalyell and some other circumstances which we could not prevent may perhaps put it out of power of settling matters to our Satisfaction before the winter sets in; but the punishment of the Savages, and the Security of the Country shall not be the less certain, for I am determined to go through with it in such a manner that the whole race of Indians who have any Connection with the English may see the folly and

madness, as well as the ingratitude of setting themselves in opposition to a people from whom they have received so many benefits, and whose power is such as can in a very short time, make the Savages feel to the utmost extremity of want, and render their pretended importance of very little effect; for I really cannot help thinking that they owe much of that assumed dignity and consequence which they put on, to our treatment of them.

I am fully convinced of your Exerting your utmost endeavors for the good of the service, and have no doubt but you will pay the strictest regard to the Economy recommended by the Earl of Egremont, in the letter of which I transmitted to you an Extract. The late defection of so many tribes, in my opinion ought to lessen the Expenses in your departments; The measures they have occasioned to be taken for reducing them will create a very heavy and unavoidable expense to the Crown. Their punishment must be previous to treating with them, and when that shall happen, all they can expect is forgiveness, and a Trade, under proper regulations, opened to them. But as to *presents*, it would certainly be the highest presumption in them to expect any. Justice they shall have, but no more; for they can never be considered by us as a people to whom we owe *rewards;* and it would be madness, to the highest degree, ever to bestow favors on a race who have so treacherously, and without any provocation on our side, attacked our Posts, and butchered our Garrisons. Presents should be given only to those who remain our firm friends.

I agree entirely with you that Fort Stanwix is high enough, at present, to have any trade with the Indians; for the friendly tribes may very well supply themselves there, with what is absolutely necessary; and I would have them receive no more.

The clamour raised against the French, is, I am persuaded, greatly owing to a jealousy of the Traders; However, should it appear that any of the French at the Detroit have been tampering with the Savages, Major Gladwin has full power from me to send them down to Montreal, or punish them otherwise as the nature of their crime may deserve.

When the disturbances are quelled, and every thing settled again on a proper footing, the *Ottawas* and Indians inhabiting near *Michilimackinac & La Baye* may be supplied from Montreal; but I trust the precautions I have taken will put it out of their power of getting any at present, for they would most certainly make a bad use of it; and I can never think that one part of a nation bringing in a few of our people when the others are committing hostilities attended with the most shocking barbarities, should induce us to load them with presents, which would serve to enable their brethren to prolong the war they have so unjustly commenced.

I have wrote to the commanding officer at the Mobile, to take the necessary precautions for preventing any supplies of Ammunition,

&ca, getting to the Western Indians by the Mississippi; Indeed, the quantity they could get that way must be but very inconsiderable, and would be so long of coming that it could not answer their present purpose. However we cannot be too much on our guard to secure every Avenue by which they could get the least supplies.

I was greatly surprised to find M^r^ Croghan desirous of going to England at a time when surely his presence is necessary in his department, if it ever was so. When I told him that I could not answer to the giving him leave of Absence at present, he offered to resign, which I likewise disapprove of, although as he was your Deputy, I could not refuse him, if he persisted in that mind. I however prevailed upon him to advise with you before he took such a step, which he agreed to, and he is set out for Bedford to attend on his duty, of which I conclude, he will inform you by letter. He seemed to be disgusted at the Commanding Officer at Fort Pitt, having the direction of the Expenses, which I Cannot alter; as I still think it is more proper that that power should be lodged in a Commanding Officer, than a deputy Agent; Nor can I see what reason the latter can have to complain on that account, for I should imagine he would be glad to have that authority for the Expenses incurred in his department.

I am, &c

JEFF. AMHERST.

EARL OF HALIFAX TO SIR JEFFERY AMHERST.

ST. JAMES, *18 October 1763.*

Sir JEFFREY AMHERST, *Commander in Chief of His Majesty's forces in North America:*

SIR: Your despatches of the 3^d^ of September last having been received on the 14^th^ instant, and immediately laid before the King, I am to signify to you His Majesty's approbation of the conduct and bravery of Colonel Bouquet, and the officers and Troops under his command, in the two actions on the 5^th^ and 6^th^ of August, in which, notwithstanding the many circumstances of difficulty and distress they laboured under, and the unusual Spirit and Resolution of the Indians, they repelled and defeated the repeated attacks of the Savages, and conducted their convoy safe to Fort Pitt. It is to be regretted that the attempt made on the Indian Camp near the Detroit was not attended with Equal success.

It is matter of Concern to His Majesty, to find that the measure you had taken for putting and end to the Indian war, have not yet

produced the desired effects; but that on the contrary the Insurrections of the Indians are considerably increased and almost become general, Upon this Extension of the war and increase of danger, His Majesty judges it proper to enable you, (in case you should find it absolutely necessary,) in the most efficacious manner to call upon the colonies, (the want of whose assistance is regretted in several of the papers you inclose,) to contribute to the general defence of the Country and annoyance of the Indians, by raising and employing such numbers of Provincial Troops or Militia as you shall find requisite. I therefore inclose to you letters for that purpose, not only to the Governor of Pennsylvania signifying his Majesty's displeasure at that supine and neglectful conduct, which you so justly blame, in the Legislature of that Colony, but also to the Governors of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, and North and South Carolina.

His Majesty is hopeful that the success of your Endeavors may have restored the peace of the Country before this reaches your hands, and render these letters of Requisition unnecessary. But his Royal intention in commanding me to send them to you is to furnish you with the means of obtaining every possible assistance, and to leave the use of those means to your judgment according to the actual state of affairs.

I am, &c.

DUNK HALIFAX

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

JOHNSON HALL *Nov^r 13. 1763.*

MY LORDS: In obedience to your Lordships commands of the 5^th^ of August last, I now do myself the honour of writing my sentiments concerning Indian affairs and of transmitting the best state I am able at present, of the several Nations within my department, with whom I have hitherto had intercourse.

Your Lord^pps^ may please to observe that in my letter of the 20^th^ of August 1762, I gave a pretty general account of the Indians sentiments at that period, of the uneasiness amongst them, and my apprehensions thereon, as also my sentiments on the best method of conciliating their affections and preventing a Rupture; and I flatter myself it will appear, from what has since past, that my then opinion, was not ill founded.

In my letter of the 1^st^ of July and 25^th^ of Sept^r^ last I repeated my

former sentiments, and humbly represented the causes to which the late hostilities might chiefly be attributed.

I shall therefore in this chiefly confine myself to the claims, interest, cause of defection and sentiments of the several Nations within my department, and with deference, offer my opinion on the ways and means for effecting a lasting peace, and securing their affections to the advantage of His Majesty and the safety and welfare of His American subjects for which important end, I shall humbly lay before Your Lord^{pps} a necessary plan for the better regulation of my Department.

In the State herewith transmitted I have (with as much exactness as the subject would possibly admit of at present) laid down the several Confederacies in my Department hitherto treated with, and pointed out as nearly as I could the situation and numbers of each Nation comprehended therein, with their present alliances; but as the Western Indians or Ottawas Confederacy, were but newly received into our alliance, I have only taken upon me to ascertain the numbers of them residing in the neighbourhood of the several outposts lately taken, as reported by my deputies, who performed tours amongst them, and given the best General Computation I have met with of the rest of their Confederacy, who live so scattered about the North of Lakes Ontario, Erie and Huron, and even about the Lakes, Superior and Michigan, that no particular account can as yet be procured of them.

I am now to lay before your Lord^{pps} the claims of the Nations mentioned in the State of the Confederacies.

The Five Nations having in the last Century subdued the Shawanese, Delawares, Twighties, & western Indians so far, as lakes, Michigan & Superior, received them into an alliance, allowed them the possession of the Lands they occupied, and have ever since been at peace with the greatest part of them, and such was the prowess of the Five Nations Confederacy, that had they been properly supported by us, they would have long since put a period to the Colony of Canada, which alone, they were near effecting in the year 1688. Since that time they have admitted the Tuscaroras from the Southward amongst them, giving them a Tract of Land beyond Onejda, and they have ever since formed a part of that Confederacy.

As Original proprietors, this Confederacy claim the Country of their residence, South of Lake Ontario to the great Ridge of the Blew Mountains, with all the Western part of the province of New York towards Hudsons River, west of the Caats Kill, thence to Lake Champlain, and from Regioghne a Rock at the East side of said lake to Osswegatche or La Gattell on the River S^{t} Lawrence (having long since ceded their claim North of said line in favour of the Canada Indians as Hunting ground) thence up the River S^{t} Lawrence and along the South side of Lake Ontario to Niagara.

In right of conquest, they claim all the Country (comprehending the Ohio) along the great Ridge of Blew Mountains at the back of Virginia, thence to the head of Kentucke River, and down the same to the Ohio above the Rifts, thence Northerly to the South end of Lake Michigan, then along the eastern shore of said lake to Missillimackinac, thence easterly across the North end of Lake Huron to the great Ottawa River, (including the Chippawæ or Mississagey Country) and down the said River to the Island of Montreal.—However, these more distant claims being posessed by many powerful Nations, the Inhabitants have long began to render themselves independant by the assistance of the French, and the great decrease of the Six Nations; but their claim to the Ohio, and thence to the Lakes is not in the least disputed by the Shawanese Delawares ettc, who never transacted any Sales of Land or other matters without their consent, and who sent Deputys to the grand Council at Onondaga on all important occasions.

On my coming to the management of Indian Affairs in 1746. when the Indians refused to meet or treat with our Governours, the Indian interest was from our former neglect in so visible a State of decline, that it was conjectured by many, they would entirely abandon us; in this scituation, it was with the utmost difficulty that I was enabled to prevent their falling off, but by proper measures and personal interest, I was happy enough, not only to keep them in our interest but also to employ many parties of them against the Enemy, who greatly harassed them. On my further appointment by General Braddock (for which I never received any salary) I then acquainted them that I feared, the utmost I could do would be to preserve a neutrality, which alone would be of great consequence, and for this my opinion, I had sufficient reason, as the Indians had from the year 1749 to 1754. been continually complaining of neglect, and remonstrating against the growing power of the French, and repeatedly requesting our assistance, on which they would disposess them notwithstanding their Interest with the western Indians whom they had at an immense expence, and by the artful insinuations of Jesuits and other proper Emissaries brought over to them, and which in the declining state of the Six Nations, were too formidable Enemies alone to cope with.

The Six Nations living at the Ohio, had even requested both of Virginia and Pennsylvania to erect a Post on the Ohio, where Fort Du Quesne since stood, concerning all which I have the authentic Records and proceedings, but finding it neglected and themselves dispised, they in 1754. at the great Congress held at Albany (in the presence of the Gov^{r} of New York and Commissioners from the several of the Govern^{ts} mett there, to consider on ways and means to bring about an Union of the Colonies and to preserve the Friendship of the Six Nations, as also to check the growing power of the

French) refused to hear Gov^r^ or any of the rest, until I was sent for, as I had for some time declined the management of Indian Affairs, on not being properly supported.—When addressing the Gov^r^ ettc. the Indians said: "This the ancient place of Treaty, where "the Fire of Friendship always used to Burn—it is now three years "since *we* have been called to any public treaty here; it is true, "there are Commiss^rs^ here (meaning the Albany Commiss^rs^ for In- "dian affairs, persons of very little capacity, who were all devoted "to their own interest and Trade, and by whose means the French "were constantly supplied with Indian and other goods, thro' the "channel of Canada Indians) but they have not invited us to smoak "with them, but the Indians of Canada come frequently and smoak "here, which is for the sake of the Beaver. Bretheren, you desire "us to speak from the bottom of our hearts, and we shall do it. "Look about you and see all these houses full of Beaver, and the "money is gone to Canada; the fire is here burnt out"—that is the fire of peace, meaning that their friendship was at an end.

Since I had the honour of being appointed to the sole management of Indian Affairs by His Maj^ty's^ commission in February, 1756. I had the satisfaction to find that my endeavours to regain the Six Nations ettc to his Maj^ty's^ interest was not totally without success, as well as advantage to the public, and your Lord^pps^ approbation. I beg pardon for the preceeding digression, but I judged it necessary to remind your Lord^pps^ in the words of the Indians, of their then sentiments and the cause thereof.

As the claims of the Western Indian, are on the North side of the Lakes, and extending thence to the Country of the Sioux, they in no wise concern our present possessions, except as to the Lands, on which the out posts have been erected, and of that, among other particulars I shall speak hereafter.

I apprehend from what I have formerly and now wrote, on this subject, it will appear clearly to your Lord^pps^ that the Colonies, had all along neglected to cultivate a proper understanding with the Indians, and from a mistaken notion, have greatly dispised them, without considering, that it is in their power at pleasure to lay waste and destroy the Frontiers. This opinion arose from our confidence in our scattered numbers and the parsimony of our people, who, from an error in politics, would not expend five pounds, to save twenty, and it must be a matter of real concern to any good subject to find, that nothing but fatal experience would convince many of their errors.—

Without any exageration, I look upon the Northern Indians to be the most formidable of any uncivilized body of people in the World. Hunting and War are their sole occupations, and the one, qualifies them for the other, they have few wants, and those are easily supplied, their properties of little value, consequently, ex-

peditions against them however successful, cannot distress them, and they have courage sufficient for their manner of fighting, the nature and situation of their Countrys, require not more.

As the French well knew the importance of the Indians, they wisely, took advantage of our neglect, and altho' they were not able to effect a proper reconciliation with the Six Nations, took care to cultivate a good understanding with the Western Indians, which the safety of their Colony, and their ambitious views of extending their bounds, rendered indispensably necessary; to effect this, they were at an immense expence in buying the favour of the Indians.

On the reduction of Montreal, whereby the frontiers claimed by Canada, were ceded to His Majesty, I thought it prudent, to send M^r^ Croghan, one of my Deputys with the Troops, who were to take possession of Detroit ettc, whereby I reconciled the change to the neighbouring Indians, then in arms against us, and the next year went in person to Detroit, where I held a Conference with the several neighbouring Nations, the particulars of which will appear from my transactions last year transmitted to your Lord^pps^; but apprehensive that our occupying these out posts, would never be approved of, unless the Indians shared our favours, as they had been accustomed to those of the French, I represented to the Commander in Chief, the necessity of weaning them therefrom gradually, as well as the repeated accounts I had constantly transmitted me of the uneasiness amongst the Indians, and my apphensions thereon.

The Indians of the Ottawa Confederacy (& who begun the present war) and also the Six Nations, however their sentiments may have been misrepresented, all along considered the Northern parts of North America, as their sole property from the beginning; and although the conveniency of Trade, (with fair speaches and promises) induced them to afford both, us and the French settlements in their Country, yet they have never understood such settlement as a Dominion, especially as neither we, nor the French ever made a conquest of them; they have even repeatedly said at several conferences in my presence, that "they were amused by both parties with "stories of their upright intentions, and that they made War for "the protection of the Indians Rights, but that they plainly found, "it was carried on, to see who would become masters of what was "the property of neithér the one or the other"—The French in order to reconcile them to these encroachments, loaded them with favours, and employed the most intelligent Agents, of good influence, as well as artful Jesuits amongst the several Western and other Nations, who by degrees, prevailed on them to admit of Forts, under the Notion of Trading houses in their Country, and knowing, that these posts, could never be maintained contrary to the inclinations of the Indians, they supplied them thereat with Ammunition and other necessaries in abundance, as also called them to frequent

Congresses, and dismissed them with handsome presents; by which, they enjoyed an extensive commerce, obtained the assistance of these Indians, and possessed their Frontiers in safety; and as without these measures, the Indians would never have suffered them in their Country, so, they expect that whatever European power passes the same, they shall in some measure reap the like advantages. Now, as these advantages ceased, on the Posts being possessed by the English, and especially as it was not thought prudent to indulge them with Amunition, they immediately concluded, that we had designs against their liberties, which opinion had been first instilled into them by the French, and since promoted by Traders of that Nation and others who retired amongst them on the surrender of Canada and are still there, as well as by Belts of Wampum and other exhortations, which I am confidently assured have been sent amongst them from the Illinois Louisiana and even Canada for that purpose.

The Shawanese and Delawares about the Ohio who were never warmly attached to us since our neglects to defend them against the encroachments of the French, and refusing to erect a Post at the Ohio, or assist them and the Six Nations with Men or amunition, when they requested both of us, as well as irritated at the loss of several of their people killed upon the communication to Fort Pitt in the years 1759 and 1761, were easily induced to join with the Western Nations, and the Senecas dissatisfied at many of our posts, jealous of our designs, and displeased at our neglect and contempt of them soon followed their example. These are the causes the Indians themselves assign, and which certainly occasioned the Rupture between us, the consequence of which, in my humble opinion, will be, that the Indians (who do not regard the Distance) will be supplied with necessaries by the Wabache and several Rivers, which empty into the Mississippi, which it is by no means in our power to prevent, and in return the French will draw the valuable Furrs down that River, to the advantage of their Colony, and the destruction of our Trade; this will always induce the French to foment differences between us and the Indians, and the prospects many of them entertain, that they may hereafter become possessed of Canada, will incline them still more to cultivate a good understanding with the Indians, which if ever attempted by the French, would, I am very apprehensive be attended with a general defection of them from our interest, unless we are at a great pains and expence, to regain their friendship, and thereby satisfy them, that we have no designs to their prejudice.

By the measures I have taken the Six Nations (Senecas excepted) are still our friends, and continue to repeat their offers of accompanying His Majᵗʸ's Troops against the Enemy, when the Commander in Chief shall approve thereof. As the Six Nations are the

barrier of this province in particular, and can easily cut off the important Communication to Lake Ontario either way, their attachment can not I conceive be too much cultivated, and the redress of their grievances I hope may appear worthy your Lord^{pps} attention, more especially as they dread the resentment of our numerous Enemies for their fidelity to Us. Of the Seneca Villages, two remain still our friends, viz^{t} Kanadasegey and Kanadaraygo, and the fidelity of the rest of the Confederacy, hath hitherto preserved the frontiers of this Province and the communication to Lake Ontario. But as those who are still our friends, particularly the Mohawks, are they, who have the most occasion to be redressed in land affairs, it is necessary to observe to your Lord^{pps} the particulars in which they are aggrieved, concerning their Lands, which I have in my former letters generally represented.

As we have not extended our settlement further than the Onejda Country, and but few there, we have as yet had but few complaints from that Nation or from those more distant.

The claim of the Mohawks extends from near Albany along the Mohawk River to the little falls or carrying place (the Onejda boundary) about 60 miles above Schenectady, and all the Country from thence Eastward and North to Rejioghne in Lake Champlain, with the Country South and West of the Mohawk River to the heads of Susquehana and Delaware Rivers; for the lands along the Mohawk River (a few small Tracts excepted) the Indians acknowledge themselves to be contented, except that claimed by the Corporation of Albany, of which I shall speak presently; but a matter of the utmost uneasiness to them is the large Patent of Kayadarasseras alias Queensborough. In the Reign of Queen Ann, some people of Albany persuaded a few Mohawks to sell them a small piece of Land (about enough for three Farms) along the Hudsons River above Saraghtoga, and procured an Indian deed for that purpose, for a trifling consideration, which, small as it was, having been left in Schenectady, was there burned when that Town was destroyed by the French & the purchase mohey never since paid. Under the pretext of said Indian Deed, the parties procured a Patent bearing date the 2nd day of November 1708 for all the lands then unoccupied between Hudson and the Mohawk River, to certain places on both those Rivers containing by estimation about 800000 Acres of land which included, the most valuable part of the Mohawks Hunting ground, subject to only four pounds currency per annum quit Rent, which if now granted, would yield a Revenue to the Crown of about £1700 p^{r} annum currency; this unconscionable grant, the proprietors did not as yet attempt surveying or Dividing in 55 years, neither did they venture to settle any people thereon, 'till last year a few poor people were placed on it, which has greatly alarmed and revived the Indian's uneasiness, who never dreamed that they would have at-

tempted to settle what was so surreptitiously obtained, which, if allowed, will include several farms and improvements made by many poor industrious persons, who since the time of granting that large Tract, have fairly purchased and obtained Patents for small Tracts along the Mohawk River, and the Patentees foreseing the consequence, of attempting to settle it themselves, were till lately deterred, from doing any thing therein, a practice too common amongst all possessors of large Tracts in this Country, who keep the same in Reserve waiting for the extinction of the Indians, or the encrease in value of Lands to the prejudice of all those who want to occupy and cultivate small Tracts.

The Corporation of Albany likewise (a great many years ago) obtained an Indian Deed, by intoxicating their Chiefs, and other unfair measures as the Indians say, of the lands called, the Mohawk Flatts at Fort Hunter, whereon they reside, and from whence they draw the greatest part of their subsistance; and altho' they have not as yet attempted to dispossess the Indians, yet it is to be apprehended, whenever matters are thoroughly established, they will certainly do so, which gives the utmost discontent to the Indians.

The parties concerned in the Patent at Conajohare as mentioned in a former letter, are now endeavouring to compromise the affair with the Indians. Should they settle it to the satisfaction of the Indians, it will prevent my giving your Lord^{pps} any further trouble on that head, if otherwise, I shall in my next, lay the affair in the fullest and clearest manner I possibly can before your Lordships.

These are the only land disputes, at present necessary to be laid before your Lord^{ps}, in which the Mohawks think themselves highly aggrieved, and in which, I am of opinion, Your Lord^{ps} will judge it very necessary to redress them, which will not only highly gratify them, but have the best effect imaginable on the minds of the rest of the Six Nations who are no strangers to the fraud, and have repeatedly demanded redress.

But the grand matter of concern to all the Six Nations (Mohawks excepted) is the occupying a chain of small Posts on the communication through their Country to Lake Ontario, not to mention Fort Stanwix, exclusive of which, there were erected in 1759. Fort Schuyler on the Mohawk River, and the Royal Block House at the East end of Onejda Lake, in the Country of the Oneidaes, Fort Brewerton, and a post at Oswego Falls in the Onondagaes Country; in order to obtain permission for erecting these Posts, they were promised they should be demolished at the end of the War. General Shirley also made them alike promise for the posts he erected; and as about these posts, are their fishing and Hunting places, where they complain, that they are often obstructed by the Troops, and insulted, they request that (according to promise) they may not be kept up, the war with the French being now over.

In 1760 Sir Jeffery Amherst sent a speech to the Indians in writing, which was to be communicated to the Nations about Fort Pitt ettc: by General Monkton then commanding there, signifying his intentions to satisfy and content, all Indians for the ground occupied by the Posts, as also for any land about them, which might be found necessary for the use of the garrisons; but the same has not been performed, neither are the Indians in the several Countries at all pleased at our occupying them, which they look upon them as the first steps to enslave them and invade their properties. And I beg leave to represent to your Lord^{ps}, that one very material advantage resulting from a continuance of good treatment and some favours to the Indians, will be the security and toleration thereby given to the Troops for cultivating lands about the Garrisons, which the present reduction of their Rations renders absolutely necessary.

I have now as brieftly, as the subjects would admit of, stated the strength, Interest, Claims and sentiments of the Indians with the causes to which their discontent, and the present unhappy rupture must be attributed; and I am next to offer my opinion how there cause may be removed, and what will be the most effectual plan for the management of Indian Affairs, for the benefit of a Free Trade, and the security and interests of His Majesty's subjects.

In doing this I am hopeful, your Lord^{ps} will be of opinion, that I offer no sentiments, but what are the result of experience, such as appear to promise the most success, attended with as much œconomy, as good policy will admit of, and which if approved of by your Lord^{ps}, and recommended accordingly, may enable me to collect a good Force of Indians against the ensuing campaign, to accompany our Troops who may then pursue their destination, without the surprises, hazards and losses, which I am confident, will always attend their expeditions, unless Indians are encouraged to accompany them.

This necessary plan, may be reduced to two heads; First, the satisfying the Indians on the subject of their uneasiness, particularly concerning their lands; and secondly, by regulating the Department of Indian Affairs in such a manner, as shall best tend to the security of peace, and the promoting His Maj$^{ty's}$ interest amongst the Indians.

With regard to the First, I humbly conceive, that a certain line should be run at the back of the Northern Colonies, beyond which no settlement should be made, until the whole Six Nations should think proper of selling part thereof. This would encourage the thick settlement of the Frontiers, oblige the Proprietors of large grants to get them Inhabited, and secure the Indians from being further deceived by many who make a practice of imposing on a few Indians with liquor and fair promises to sign Deeds, which are generally disavowed by the Nation, altho' the lucrative fees on a Patent made it formerly easy to procure one, without looking into the

merits of the Indian purchase, and then, there is no redress here, a Patent being deemed a good title at common Law.

The line of 60 miles south of the Lakes Erie and Ontario, which by their deed in 1726. the Indians were disposed to have reserved to their posterity beyond a power of disposal, does not comprehend one third of the Lands yet unpurchased, neither it is any thing sufficient for the hunting grounds of people, who require a large Tract for that purpose, especially as several Tribes have since retired that way to be remote from our settlements. I would therefore humbly propose, that that Tract might be in some manner augmented, and some remarkable boundary appointed, and that the Indians should over and besides, be contented and satisfied, or permitted to occupy all the lands without the line until such time as they thought proper to dispose thereof; and I am certain, I can at any time hereafter perswade them to cede to His Majty more land, if it may be found wanting from the encrease of people, which is very improbable, there being already more pattented and unsettled than can possibly be well occupied in many years. The thirst of making distant settlements is very impolitic, as such frontiers are too weak and remote to oppose even an ordinary scalping party, and therefore it will be time enough to advance our settlements, when the large Tracts already Pattented are thoroughly inhabited.

If such a boundary (having due regard to their hunting grounds) should be thought adviseable, I shall immediately on receiving Your Lordpps commands, make the Indians acquainted therewith, and settle the same in such manner, as may prove most to their satisfaction, and the good of the public; and I have no doubt that the Indians on such determination, and on having their several grievances, concerning their lands redressed, will be well satisfied on that score, and will doubtless dispose of great part of Kaiadarusseras in a manner most agreable to his Majesty; but without your Lordpps interposition, for which they repeatedly sollicit me, they can expect little redress in a Country where so many parties concerned, will immediately oppose the necessary restitution of such unreasonable Grants, to these faithful people.

I come now to state the plan, on which my Department may be carried on, for the security and extension of His Majesty's influence & interest amongst the Indians.

The reduction of Canada affording us a connection with many Nations, with whom before we had no intercourse; it became necessary that we should cultivate a good understanding with them, for the security of, and the safety of the public, and as before that period, I had but one Deputy, which was insufficient for the management of the Indians formerly in Alliance, I then represented the same to Sir Jeffery Amherst, who agreed that I should have the persons, now in my Department, who are well acquainted with, and

qualified for their Offices; viz^{t} George Crogan, Daniel Claus and Guy Johnson Esq^{rs} at an annual salary of 200 pounds sterling each, which considering the fatiguing journeys and the necessary appearance they are to make amongst the Ind^{ns}, is but a very moderate sum for their trouble and services; in aid to these Deputies, I have at present but two Assistants, and only five Interpreters in the whole Department exclusive of Detroit, for which, and all the out Posts, I think it imprudent to rely any longer on the French Inhabitants, than whom, on the cession of that Country I could find no others qualified.

The former of my Deputys, is for the Ohio and its dependencies, the second for Canada, and the third is my immediate Deputy for the Six Nations and the Neighbouring Indians, Missisageys ettc. These three Deputies are scarcely sufficient for the variety of business which hath accrued, and must encrease; and of which, none but those, who have experience of the trouble can have the least conception.

For the more effectual carrying on the service in my Department, I find myself under an indispensable necessity, of requiring additional persons to assist them in their duty, as well as to reside at some of the most considerable out Posts. One assistant for Detroit and its environs, with three Interpreters and three Smiths, one of each, at Fort Pitt, at Detroit and Michilimackinac.—Another Assistant to the Deputy in Canada, with two Interpreters and two Smiths, and for the Deputy of the Six Nations ettc one Assistant with four Interpreters and four Smiths; one Interpreter and Smith, to be at Fort Stanwix, the same at Oswego, the same at Niagara, the fourth Interpreter to be ready at all conferences, and the fourth smith to reside at Susquahana.—

Good Interpreters are very necessary here, and are hard to be found, for although I am often thro' their ignorance obliged to deliver my own speeches and generally to explain them, yet the Indians always expect to be treated with an Interpreter. Nor can the want of them be dispensed with at the chief out Posts, to explain matters between the Indians and commanding Officers, and prevent the disputes which often arise between them and the Soldiery through their ignorance of each others language.

Another matter extreemly essential, will be a choice of proper Missionaries to reside amongst the Indians in their own Villages; many of the present Missions are established at settlements on the sea-side, where the Nations formerly residing are become extinct, or reduced to an inconsiderable number, whilst other Missionaries are allowed a double cure, or live in our Towns; so that two or three visits in a year, are all, that the Indians get, and the Missionaries unable to speak their language, are obliged to have recourse to the very bad Interpreters which the Country affords; by

which means the worthy design of the Society, is in a great measure defeated. There have been other Missionaries, who have too often used their Influence in obtaining grants of Lands, which gives the Indians the most unfavourable opinion of their worldly and interested views. The Mohawks lately told me, that they apprehended the reason, they had not Clergy as formerly amongst them, was, because they had no more land to spare.

The French, who greatly outstripped us in making Proselytes, sent Jesuits and others amongst the Indians, who lived in their Castles, and took care to form them by their immediate example and precept. I fear we shall be unable to procure such persons amongst our Clergy, but I would humbly recommend, the necessity there is for sending some such persons to reside amongst the Mohawks and Oneidaes in particular; these two Nations having a very Religious turn, and desire for learning the Christian Religion, in which many of them are become great proficients, reading the Lithurgy and preaching amongst themselves, to promote which, I have caused a new edition of the prayer Book ettc to be printed in their own language, with some necessary additions. Two youths, a Mohawk and an Oneida, whom I sent to school, being returned, and appearing very zealously and devotedly inclined, deserve the notice of the Society; as from their connection and residence, they would prove of much use; for I observe with regret, that few of our people can be found, who will sacrifice the advantages and enjoyments of life to reside in their Villages, without which, they are of little utility.

I cannot sufficiently recommend the necessity and reasonableness of the foregoing plan, and I have only to observe, in addition thereto, that on due consideration of the importance of securing peace to this Country, and of establishing the Fidelity of the Indians, on the most solid basis, there appears a necessity of bestowing some annual favours, on each Confederacy of Indians in this Department, in which case a proper assortment of Indian goods, should be purchased in England, this Country affording them at too high a price, which has hitherto inflamed the Indian accounts. I heartily wish this expence was unnecessary, but I think it my duty to assure your Lord^{pps}, we can never insure a durable peace with the assistance of all the Troops which can be spared for this Continent, until we are become more formidable amongst ourselves, and that the Indians are perfectly reconciled to our Govern^{t} by the removal of all their jealousies and suspicions, which can never be effected, if they are too suddenly deprived, of the advantages they have been accustomed to draw from the toleration afforded to the French; nor would double the number of Troops (which must involve the Nation in a vast expence) be able to preserve the communications, secure our Trade from meeting with a severe blow, already heavily

felt in this Country, or protect the scattered Frontiers, much less subjugate a people accustomed to retire before a superior force, and at liberty to return when they think proper.

Every effort should, I think, be now made use of, for giving the Enemy Indians such a Blow (effectual it cannot be) as may convince them of our abilities and expertness in the Woods of which they entertain a very indifferent opinion, and afterwards by our treatment satisfy them, that they have a generous people to deal with; afford them a fair Trade at the Chief Out Posts, agreeable to certain regulations for the prices of goods and Furrs, and also with well dispensed favours, secure their fidelity for the future; but in the mean time, and always we should in an especial manner, improve our interest and Friendship with the Six Nations and all other our Friendly Indians; the Six Nations in particular having a great influence over the rest, and being the best barrier for this, and the neighboring provinces, who would have enjoyed the same security with this Frontier hitherto, but for the defection of the majority of the Senecas, as on the fidelity of the whole Six Nations, the conduct of the most of the Delawares and Ohio Indians in an especial manner depend.

Thus My lords, have I stated to the best of my abilities the affairs in my Department, and humbly submitted to your consideration the only measures, which from a due regard of the scituation, strength and disposition, of the Northern Indians appear to me capable of speedily terminating the present unhappy Rupture, and securing peace and free Trade hereafter—points so essential to the interest of His Majesty, and those of the public, that I have reason to hope they will meet with your Lord^{pps} approbation, and be considered as the most reasonable and promising system for our future security.

If the observations and plan I now offer, should thro' Your Lord^{pps} representation, be honoured with a gracious reception from His Maj^{ty}, my utmost endeavors and abilities, shall be exerted for the execution thereof agreeable to His Royal pleasure; but I must humbly observe to your Lord^{pps}, that from my experience of the State of Indian Affairs, unless properly supported and enabled to Act in the most conductive manner for effecting the aforesaid ends, it will be impossible for me, to answer His Majesty's expectations, or the favourable opinion with which your Lord^{pps} have honoured my services.

My ardent desire, of paying the tribute of my gratitute to His Maj^{ty}, by a successful discharge of the important duties of my Department would not permit me to say less on a subject, on which the interest of the Crown, the safety and welfare of the public, and the valuable Furr Trade with the Northern Indians so essentially depends.

The defection of the Ohio Indians rendering M^r^ Croghan's residence amongst them for a time unnecessary, and his private affairs as he informs me requiring his immediate presence in England, leaving an assistant at Fort Pitt, I have committed this packet to his care; the rather, as his long residence in this Country, and his knowledge of the Indians, will enable him to answer any further questions necessary for your Lord^pps^ better information.

If M^r^ Croghan does not incline to continue longer in my Department, I must make choice of another Deputy early in the Spring; on this, as well, as on the other heads of my letter I shall hope to be honoured with your Lord^pps^ sentiments and Instruct^ns^, so as to enable me to take such steps as may be found necessary for the service of the ensuing year.

I have the honour to be
with the most profound respect
My Lords
Your Lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant
W^m^ JOHNSON.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

JOHNSON HALL. *January 20^th^ 1764.*

MY LORDS: I had the honour of writing to your Lord^pps^ on the 18^th^ of last November, by M^r^ Croghan, one of my deputys, wherein I represented the state of my department, with the sentiments, claims, numbers ettc. of the several Indian Nations in obedience to your letter of the 5^th^ of August last.

I am at present to acknowledge being honoured with your Lord^pps^ letters of the 29^th^ of Sept^r^ and 10^th^ of October last, the latter inclosing me His Maj^ty's^ Proclamation of the 7^th^ of that month, to which I have paid all due regard, and caused the same to be reprinted and made publick, agreeable, to your orders, throughout my Jurisdiction.

Before this reach London, you will have heard of the ineffectual return of 600 of his Maj^ty's^ Troops under the Command of Major Wilkins, who after some previous losses, sustained from small parties of the Enemy Indians, met with a storm within 90 miles of the *Detroit* on which occasion three officers and above 70 men with some field pieces and all their ammunition being lost, they were obliged to return back to *Niagara* in a very indifferent condition.—

By the return of these Troops (and of a few Mohawks, who accompanied them, whom Major Gladwin writes, behaved very well

and were of great use) I am informed of some offers of peace made by the Hurons of Detroit and some others, from whom also I have received Belts and Messages on that subject; and as I have been since visited by the Five Nations, attended by some Deputies from the Senekas, with offers of like nature, I judged it very necessary to lay the same before your Lord^pps with my sentiments thereon.

The Seneca Deputys (after recounting their grievances, and attributing the origin of the hostilities to the Delawares and Shawanese who had sent many Belts of wampum to instigate them and the western Nations to take up arms, which Belts were supported and encouraged by many of the French) say: that provided. we make up matters with them now, they will heartily join us against the Authors of the War, and this request was seconded by the rest of the Nations. In answer to which I referred them to the determination of General Gage, in like manner as the demand of the Western Nations, who on the stricktest enquiry appear to have been principally stirred up against us by the Artificers of the French, who have already drawn a large quantity of Furrs down the Missisipi, and have invited several of the Nations to leave their Country, and settle on the West side of that River. If this is agreed to, they will prove a dangerous Enemy to our Frontiers, and a barrier to those of the French, to which Nation they will bring an addition of great wealth and Trade as they are the best hunters in America.

The occasion of the late offers of peace I apprehend to be:— First: the discovery of the artifices by which they were engaged in the War. Secondly: the steady attachment hitherto shewn by the Five Nations towards the English, rejecting both, the invitations and menaces of the rest. Thirdly, their apprehensions that the English will be joyned by a numerous body of Friendly Indians in the Spring.

This appears the more probable, as the Western Indians have lost few of their people, the Senecas none, and both have laid aside ammunition sufficient, till they can obtain further supplys, either by plunder or from the French. Upon the whole I believe, that their offers of peace are at present sincere, and that they will not violate their engagements, if they meet with good treatment hereafter, but should they at any time be neglected, before we have established a fair and disinterested character among them, they will not fail to repeat their depredations, neither will we be able to prevent them from doing considerable damage.

The zeal and Friendship of the Five Nations and Indians of Canada, leaves me no doubt of their giving us any assistance we require in the Spring, and I am of opinion it should be put to a trial against those Nations who have discovered the greatest inveteracy. This will widen the breach between the Indians themselves, and if attended with that success I expect from the assistance of the

Friendly Nations, will make our enemies cautious how they quarrell hereafter with people so well supported.

There is no possibility of speedily rooting out the Northern Indians, and even if practicable it would destroy our Trade, so that for the present we must content ourselves with shewing them something of our power and influence, and afterwards by measures, the cheapest and most adviseable establish and secure their affections until we become more formidable in the interior parts of this Country.

I know not, how far it will be deemed pardonable in me to obtrude my sentiments concerning some of the Articles of peace, should a pacification be agreed to on certain terms, my own experience and observations in Indian affairs, are far less inducements thereto than the encouragement with which I have been hitherto honoured by your Lord^pps^—If what I am now to offer coincides with your opinion, it will afford me an additional satisfaction, if not, I flatter myself the motive will plead my apology.

In case then that the offers made by the Indians should be accepted, I would humbly think it adviseable, that each confederacy, with whom peace be made, should separately guarantee to the English a secure Trade and free passage thro' their several countries, as also the possession of necessary out posts. By treating with them separately we shall prevent too strict an union amongst them. That the Senecas should give up to His Maj^ty^ the carrying place from the Fort to Little Niagara and guarantee the peaceable possession thereof for ever, it being of the highest importance, and the only land carriage to be met with in a course of several hundred miles. That all the prisoners in possession of any of the Nations, and all deserters be immediately delivered up, as also some of the Ringleaders in promoting the late hostilities. That they likewise agree to the removal of the French (who are all connected with and related to them) residing at Michilimackinac, Miamis etc. as these people will be always busied in setting them up to take arms, from the advantages which they receive by a quarrell between us and the Indians. And, that for our further security, they consent that the several Jesuit missions, those fountains of discord, be abolished, which may be the readier effected, as the society is no longer tolerated in France. The Lands, which will revert to the Crown by their abolition will endow a Bishoprick in Canada, as well as provide for a number of inferior Clergy, who might be employed greatly to the advantage of His Maj^ty's^ interest, and I cannot help observing that the establishment of Episcopacy there, under a Resident Bishop, would not only generally strengthen the Church of England, but prove a means of adding in a few years a number of faithful subjects to the Crown, who cannot at present be considered in that light.—

The keeping up several small vessells on the lakes Huron and

Erie, is a matter worthy consideration; thereby the persons and properties of His Majesty's subjects will be exposed to small risque, compared with that of Navigation in open Boats, obliged to put on shore every night and oftener when there is a high hand, which is a temptation sometimes not to be resisted by the Indians, especially the ill affected.

Matters settled somewhat similiar hereto, I trust that my department under the Regulations I had lately the honor of proposing will effectually answer the important ends proposed, of cultivating and securing our alliances for the preservation of peace, and the extending His Majty's Indian interest and influence.

The measures recommended by His Majesty's proclamation for preventing any future unfair dealings with the Indians will prove of great service, but I must humbly observe, that an enquiry into past grievances will be a step worthy His Majty's Royal attention, as circumstances immediately affecting the Indians, who look to His Majesty for Justice, of which they often declare, they have small expectations in America where (from motives of interest, and several other concurring causes) they have experienced such a variety of disappointments, as leave them small hope of speedy and effectual redress.

Pardon My Lords, the freedom of these sentiments and remarks, and believe them to flow from my ardent and continual wishes that the interests of the Crown and welfare of the subject, be established on the most solid basis throughout His Majty's extensive Dominions in North America.

The difficulties I have had to struggle with, particularly since the commencement of hostilities, to encourage the friendly Nations to a perseverance in their conduct, to secure the communications, and frontiers yet untouched, & defeat the designs of our Enemies, can neither be described nor conceived, but by those who experience them. Even my most retired hours are invaded, and thought too little to answer the different calls of my duty which are of too multifarious a nature to be described in a letter.

I arrogate no particular merit to myself from these labours; I know them to be absolutely and essencially necessary, as such I consider them as the Duty of my Office, and I have the satisfaction to see them Crowned with some success.

Believe me, my Lords, the disinterested plan by which, I have hitherto regulated my conduct, has occasioned me to forgo many opportunities, which my long residence in this Country afforded of improving my fortune, and I cannot in justice to myself omit giving you one remarkable instance.

The friendship which several of the Indian Nations professed for me induced them at different periods many years ago to give me deeds of several large Tracts, signed in publick meetings of the

whole, for which, as they always expect a return, I at such times paid them large sums, more than they received from many strangers, and might have procured Patents for such Tracts, and settled or disposed of them to great advantage long time since, but for my unwillingness to be concerned in Lands from the nature of my employment.—My Estate in this Country I purchased from different English proprietors, and amongst the many Indian Grants to me, I have never solicited a patent but for one (contiguous to my Estate here) which his Majᵗʸ's Instructions to the Govʳ of New York in 1761. prevented me from obtaining.—Thus by neglecting my own private concerns, I am not only large sums out of pocket, but remain unpossessed of what I have more just claim to, than half the proprietors in this Province can shew for their Lands. But however this may affect my private interest, I can affirm with confidence, that I am amply Rewarded in the consciousness of having done justice to the Crown, and contributed to the welfare and security of the publick, added to the honour conferred on me by His Majesty's gracious approbation, of my conduct, and the favourable sentiments of your Lordships.

I flatter myself that I shall not be suspected of vanity and self-applause for relating such circumstances as might otherwise be unknown, especially when I assure your Lordᵖᵖˢ that I shall consider it a sufficient recompence, if they intitle me to a continuance of such honourable marks of approbation, and contribute to set my conduct in an advantagious light which is the sole aim of my services.

The late Murder committed on the Friendly Conestoga Indians, residing in, and under the protection of Pennsylvania, by a number of riotous persons, who, without any cause, surprised and killed six of these peaceable people, occasioned Mʳ Penn to issue a proclamation for discovery of the Authors thereof, and to place the rest of that people in Lancaster, where they were lodged in the workhouse for better security. But the Rioters not alarmed at the Proclamation, came in a body armed, broke open the Work house, and barbarously murdered 14 more of these Indians, and even threaten to come down to the City of Philadelphia, and kill a number of peaceable and well disposed Indians taken into, the protection of that City.

As such acts claim the most serious attention of Governᵗ and may at this juncture prove of fatal tendency, Mʳ Penn has issued a second proclamatⁿ offering a large Reward for the discovery of the Offenders.—I fear this Massacre will give great concern to the Five Nations (with whom the murdered were connected) so that it may destroy their confidence in our favour and friendship which I am daily endeavouring to promote, but I shall take great pains to remove any prejudices they may have conceived against the Governᵗ

of Pennsylvania and endeavor to clear up that affair to their satisfaction.

The Ardour which the Five Nations have lately so repeatedly expressed, as well as their desire of being employed against the Enemy before the season will permit our Troops to go upon service, has induced me to give the War Belt (as a beginning) to the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, who received it with apparent satisfaction, and I flatter myself, their enterprises will greatly distress the Enemy during the winter and contribute much to the security of the Frontiers, and the success of the ensuing summer.

I shall not ommit communicating any material occurrences of this winter, that may afford me an occasion of professing the respect with which I am.

My Lords,

Your Lord^{pps} most obedient and
most humble servant.
W^{m} JOHNSON.

COLONEL GEORGE CROGHAN TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

My Lords: Your Lord^{pps} extensive knowledge of the true Interest of His Maj$^{ty's}$ Plantations, and the necessity that now appears (before a General Defection of the Indians in North America take place) of falling on some measures to restore peace and tranquility to His Maj$^{ty's}$ subjects, in that wild & extensive Country and secure Trade and Commerce with the Natives on a better regulated system, than has hitherto taken place, and to prevent for the future the unhappy effects of an Indian War, which too many of His Maj$^{ty's}$ subjects so severely experienced this last summer. I beg leave to offer to your Lord$^{pp's}$ consideration my thoughts on some objects which appear to me of the greatest consequence, and which can't fail if put in execution of answering the desirable and salutary ends of giving a lasting peace to His Majesty's British Colonies in North America and I shall think myself happy if any thing I offer on this this subject should meet with your Lord$^{pp's}$ approbation.

During my residence in America I acquired some knowledge of the Indian customs and manners, as well as some knowledge of their Country; the situation of which give them great advantages over us; they can with great ease enter our Colonies, and cut off our frontier settlements, and thereby lay waste a large Tract of Country, which indeed they have effected in the space of four months the last summer in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and

the Jerseys, on whose Frontiers they have killed and captivated not less than two thousand of his Majesty's subjects, and drove some thousands to Beggary and greatest distress, besides burning to the ground nine Forts or Block-houses in their Country and killing a number of his Majᵗʸ's Troops and Traders, whom they plundered of goods (the manufactories of England) to the amount of not less than one hundred thousand pounds, amongst which were large quantities of ammunition, which enabled them to harrass us; I say large quantities, for, one hundred Casks of powder to them who use no Artillery must have been a great additional supply to what they had before.

If the upper Senecas and a few other Tribes settled near Detroit and Miscelemackena with the Shawanese and Delawares settled on some branches of the Ohio were able to effect this in part of a summer, what must His Majᵗʸ's subjects dread from a general defection of the Indians ?—In order to prevent such unhappy effects for the future, I would offer:

First. That a natural Boundary should be made between them and us across the frontiers of the British middle Colonies from the heads of the River Delaware to the mouth of the Ohio where it empties into Missisipi; that the lands west of such a line should be reserved for the Hunting grounds of the Six Nations, and the several Tribes dependant on them, and that a reasonable consideration be given them, as they are the original Proprietaries of that Tract of Couutry for all the lands East of such boundary. This in all probability may be effected and is the likeliest method to remove their suspicions of us.

The Indians before the war, or the conquest of Quebeck considered us in the light of a Counterpoize to the power of the French, their ancient Enemies, and were steady Friends to the English on that account; but since the reduction of Canada, they consider us in a very different and less favorable light, as they are now becoming exceeding jealous of our growing power in that Country. It is not necessary to enter into any part of our conduct towards them since the reduction of Canada, which might have raised their jealousies, or whether the French used any means to spirit them up to what they have done; we know them now to be a very jealous people, and to have the highest notions of liberty of any people on earth, and a people, who will never consider consequences, when they think their liberty likely to be invaded, tho' it may end in their ruin; so that all that can be done now is to prevent such a defection of the Indians for the future, by the Boundary and good treatment.

The Indians have discernment enough, if they see a Tract of Country secured to them under the Sovereignty protection and Dominion of His Majᵗʸ for their hunting and planting grounds, and

a Trade and Commerce carried on with them to supply them with such necessaries, as they want from time to time, to see their own interest living in friendship with His Majᵗʸ's subjects in America.

'Tis true, the Indians require a considerable tract of Country for their Hunting, and that they may have West of the Boundary, I have mentioned; the several encroachments attempted to be made on their country, contrary to our repeated promises to them and without their consent, or receiving any consideration for it, has alarmed them much, so that now they place very little confidence in what we tell them.

It may be thought and said by some, that the Indians are a faithless and ungratefull set of Barbarians, and will not stand to any agreements they make with us; but it is well known that they never claimed any right to a Tract of Country, after they sold it with consent of their Council, and received any consideration, tho' never so trifling; so that on that head we have nothing to fear in fixing a Boundary with them.

This Boundary and some favours annually bestowed on them will secure to us the valuable Fur Trade, the free possession of the Lakes Erie and Untarie, with as many posts in that Country as will be necessary for us, to carry on Trade with them at; and I can see no use of having a number of little posts at so great a distance, which can neither support themselves nor protect the Trade, but rather serve as a temptation to ill-minded and restless Indians to commit hostilities.

It may be asked, if we make a boundary with the Indians, and pay them for the Lands East of such Boundary, why we should indulge them with any favours annually?—I answer, Custom and good policy; as amongst themselves a neglect of renewing their Treaties of Friendship, is looked on, as an open violation of the peace of Nations, and in that light they look on our false parsimony. The expence of giving favours to the many additional Tribes of Indians as are now in Alliance with Great Britain since the reduction of Canada must be considerable, but I dare say, it will be found the cheapest and best method in the End to cultivate a friendship with them in this manner.

By entering into a war with the Indians, we can get nothing, but fatigue and devastation of our frontiers, and load the Nation with debt, tho' they may deserve to be severely punished for their behavior the last summer, but I don't look on it any ways decisive between the Indians and us, the manner hitherto taken, in making war on them, marching a Army at an immense expence into their Country, and driving a parcel of wretches before us, who, we know, won't give us a meeting, but where they have the advantage of either beating us or running away, and then content ourselves in burning their villages of Bark Huts, destroying the Corn, and driv-

ing them into the woods. This cannot be called conquering Indian Nations; I grant it is removing them, and that the removing Indians from their villages is practicable if we will go to the expence; but what end does it answer? often a very fatal one, for as soon as they fly before our Troops, a number of their warriors in small parties make a descent on different parts of our defenceless frontiers, and commit the most cruel murders, and driving the inhabitants before them, lay waste a great part of the Country while the remainder of them are retiring over some Mountains, Lakes or Rivers with their Women and Children to a place of safety, where we can't pursue them with our carriages, and an Army of British Troops can't support themselves in the Indian Country without taking the means of carrying on war with them.

How absurd must it appear to every person who is the least acquainted with the manner in which Indians carry on war, to hear of such measures being recommended or imposed on the public as the only method to chastise them, who have by nature all the advantages their hearts can wish for of us; When we remove them from their places of abode by surprise, which has happened but seldom, they fly to some other part of their country without regretting any magnificent buildings they have been obliged to leave behind, and there in a few hours erect a village for the reception of their families as commodious as they were before settled, and where they can provide the necessaries of life as well, and perhaps, in more plenty than they could at their former habitations. Here they live secure from us, till the next year, when we may be able to make another campaign, to remove them from the place we drove them to last; the facility with which they can remove their Habitations whenever we may be able to penetrate them, will secure them for many years from being exterminated by us from the face of the Earth; but their strength does not entirely depend on the advantages already mentioned.—They cultivate no lands of any consequence, but draw their subsistance from Hunting and Fishing, of which their Country affords great plenty; and when they make war on us, they carry no Artillery, no heavy baggage, they march light, which makes them so dangerous an Enemy to us, if they meet our Troops they will evade them, and fall on the unprepared inhabitants, who draw their subsistence from cultivating the Country, which is no less than ruin to such as fall within their reach of which we had too many examples since the beginning of the late war.

Thus I have endeavoured to explain to your Lordships, why a boundary should be fixed between the Six Nations and their dependants and His Maj$^{ty's}$ subjects, and their friendship cultivated in order to regain their confidence in this manner, rather than enter into a general Indian War, which may be the consequence of a

neglect on our side, and I dare say, the expence to this nation of last summer in order to support the Forts, Niagara, Detroit and Fort Pitt, after the small outposts fell a sacrifice to the resentment of the Indians (whether real or imaginary, its all one) was not less than some hundred thousand pounds, the Interest of which sum, would be more perhaps than sufficient to cultivate a lasting friendship between them and us, by annual favours, for ever.—

Secondly. By the Cessions made his Majesty at the late Treaty of peace, the Country lying West of the Ohio to its mouth and up the Mississippi to its sources, appears to me, to be the boundary between the French and us, in that part of the Country, and of course become our Frontiers; as the west side of the Mississippi will no doubt be settled by the French, I would offer to your Lord^{pps} consideration, whether it would not be good policy at this time while we certainly have it in our power to secure all the advantages we have got there by making a purchase of the Indians inhabiting the Country along the Missisippi from the mouth of the Ohio up to the sources of the River Illinois, and there plant a respectable colony, in order to secure our frontiers, and prevent the French from any attempt to Rival us in the Fur trade with the Natives, by drawing the Ohio and Lake Indians over the Missisippi, which they have already attempted by the last accounts we have from Detroit. From planting this new Colony, many great advantages would arise to this Kingdom as well as to His Majesty's subjects in North America; it would extend Trade and commerce with the furthermost Nations of western Indians hitherto unknown to us, which would enable the Trading people in the Colonies, to import more of the Manufactories of this Kingdom, than they have, heretofore done, which is an object of the greatest consequence to a Trading people; it would extend His Majesty's settlements in America, and make his subjects appear more formidable in the Eyes of the Indians, which is now become absolutely necessary, in order to preserve the peace between them and us; it would cut off all connections between the French and those Nations settled over that large Tract of Country on this side of the Missisippi and give us the absolute dominions over all the upper Lakes: Huron, Mitchigan and Superior, and bid fair for giving an everlasting peace to His Maj$^{ty's}$ Southern Colonies; besides, from this Colony in a very few years, we should be able to supply with provisions of every kind the several posts or marts, that may be erected for Trade with the Natives on much easier terms than they have or can be supplied from any of our Colonies. At present it may be objected, that the establishing such a Colony, so far from the sea, will be attended with too great an expence to the Nation, which may be easily answered. The fertility of the Country and the fineness of the Climate is now known to us, which is sufficient to encourage

industrious people to settle it, in a very little time without any expence to the Nation or hindrance to the growth of the present Colonies, and I dare say, people enough will be found that will undertake it.

Your Lordpps may be surprised that after the conquest of all Canada, and as soon, as a peace took place between England & France, and the Natives convinced that His Majesty's Arms have been victorious, over the French, that they, (the Indians) should attempt what they have done last summer, and render it absolutely necessary to make boundaries with them in order to preserve the peace between them and His Majesty's subjects.

From my knowledge of their Customs, manners and dispositions, I know them to be a proud and haughty people, who from their great love of liberty, which they have long enjoyed, they entertain and flatter themselves with the highest notions of their own importance and dignity, and from their conduct this last summer, we must be convinced they don't look at consequences tho' of ever so dangerous a nature, in which light, their attacking our outposts must be look't on by every body, for tho' they have great advantages of us from the manner of their carrying on war on the unprepared, and the situation of their Country making it so difficult for us to gain access unto it; yet, certainly were it thought to be the interest of the British Nation to engage in a war with them, we should in the end be able to subdue them and reduce them to a State of servitude. As I mentioned before in this letter, to your Lordpps the light in which they now consider the English in North America, since the reduction of Canada, with some breaches of faith on our side, and mistaken notions in not thinking it worth our whiles to cultivate their friendship, will I hope appear obvious to your Lordpps that there is a necessity to fix a Boundary with them, and establish a Colony on the Missisippi and Illinois, to make them fear and love us, on which their own happiness depends. To treat Indians with propriety and address is perhaps of all Tasks, the most difficult, and allowances must be made to those who are strangers to their customs and manners, should they not succeed in acquiring their good opinion. They are to be governed only by love and fear; to acquire the first, it requires a long acquaintance with their singularities, and study of their dispositions, to know how to flatter their vanity, so as to gain their confidence, which only can fix their love and affection, which undoubtedly, Justice, Honour and our own interest demand from us, and when this is done, there is no way to make them happy but by fear, for, if we suffer them to entertain too high notions of their own importance, it will naturally lead them to think, we are influenced by dread of their power, and so beget their contempt; then their expectations would be exorbitant, and their insolence beyond sufferance, which would be always productive of

the worst consequences to the prosperity an welfare of His Majesty's subjects and interest in North America.

I beg leave to assure your Lordships that nothing but my sincere zeal for His Majesty's service and a view to endeavour at removing prejudices and misrepresentations of the Natives and their little consequence to the prosperity of His Majesty's Colonies in America, could have induced me, to take up so much of your Lord^{ps} time at present by offering those subjects to your Lord^{ps} consideration.

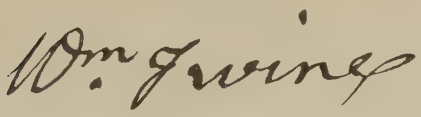
I am. My Lords. with great esteem

your Lord^{ps} most humble servant

GEO: CROGHAN.

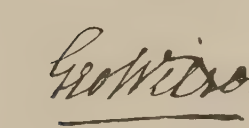
THE PRESQU' ISLE ESTABLISHMENT—1794.

The Commissioners.



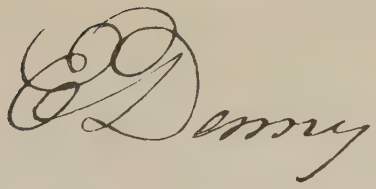
Gen. William Irvine.

Andrew Ellicott.

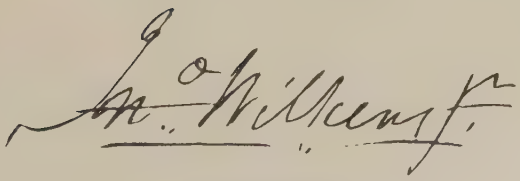


George Wilson.

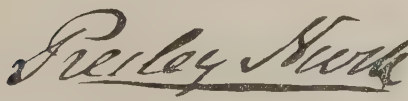
Military Officers.



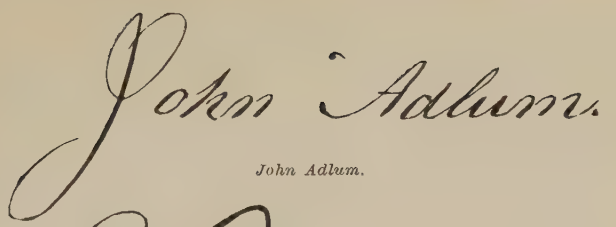
Major Ebenezer Denny.



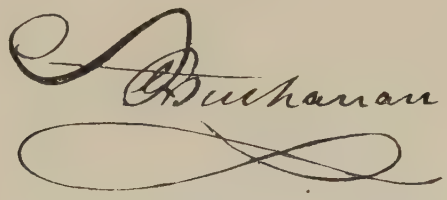
Gen. John Wilkins.



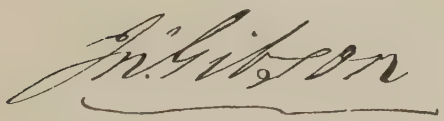
Col. Presley Neville.



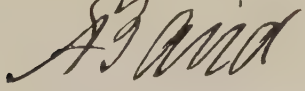
John Adlum.



Capt. Buchanan.



Gen. John Gibson.



Col. Absalom Baird.

David Redick, of Washington.

Col. Charles Campbell.

Col. Clement Riddle.

PAPERS

RELATING TO THE

ESTABLISHMENT AT PRESQU' ISLE.

1794.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT AT PRESQU' ISLE.

RELEASE OR QUIT-CLAIM OF CORN-PLANTER, HALF-TOWN AND BIG-TREE, SENECA CHIEFS TO PENNSYLVANIA.

To all to whom these Presents shall come:

Corn-Planter, Half-Town and Big-Tree Chiefs of the Seneca Nation, on behalf of themselves and the whole Seneca Nation, Send Greeting:

WHEREAS, some disatisfaction hath heretofore arisen in the Seneca Nation from various causes; and particularly respecting the boundaries of certain lands lately purchased from them by the state of Pennsylvania: AND WHEREAS the Legislature of the said state of Pennsylvania, being desirous of removing every shadow of complaint made by the said Seneca Nation, did on the . . . . . day of . . . . . 1791, at the instance and request of the said Cornplanter, Half Town, and Big Tree who in that behalf acted for themselves and the whole Seneca Nation, pass an act of General Assembly, therein empowering the Governor of the said Commonwealth to draw a warrant on the State Treasurer for the sum of 800, Dollars to be paid by him to the said Corn-planter, Half-Town and Big-Tree, in trust for the use of the Seneca Nation and in full satisfaction of all claims and demands whatever made by the said Seneca Nation against this Commonwealth, they executing a full, clear and final quit-claim to the Governor for the use of the Commonwealth aforesaid

NOW KNOW YE, that . . . . . for and in consideration of the said sum of 800, Dollars by the Governor of the said Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in pursuance & by virtue of the s[d] recited act of the General Assembly to the said Corn-planter, Half-Town & Big-Tree. in hand paid at or before the ensealing and delivery of these Presents (the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged,) in trust for the use of the Seneca Nation, they the said Corn-Planter, Half-Town, and Big-Tree, in behalf of themselves and of the whole Seneca Nation, and of their posterity, Have fully, clearly and finally remised, re-

leased, and forever quit-claim, and by these presents Do fully, clearly, and finally release and forever quit-claim, unto Thomas Mifflin, the Governor of the said Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, for the use of the s[d] Commonwealth, all claims and demands whatsoever, which on account of any cause, matter, or thing whatsoever, they the said Corn-planter Half Town, & Big Tree, and the said Seneca Nation, have, or could, or might have had against the said Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, from the beginning of the world unto the day of the date of these Presents: *Provided* nevertheless, and it is the true intent and meaning of these presents that nothing herein contained shall be construed to make void the privilege of hunting reserved to the Seneca Nation in the cession of a certain tract of Country made to this Commonwealth on the 23[d] day of October in the year of our Lord 1784. In Witness whereof they the said Corn-planter, Half Town, and Big Tree, have severally hereunto set their respective hands and affixed their seals the Third day of February in the year of our Lord 1791.

CORN-PLANTER.
HALF TOWN.
BIG TREE.

JOS. NICHOLSON, *Interpreter*.

Sealed & Delivered in the presence of us

James Hutchins,
John Deeker,
Dan[l] Rundel,
Thomas Procter,
David Kennedy,
David M[c]Keehan,
R. Hiltzheimer,
John Adlum,
Christ[n] Febiger,
A. J. Dallas.

ATTORNEY GENERAL INGERSOLL TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILADA., *Sept[r] 25[th], 1791.*

DEAR SIR: I have carefully examined and considered the Documents transmitted me on the 22[d] instant, respecting a doubt that has arisen between the Comptroller of the Treasury of the United States, and the Comptroller General of Pennsylvania as to the manner of paying for the Tract of Land on Lake Erie, agreably to the contract between the Members of Congress from this State and the late Board of Treasury.

The Instructions to our Delegates in Congress, their proposals to the Board of Treasury, and the Board's acceptance of the Terms

offered, I have not seen. I give my Sentiments upon the papers furnished, I presume the others are unimportant.

I am of opinion that all the Securities of the United States, bearing Interest at the time the Contract was executed, *are payable* agreably to the terms of the Contract.

I conceive that Indents of Interest funded at three ℔ Cent, or to express myself in general terms, the three per Cent Stock, is not payable agreably to the Terms of the Contract.

It appears to me, however, that the arrears of Interest on the unfunded Certificates, as well previous as subsequent to January, 1788, are admissible and ought to be computed in discharge of the said Debt equally as the Principal.

The distinction attempted by the Comptroller of the Treasury of the United States, between the arrears of Interest before and after January, 1788, does not appear to me to be well founded, the separation of Interest from Principal in the antecedent period was at the option of the Holders and in the hands of many may be found united.

As I am exceedingly pressed for time preparing for the Circuit, I beg the favor of you to preserve a Copy of this Letter for me, as I have not time to transcribe it myself.

I am, D Sir,
with much esteem,
y^r^ obed. hum. serv^t^,
JARED INGERSOLL.

A. J. DALLAS, Esq^r^, *Secretary*.

THE PURCHASE OF THE LAKE ERIE TRACT.

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for the purchase of the Lake Erie Tract in acco^{t} with the United States.

Dr.

1792. July 10. To General acco^{t} of Sales of the Western Lands the property of the United States.

	Dollars	Cents	
For the purchase or Consideration money of the Territory and Tract of Land on Lake Erie of which Tract a Survey and Return hath been made and lodged in the office of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States by Andrew Ellicot pursuant to a Resolution of Congress passed in August 1789 by which Return the said Tract is found to contain 202,187 Acres at ¾ths of a dollar ℔ acre payable in Gold or Silver or in Certificates of the Debt of the United States bearing interest according to the Terms proposed by William Bingham and James R. Reid Delegates in Congress to the late Board of Treasury on behalf of the said Commonwealth and accepted by the said Board on the behalf of the United States, . .	151	640	25,

Cr.	Dollars	Cents	
By 1 Certificate of Registered debt No. 558 dated 28. February 1792 on Interest from 16. August 1779, ...	85	032	8
By ditto on Interest from 21 Augt. 1783, ...	4	285	20
principal amounting to	89	317	28
By interest arising thereon calculated to 10 June 1791 being the time the Secretary of the Treasury informed he was ready to settle the acco't for said purchase, ...	62	322	97
	151	640	25

Treasury Department,
Register's Office, 6th *September, 1796.*

JOSEPH NOURSE, *Reg^{t}.*

CIRCULAR TO THE BRIGADE INSPECTORS OF THE COUNTIES OF WASHINGTON, WESTMORELAND AND ALLEGHENY.

PHILADELPHIA, *March 1st, 1794.*

SIR: Inclosed I transmit to you a copy of an act of the General Assembly passed on the twenty eight ultimo, providing among other things for the defence of the Frontiers, and commissions by which, ... is appointed Captain, ... , Lieutenant, and . . . . . Ensign of the Company, to be employed in protecting the county of . . . . . As soon as you have receiv'd these documents, you will be pleased to concert with the above Officers the best mode of raising, upon the terms prescribed by Law, the compliment of Non-Commissioned Officers and men alotted to this company, the period of service to be for eight months (unless sooner discharged) commencing the first day of April next, with a stipulation, that if in my judgment, the state of the Frontiers should require the continuance of the Company in the service of the Commonwealth after the expiration of the said Term, the men shall continue accordingly until the meeting of the Legislature next ensuing the expiration of that term, or any shorter period which I shall prescribe.

You will be pleased likewise to give the necessary instructions to station the Company, except the detachments hereinafter mentioned, at such places and in such proportions as in your judgment shall be best calculated for the purpose of defence, and you will communicate to me your plan, and from time to time the operations of the Campaign.

With the rifles which are in your possession you will arm the present establishment, and if these should not be sufficient, it may be stipulated that each man armed with his own Rifle, such as the Captain of the Company may approve, shall be allowed two Dollars for the use of it during the period of this engagement and a reasonable equivalent if it is lost or destroyed in the public service. I shall direct Colonel Clement Biddle, who acts on this occasion as Quarter Master General to take the proper measures for supplying you with ammunition, and if necessary with an additional quantity of arms, for the use of the Company; and I shall contract with D^r^ John Wilkins Jun^r^, of Pittsburgh to supply the necessary rations.

You will take notice that from the Company to be employed in the defence of . . . . . County, there will be detached . . . . . towards forming the detachment for carrying into effect the Act for establishing a town at Presque Isle to be commanded by Captain Ebenezer Denny; and you will send the quota of your County with certified lists of the dates of enlisting the men

respectively to join Captain Denny as fast as they are raised but not in smaller numbers than three at a time.

You will be pleased, sir, to maintain a correspondence with the Captains of the several Companies and with the officers of the Federal establishment; rendering them every aid in your power, consistently with a plan of defensive operations which you will remember is the sole purpose of these arrangements.

If indeed any unforeseen emergency should occur, or if the detachment under Captain Denny should stand in evident need of assistance and support, you will make such a general exertion of the Militia for repelling actual hostilities, as the nature of the case may require upon the principles of my letter of instructions to the late county Lieutenants dated the eighteenth day of March 1791.

The proofs to establish the claim for supplies and services must be forwarded in due form, and accounts will be settled at the proper offices.

I am, with great esteem,
Sir,
Your Most Obed^{t} Serv^{t},
THOMAS MIFFLIN.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE FOUR COMPANIES.

I.

1—Artillery Company.

Captain—John Rice.
Lieuten^{t}—John Hazlewood, Jun^{r}.
Ensign—John Salsbery.

2—Washington Company.

Captain—James Seals.
Lieutenant—Robert Miller.
Ensign—Charles Cracraft, Jun^{r}.

3—Westmoreland Company.

Captain—John Sloan.
Lieuten^{t}—John Craig.
Ensign—James M^{c}Comb.

4—Allegheny Company.

Captain—Ebenezer Denny.
Lieuten^{t}—Tho^{s} Bell Patterson.
Ensign—Samuel Murphy.

II.

Presqu' Isle, Detachment.

	Captain.	Lieutenants.	Ensign.	Men.	Sergt.	Corps.
1. From the Artillery, .	. . . . .	Hazlewood,	. . . . .	25	2	2
2. From the Washington Company, ...	. . . . .	. . . . .	Cracraft,	20	1	1
3. From the Westmoreland Company, . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	McComb	20	1	1
4. From the Allegheny Company, ...	Denny,	. . . . .	. . . . .	30	2	3
				95	6	6

CIRCULAR TO THE CAPTAINS OF THE RANGER COMPANIES.

PHILADELPHIA, *1st March, 1794.*

SIR: Inclosed you will receive a copy of an Act of the General Assembly, passed on the 28th ulto, and providing, among other things, for the defence of the Frontiers; and a commission, by which you are appointed Captain of the company to be employed in protecting the county of . . . . . ,and of which . . . . . is appointed Lieutenant, and . . . . . is appointed Ensign.

You will be pleased to take all lawful measures, under the instructions of the Brigade Inspector of the county, and with the aid of the other officers of your company, for engaging during the term prescribed, and for the pay allowed by the Act, Four Sergeants, Four Corporals, one Drummer and Fifer, or Two Buglers, and Sixty-five rank and file or Privates; and in making your enlistments you will stipulate with the men, that if the state of the Frontiers should in my judgment require the continuance of the Company in the service of the Commonwealth after the expiration of the term of Eight months, they shall continue accordingly until the meeting of the Legislature next ensuing the expiration of that term, or any shorter period which I shall prescribe.

The Brigade Inspector of the County will from time to time, give you instructions for stationing your Company, at such places and in such proportions, as he shall think best calculated for defence and you will be pleased to preserve a constant correspondence with

him, and communicate any useful intelligence that may occur, as well to the officers of the Federal Troops in your neighbourhood, as to the captains of the Companies employed in protecting the counties of . . . . . I shall likewise be glad to receive from yourself, as well as through the Brigade Inspector of the county information of the State of the Frontiers and of the opperations of the campaign.

You will be pleased to take notice, that from your company there will be drafted towards forming the detachment for carrying into effect the Act for establishing a Town at Presque Isle and which detachment will be commanded by Captain Denny. The number of your quota with certified list of the date of each man's enlistments you will send to join Cap^{t} Dennys detachment as fast as they are recruited, but not fewer than three at a time.

Relying on your zeal, spirit, and prudence, in executing the trust reposed in you, I shall only add a desire, that you will as much as possible endeavour to promote the ease of the inhabitants of the Frontiers, and of the men under your command; and to conciliate the esteem and good offices of all who are employed under the authority of the General Government. I am, Sir,

Your Most Obed^{t} Serv^{t},

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO THE PRESQU' ISLE COMMISSIONERS.

PHILADELPHIA, *1st March, 1794.*

GENTLEMEN: In providing for the general defence of the Frontiers, the Legislature has authorized me to form a detachment of Troops, for carrying into effect the act directing a town to be laid out at or near Presque Isle; and as the object of the commission to survey and lay out a road from Reading to Presque Isle, may be promoted by the same measure, I have instructed Cap^{t} Denny, the commanding officer of the detachment, to grant to you as commissioners all the aid & protection that is compatible with a due attention to the particular charge which is confided to him.

Under these circumstances, I trust you will find it convenient to proceed immediately in the execution of your work.

I am, gentlemen,

Your most obt servt,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To W^{m} IRVINE & ANDREW ELLICOT, *commis^{s} for laying out a road from Reading to Presque Isle.*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO THE PRESQU' ISLE COMMISSIONERS.

PHILADELPHIA, *1st March, 1794.*

GENTLEMEN: The Legislature has recently passed an act for the defence of our Frontiers, in which I am authorized to form a detachment of Artillery and Infantry to carry into effect the act for establishing a town at Presque Isle. In pursuance of this authority, I have directed a detachment, under the command of Capt Denny, to take post at Fort LeBoeuff in the neighbourhood of Presque Isle; and the inclosed copy of that officers instructions will shew the general principles on which you will be protected & supported in the execution of your trust. Permit me therefore Genl to inform you that having associated A. Gallatin in your appointment, I request an immediate attention to the laying out of the town at Presque Isle, agreeably to law; and that you will communicate to Capt Denny the time when you shall enter at your work and what disposition of the detachment under his command you think will be best calculated to insure safety and success to your operations.

I have nothing to add to my former instructions on this subject; but an earnest desire that you will promote peace, order and friendship with the peaceable Indians, or British Garrisons, should any intercourse between you & them be produced by accident or necessity. In this respect your example and advice will, I am confident, have a decisive effect on the conduct of Capt Denny's Detachment; and will secure the tranquility and dignity of the State from injury or reproach.

You will be pleased to inform me of the period of your departure; and if anything important occurs in the progress of your work, I rely upon receiving the earliest intelligence of it.

I am, Genl,

Your most Obedt Servt,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To Wm IRVINE, ANDREW ELLICOTT and ALBERT GALLATIN, *commissioners for laying out a town at or near Presque Isle on Lake Erie.*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO MAJOR DENNY.

PHILADELPHIA, *1st March, 1794.*

SIR: Inclosed you will receive a copy of an act of the General Assembly entitled an act &c. a commission by which you are appointed Captain of the Allegheny Company; of all the companies directed to be raised, a sketch of the appointments and arrangements, and a copy of an act entitled "An act for laying out a town at Presque' Isle."

You will be pleased, Sir, to take all lawful measures under the instructions of the Brigade Inspector of the county, and with the aid of the officers of your Company, for engaging during the term, and for the pay prescribed by the act for the defence of our Frontiers, 4 Sergeants, 4 Coporals, one Drummer & Fifer, or two Buglers, & 65 rank & file or privates. In making your enlistments, you will stipulate with the men, that if the State of the war on the Frontiers shall in any judgment require their continuance in the service of the Com[l] after the expiration of the term of eight months, mentioned in the law, they shall continue accordingly, until the meeting of the Legislature, next ensuing the expiration of the term, or for any shorter period that I may direct.

From the sketch of the appointments and arrangements of the several companies that you are called on to command, the detachment which is made in order to carry into effect the act entitled "An act for laying out a town at Presque' Isle," and the importance of the object as well as the difficulties, that may attend its accomplishment, will evince the confidence that is reposed in your zeal, spirit, and prudence. In the discharge of your trust, I am persuaded you will pay a due respect to the design and spirit of the laws which I have communicated to you; and therefore, I shall content myself with suggesting the following general regulations. Mesrs. Irvine, Ellicot, and Gallatin, the commissioners who are employed to lay out the town at Presque'Isle, will probably be engaged in that duty early in the month of May next. It will be necessary, therefore, that before that time, arrangements should be made, for establishing some post of protection and defence, in the neighbourhood of Presque'Isle, and the commissioners have thought that a spot at Lebeuff will be the most eligible and convenient for their undertakings. The Lieutenant who is detached from the artillery company will transport thither, under the convoy of his detachment, a competent supply of provisions, cannon, arms, ammunition and camp equipage; of these articles an officer in the nature of a Quater master will have the immediate custody; but they are nevertheless to be considered as being under your superintending care and disposition, to be preferred

with the greatest caution, not to be used but in cases of necessity, & to be accounted for by you to any person who may be appointed to succeed in your command, or who may be authorized to receive the same. When the purposes of the Post shall be attained, you will be pleased to strengthen the detachment of artillery by a party of the Infantry under your command, whenever they advance from Pittsbugh; and this party should consist I think of not less than a sergeant & 15 men, or, if circumstances will admit, of an officer and 20 men.

2. As the object of detachment under your command is to carry the act for establishing a town at Presque' Isle into effect, you shall deem it your duty to comply with every lawful request of the commissioners, in stationing the men in such numbers, and at such places, as they shall from time to time think requisite to insure their safety and defence, and, generally, in aiding and facilitating their measures by all the means in your power.

3. The Legislature having made provision for surveying & opening two roads one from Reading and the other from French Creek to Presque' Isle it is obvious that the establishment of the town is intimately connected with those objects; and therefore, you shall deem it your duty to grant all the aid & protection to the respective commissioners and contractors employed in surveying & opening those roads that is compatible with a due attention to the particular charge which is confided to you.

4. In the present state of our northern Frontier, you will deem it a duty peculiarly incumbent on you, to avoid giving any occasion of offence to the peaceable Indians or to the British Garrison which are in that quarter. You will endeavour, in case any intercourse should necessarily or accidentally take place with them, to conciliate and cultivate a good and friendly understanding; and you are, above all things, to remember, that the objects of your appointment are strictly those of protection and defence, and that any act of aggression, or hostility, committed against any person or persons, in amity with the United States, or committed against any person or persons whomsoever, out of the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania, will be unauthorized, and punishable according to law.

5. For the purposes of information, you will keep a journal of your proceedings; and maintain a regular correspondence, as well with the commissioners, appointed to lay out the town at Presque' Isle as well the Brigade Inspector of Allegheny County and when any matter of public importance shall occur, you will, with all possible dispatch communicate the same to me. To these regulations it is perhaps unnecessary to add, that it is expected that you will give the strictest attention to the health, order, and discipline of the detach-

ment under your command; and, in all things, to act as to justify the confidence which your country has reposed in you.

I am, sir,

Your Most Obed^{t} Serv^{t},

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To EBENEZER DENNY, Esq., *Captain of the Allegheny Company, &c.*

SECRETARY DALLAS TO THOS. B. PATTERSON, OF ALLEGHENY.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,

PHILA, 3^{d} *March, 1794.*

SIR: In making the arrangements for organizing the Companies of Infantry to protect our Frontiers, and combining that general object with the execution of the act for laying out a Town at or near Presqu'isle, the Governor has reluctantly been involved in the necessity of requesting your acceptance of a Commission, for the inferior Rank of Lieutenant in the Allegheny Company. He has directed me, however, to assure you, that this measure is not the effect of any dissatisfaction with your past conduct; or of any want of confidence in your future exertions: and, indeed, that he is so convinced of the merit of your services, that he hopes no consideration of a personal nature, will deprive your country of them upon the present occasion.

To the expressions of esteem, which he directs me, on his behalf, to communicate, I beg leave to add those of,

Sir,

Your most obed^{t} serv^{t}.,

A. J. DALLAS,

Secretary.

THOS. B. PATTERSON, Esq., *of Allegheny County.*

CAPT. THOMAS B. PATTERSON TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

PITTSBURGH, *March 25, 1794.*

SIR: I Receiv^{d} your Lettor of the 3^{d} instant, for which I Return you my hartay thankes, and consider it as a honer Dun me both by his Excellency and your Self; and at the same time I am fullay Con-

vinc[d] of the Govners inclitation to sarve me, but I hope he will Pardon me in not excepting the Lieutenant's Commission for the Defence of this County for several Reasons that I have not time at preasent to menshon, as I have But a few minets tell the mail will be cloesd; at the same time I wish to take the Liberty threw you to Recomend a brother of mine to fill that office, or if Mr. Murphay is advanc[d] for a Ensign to Capt Denay's Company, I shall not say any thing as to his merrit, as Col[o] Nevil is sum thing acquanted with him, to whome I Refer his Excellency for information as to his carrector; his name is James Patterson; pray, sir, excuse the incorrectness of this pece as it is dun in sow much hays, and be Leve me to be, with Sincear a steem, your most

Ob[t] Serv[t],

THOS. B. PATTERSON.

M[r] A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary of the State of Pensylv ni.*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GENERAL HARMAR.

PHILADELPHIA, *24th March, 1794.*

SIR: You will inform Lieu[t] Hazlewood, that he is appointed to command a party, consisting of 2 Serjeants, 2 Corporals and 25 privates, drafted from the Artillery Company, to join the detachment which is formed agreeably to law, for the purpose of carrying into effect the act entitled An Act for laying out a Town at Presque Isle and &c and you will instruct him to proceed as expeditiously as possible with his party to Pittsburgh, where he will place himself under the command of Capt. Denny, the Captain of the detachment. In his march to the place or Rendezvous, and in his subsequent exertions to promote the service in which he is employed, I rely upon W Hazlewoods strict attention to order and discipline. I am, Sir,

You Most Obedt. Ser[t]

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To Major Gen JOSIAH HARMAR.

CIRCULAR LETTER TO OFFICERS PRESQU' ISLE EXPEDITION.

PHILADELPHIA, *March 28th, 1794.*

SIR: Inclosed I send you a copy of an act of the General Assembly passed on the 28th ult°, and providing among other things for the defence of the Frontiers, and a Commission by which you are appointed . . . . . of the Company to be employed in protecting the County of . . . . . under the command of Captain,

You will be pleased to apply immediately to Captain . . . . . for instructions to raise your compliment of non-commissioned officers and men, and I rely upon your rendering all the assistance in your power in that respect as well as upon your zeal and spirit in executing the other duties of your Commission.

I am, Sir,

Your Mo: Obed Servt,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

Allegheny County.

Lieutenant Samuel Murphy, vice Thomas Bell Patterson, resigned.
Ensign James Patterson, vice Saml Murphy. promoted.

Westmoreland County.

Ensign Stephen Mehaffy, vice James M°Comb, resigned.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO GEN. NEVILLE.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
PHILADA, *28th March, 1794.*

SIR: The Governor directs me to inform you, that Mr T. B. Patterson, having declined accepting a Commission, as Lieutenant in the Allegheney Company, he has appointed Samuel Murphy in his stead, and James Patterson Ensign of that Company. The Commissions, agreeably to this Arrangement, are now inclosed.

I am, with great esteem,

Dr Sir,

Your most Obedt Servt,

A: J: DALLAS, *Secy.*

To PRESLEY NEVILLE, Esqr, *Brigade Inspector of Allegheney Coy.*

SECRETARY DALLAS TO GEN. CAMPBELL

SECRETARY'S OFFICE
PHILADA, *28th March, 1794.*

SIR: Mr McComb having declined accepting a Commission in the Westmoreland Company, the Governor, Agreeably to your recommendation, has appointed Stephen Mehaffy Ensign of that Company; and a Commission is accordingly inclosed.

I am, with great Regard,
Sir,
Your most Obedt Servt
A: J: DALLAS, *Secy*

To CHARLES CAMPBELL, Esqr, *Brigade Inspector of Westmoreland County.*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, *28th March, 1794.*

SIR: The secretary at war has transmitted to me, by your instructions, a copy of a law relatively to the fortification of the Ports and Harbours therein mentioned; and he has, at the same time, communicated your request, that, as commander-in-chief of the Militia of Penna, I would take upon me the general direction of the business, as far as respects the works to be established within this State.

I undertake the proposed trust with great chearfulness; and you may be assured, Sir, that on this, and on every other occasion, I shall be happy to facilitate the execution of the duties of your arduous station.

Permit me to take the present opportunity of transmitting for your information a copy of an Act of the Gen Ass of Penna entitled "An Act (& defence law) of an act for laying out a town at Presque Isle and of the proceedings which have been instituted for the purpose of carrying those laws into effect.

I have, likewise, inclosed a statement of the number & condition of the cannon belonging to the State of Penna that are above the calibre of eighteen pounds and fit to be appropriated to the Fortifications of the Port of Philadelphia.

I am, with perfect respect,
Sir, your obt. servt.
THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To His Excellent, the President of the United States.

Reports of all number and condition of the cannon belonging to Penn^a at Fort Mifflin.

9———18 pdrs
4———24 do } Well mounted on Garrison Carriages.
1———32 do —Without Trunnions & ad mounted.

A. J. DALLAS,
Secretary of the Com^l.

SECRETARY OF WAR TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *March 31, 1794.*

SIR: The Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has transmitted to the President of the United States the enclosed copy of a law for raising four companies of troops for the Port of Philadelphia, and the defence of the frontiers. And, as it may be considered by some persons as a matter of doubt, whether this measure of Pennsylvania is not in compatible with the constitution of the United States, I am instructed to request your opinion thereon in writing.

Answer of the Attorney General.

April 3^d 1794.

SIR: By your letter of the 31^st ultimo, I understand that a question is made how far the measures contemplated by an act of Pennsylvania, for securing the trade, peace, and safety, of the port of Philadelphia, and defending the western frontiers of the Commonwealth, are consistent with the constitution of the United States. I have, therefore, considered that question with attention, and have now the honor to state to you my opinion, agreeably to your request. The act authorizes the Governor to raise by enlistment, from the militia of the Commonwealth, three companies of riflemen, and one of artillery, to serve under his orders and instructions for eight months, and from thence, until the next meeting of the Legislature, if, in his opinion, the war in Europe, or on the frontiers, shall require it. The artillery company is to be stationed at fort Mifflin, for the purpose of securing the trade peace, and safety, of the port of Philadelphia—a measure which the preamble declares to be expedient, "during the continuance of the war which now rages in Europe:" the rest of the companies (with a detachment of the artillery, which the Governor is empowered to make) are to be

stationed for the defence of the Western frontiers, and to protect the infant settlements at Presqu' Isle.

By the constitution of the United States, it is provided, "that no state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace," &c. This restriction on the power of keeping troops, I am of opinion, is not absolute, but that the qualification intended by the terms "in time of peace," extends to it as well as to that of keeping ships of war. There is, therefore, I apprehend, nothing in the constitution which prohibits the several states from keeping troops in time of war. So far, then, as the act in question contemplates the defence of the Western frontiers against the hostilities of the Indians now at war with the United States, I consider it as within the strictest limit of the constitution. Such measures have heretofore been pursued by the State of Pennsylvania, without objection, and a practical construction of this clause has thus been given.

The rest of the act, however, is questionable and it is not without some hesitation that I deside upon it. The spirit of a prohibition to keep troops in time of war ought to be raised, kept, and employed, with reference to the objects of that war. It is easy to perceive that the dangers which the people of the United States intended to guard against by this prohibition, will exist, if on every breaking out of the Indian or other hostilities, the members of the confederacy may raise troops, and build ships of war, for any object but that of repelling such hostilities. But, although these consequences are evident, I cannot find in the instrument itself, any thing which prohibits the State from stationing and employing the troops which they have a right to keep in time of war, in such manner as they please, so that it be within their respective limits, and do not interfere with the Federal arrangements. I consider all those clauses in the constitution, which restrict the powers of the several states, as subject of a strict construction; and, that these prohibitions are not to be extended by implication, nor the natural and obvious meaning of the words to be enlarged by a consideration of inconveniences which may possibly result from adhering to it.

But, I am also of opinion, that so much of the act as goes to authorize the Governor to keep up those companies, if the circumstances of the war in Europe should in his opinion, require it, is not compatible with the constitution of the United States. If peace shall be made with the Indians, and the United States be engaged in no other war, these troops cannot be constitutionally kept up by Pennsylvania, although the war should continue to rage in Europe.

WM. BRADFORD.

ORDER OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR AND GOVERNOR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *April 4th, 1794.*

SIR: Please to deliver to the Order of his Excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania, the four long Brass nine pounders with their carriages, implements and every apparatus to fit them for service at Fort Mifflin, and also a supply of ammunition for each gun.

I am, Sir,

Your hble Servt,

H. KNOX,
Secretary of War.

SAMUEL HODGDON, Esqr

April 4th, 1794.

SIR: Be pleased to deliver the Guns and Articles above mentioned to Captain Jeremiah Fisher to be transported to Mud Island

THO. MIFFLIN.

Mr HODGDON.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. NEVILLE.

PHILADELPHIA, *4th April, 1794.*

SIR: As the present state of public affairs renders it necessary to take every lawful precaution to prevent a defeat of the designs of Government, I am induced again to press upon your attention that part of my letter of the 1st ultº, which instructs you to take the proper steps for expediting the march of Captain Denny's detachment, and for supporting him by a competent draft from the Militia of Allegheny county, should any emergency require it. I have also written to Genl Wilkins, Junr, and to Captain Denny upon the subject; and upon the application of either of those Officers, specifying the ground of their apprehension of danger, you will make the draft in support of the Presque' isle detachment, which I have in my former orders authorized.

It is understood, I presume, that the party taken from the Allegheny Company, towards forming Captn Denny's detachment, is to be under his command exclusively; and that the men are to be sent to such place of rendezvous as he shall fix, as expeditiously as you

can raise them; but not in smaller numbers than my last letter prescribes.

I am, Sir,

Your Most Obed Hble Serv

THO. MIFFLIN.

To Presly Neville, Esq^{r}, *Brigade Inspector of the County of Allegheny*

SECRETARY DALLAS TO MAJOR DENNY.

Secretary's Office,
Philada, *4th April, 1794.*

Sir: Lest any misunderstanding should arise, in prosecuting the business of your detachment, on account of the absence of the Brigade Inspector, the Governor directs me to transmit to you an extract from the letter, which he wrote to that officer on the 1st ult^{o}, relatively to the arrangements for expediting your march, and supporting you, if necessary, with a competent draft from the Militia. I have, also, inclosed a copy of the additional instructions, which the Governor has issued on that subject in consequence of the present situation of the public affairs. If, at any time, you should judge an augmentation of your force necessary, to repel any actual, or meditated hostilities, from any quarter you will, with all possible dispatch, communicate your situation to General Wilkins Jun^{r} or to the Brigade Inspector of Allegheny County, who have directions to exert themselves for your relief. Still, however, you are to consider your self as bound to act merely on the defensive, agreably to the Governor's orders of the 1st ult^{o}, to avoid every appearance of aggression, consistently with the execution of your trust; and to conciliate the good will of the Indian, or British settlers in the neighbourhood of the County, through which you march.

As the season for commencing your march approaches, you will consult General Wilkins, from a consideration of the actual state of the Country, and of your intelligence respecting any meditated opposition, how far you ought to advance, in order to fix a place of rendezvous for the different parts of your detachment, and the Commissioners. It is presumed that you maintain a regular correspondence with those Gentlemen; whose security is the object of the detachment under your Command, and whose instructions ought, therefore, to be punctually regarded.

In addition to these intimations, the Governor directs me to repeat his desire of hearing from you on every interesting occasion.

With sentiments of esteem,

I am, Sir,

Your most obed^{t} serv^{t}

A. J. DALLAS,

Secretary.

To Captain EBENEZER DENNY.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. WILKINS.

PHILADA., *4th April, 1794.*

SIR: Inclosed I transmit you copies of letters, which have been this day forwarded to the Brigade Inspector of Allegheny County and to Captain Denny, relatively to the detachment destined for the security of the Commissioners in laying out the Town of Presqu' isle. As the state of public affairs requires every lawful precaution to prevent a defeat of the designs of Government, I have authorized provisionally a draft to be made from the Militia of Allegheny County, to co-operate with Cap^{n} Denny in repelling any actual or menaced hostilities from any quarter. The emergency which will require this auxillary, and the number of men that it will be necessary to draft. I have left to your discretion upon a conference with the Brigade Inspector and Captain Denny. You will be pleased, therefore to pay a constant attention to the subject, and to promote as far as it is in your power, an execution of the laws, by which the service of the detachment is required, but, at the same time, without countenancing any act of aggression to be committed upon the persons or property of any description of Men, who are in peace with the United States.

I am, Sir,

Your most obed^{t} serv^{t}

T. MIFFLIN.

To JOHN WILKINS, Jun^{r}, *Brig^{r} General Allegheny County.*

ACT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF PENNSYLVANIA, FOR LAYING OUT A TOWN AT PRESQU' ISLE.

WHEREAS, establishing a town at Presq' Isle would promote the settlement of the neighboring country, and thereby place the frontiers of Pennsylvania in a safer situation: Therefore,

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same*, That the Governor be, and is hereby, empowered to cause to be surveyed, the tract reserved, at and near Presqu' Isle, by the act, entitled "An act for the sale of the vacant lands within this Commonwealth," passed the third day of April, 1792; and at the most eligible place, within the said tract, he shall cause to be laid out and surveyed, sixteen hundred acres of land, in town lots, not more than one-third of an acre each; and, also, three thousand four hundred acres, adjoining the same, in out lots, not less than five acres, nor more than ten acres each: *Provided, always*, That the Governor shall reserve, out of the lots of the said town, so much land as he shall deem necessary for public uses; also, so much land, within or out of the said town, as may, in his opinion, be wanted by the United States for the purpose of erecting forts, magazines, arsenals, and dock yards.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That the first two hundred persons that shall actually inhabit and reside, on or before the first day of January next, within the said town, shall each and every of them be entitled to one unappropriated town lot, to be ascertained by lottery, for which they shall, respectively, receive a deed, clear of all charges: *Provided*, That such persons, respectively, or their respective representatives, or assignees, shall inhabit and reside within the said town, for the term of three years; and, also, within the said town, build, or cause to be built, a house at least sixteen feet square, and containing at least, one brick or stone chimney, on the town lots to be granted in pursuance of this act

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That the Governor is hereby authorized to sell two hundred of the town lots, exclusively of those granted by the next preceding section, and the whole of the other out lots, in such manner as he shall think most to the advantage of the State, and make conveyances of the same; excepting, always, such as shall be made upon this condition: that the respective purchasers shall, and do, within the term of three years, erect and build one house, at least sixteen feet square, and containing, at least, one brick or stone chimney, on each and every

town lot by them purchased; and no deed of conveyance shall be granted by the Governor, to any purchaser, nor, after the expiration of the said term of three years, shall the sale be deemed, or construed, to vest any title, claim, or demand, in any purchaser, unless satisfactory proof be first given that a house has been erected and built, on the town lots sold, as aforesaid, That the streets, lanes, and alleys, of the said town and out lots, shall be common highways forever; and that, previous to the sale, or sales, of the said town lots and out lots, notice shall be given of the same in at least three of the newspapers of the State, at least ten weeks previous to such sale or sales.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That the expences necessary to carry this act into operation shall be paid out of the moneys arising from the aforementioned lots and out lots.

GERARDUS WYNKOOP,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

SAMUEL POWELL,
Speaker of the Senate.

Approved April 8, 1794.

THOMAS MIFFLIN,
Governor of Pennsylvania.

GEN. JOHN WILKINS TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *18th April, 1794.*

SIR: I had the honour of your letter of the 4th Instant. The state & backwardness of the detachments which were to form Captn Dennys command required an immediate exertion, or the designs of government might be entirely defeated. The military stores & provisions which had been forwarded to the mouth of french creek & to Cussawago, were without any protection, & unless an establishment was made early at Lebuef, the advantage of the navigation of french creek could not be embraced. It was very probable that if the stores could not be transported by water to Lebuef, that a great part could not be got by other means there. An establishment at Lebeuf, then, as early as possible appeared to me of the greatest consequence, & on it depended the whole success of taking possession of Presqu'isle in a respectable manner. The detachments which were to come from washington & westmoreland had not been forwarded, & Captn Denny had not men enough enlisted to form a sufficient escort. Therefore, on a Conference with the Brigade Inspectors & Captn Denny, I thought it best to make a draft from the Allegheny County militia. The delay in making a regular draft

would be too great to answer the purpose for which they were intended, & in order to procure them immediately, it was thought best to get a party of Volunteers, to serve untill releived by a Draft to be made from the militia, & a Detachment from Capt^{n} Dennys Command. I applied to one or two spirited officers who immediately engaged about forty active men, who are to rendezvous at this place today & to proceed for Lebeuf tomorrow. I hope this plan & arrangement will meet your approbation.

am, Sir, with the greatest respect,

your most ob^{t} Hon^{r} Servant,

JN^{o} WILKINS, J^{r}

THOMAS MIFFLIN, *Governor of Penn^{a}*

MAJOR DENNY TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *April 18th, 1794.*

SIR: By the last post I had the honor of receiving further instructions from you and Copies of your Letters to the Inspector of this County, dated March 1st & April 4th. Also a copy of one to General Wilkins. I had understood that your orders to the inspectors was to send the detachments intended for my command to this place as the men were raised, but not in less numbers than three. I am sorry that I have occasion to inform you that not one man has come as yet from either of the other two counties.

Since my first instructions, the commissioners have thought proper to direct, that a party of a Sub. and not less than twenty five men Should, as soon as possible, be sent forward to Le beuff with the stores which were waiting to be pushed up. This letter came the 4th inst—no part of the men from the other counties had arrived—I wrote immediately to both the Inspectors stating the necessity of forwarding their men here (we had heard they were complete) and mentioned the orders I had received. Not knowing when to expect these men, and being sensible of the necessity of taking every advantage of the present state of the rivers, I have, with Gen^{l} Wilkins, requested the inspector to order out two officers & 45 men from the militia the small party which was in my power to send not being sufficient. This is the only measure that probably may prevent a defeat of the designs of Government. We conceived it a case of emergency. Instead of Drafting, it has been thought best to call for volunteers for one month. I am told they will be ready to march, perhaps, on Sunday or Monday next. Considerable part of the stores & provisions have been sent off some time since. The boats with the cannon left this two days ago. It is intended that the Vol-

unteers shall meet them at Fort Franklin and guard them, and everything else thats sending up, to Le Beuff, if its possible to get that length.

Men are not so easy to be had here as was expected—this county has always been behind the others in raising men for the frontiers. Tho we have not confined ourselves to this county alone, still we cant muster more than 27 men; but that can be accounted for. The numerous parties that are all through this country engaging Pack horse men at *15 dollars* per month and the number of boat men wanted here, none under 10 dollars, besides surveyors & others going to the woods, all giving high wages, has taken off the very men that was calculated upon joining our service. Had our business commenced a month or two earlier we should have had much better success. We have hopes that about the middle of next month our numbers may be made up.

I am, with very great respect,

Sir, your most obedient servant,

E. DENNY,

Captain Allegheny Company of Levies.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, *Esquire, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.*

JOHN SLOAN TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WESTMORELAND, *19th April, 1794.*

SIR: I Have had the pleasure of receiving the Commission with which you ware pleased to honour me, and out of respect to your Confidence in me, and an honest zeal to protect my fellow Citizens on the fronteers, I have chearfully accepted of it. I have Got the Company full, and has Got them all at their proper Stations, that is what is alowed for the fronteers of this County. I have also Marched my Ensigns, one Sergent, one Corporal and twenty privits, the 1st instant, to Join Capt Denny at fourtpit, according to your orders,

There has been Som indian tracts Seen on our fronteers. I sent a party after them, as I could not go myself on acount of Coming in to Send the party to Pit.

I shall use all Possible means in my power for the Defence of the fronteer in my nebouhood with the Small party I have.

With perfect respect,

I am

You Excelencys

most obedt servt,

JN° SLOAN.

The GOVERNOR.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO MAJOR DENNY.

PHILADA., *25th April, 1794.*

SIR: I lament the delays which have taken place in assembling the men to form the detachment under your command for protecting the Commissioners in laying out the town at Presq'isle, but, I hope the repetition of my instructions to the Brigade Inspectors will prevent any further inconveniency in that respect.

I have expressed to General Wilkins my approbation of the measures, which have been pursued on the occasion; and I feel the utmost confidence, that all your measures will be pursued with zeal, harmony and economy.

I am, Sir,
Your mo: obedt Servt
T. MIFFLIN.

To EB: DENNY, Esqr *Captain of the Allegheny Compy of Levies.*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GENERAL WILKINS.

PHILADA., *25th April, 1794.*

SIR: I received your letter of the 18th Instant, and approve of the exertions, which you have made, to promote the object of the Government, in laying out a Town at Presqu-isle The draft from the Militia appears, under the circumstances which have occurred, to have been unavoidable: but I hope that Capt Denny's detachment will soon (perhaps already) be compleated. At this distance from the scene of operation, I must necessarily rely, in a great degree, upon the vigilance and discretion of the officers immediately employed, and I have no doubt, that, with the advice and assistance of the Commissioners, every measure will be planned with Judgment, and executed with a due attention to economy. As early as you can with safety, you will, of course, dismiss the party of Militia; but if any emergency happens, my general instructions will authorise your collecting a force competent to meet it.

I am, Sir,
Your mo: obedt Servt
T. MIFFLIN.

To JOHN WILKINS, Jr., Esqr, *Brigr Genl Allegheny Brigade of Militia.*

MAJOR DENNY TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *April 25th, 1794.*

SIR: I had the honor of writing to you by the last post, mentioning the necessity we were under of calling out a few militia in order to take advantage of the rivers while up. I then could not calculate with any certainty what time the detachments from the other counties would arrive; however, the greatest part of them came in time to join the Volunteers. They marched on monday last, and encamped the first night twenty one miles from here on the rout to Fort franklin, and in all probability would reach that place yesterday.

Ensign Mahaffy, from westmoreland, had the direction of the State troops—2 Serjeants, 2 corporals and 43 privates. The Volunteer consisted of a captain, Lieutenant & 30 men. Total 1 capt. 1 Lieu, 1 Ensign and 77 men. They will go no further than Le beuff.

I have not such confidence in the Six nations as to think they will favor the establishment, and a small party subject to a few ill disposed Indians, their power would be more liable to be stopped by them—not that I think they will offer any violence immediately, but I think they will throw some objections in the way, perhaps desire the business postponed for a while. We have certain information that the chiefs were lately assembled in council at the mouth of Buffaloe;—their meetings there have always been influenced by British agents and I should not be surprised to find them return with a wish to prevent the settlement at Presqu isle. I have received Letters from the inspectors of Washington and Westmoreland counties informing me of the Orders they had from you, telling me that whatever reinforcements we required might be depended on. Doctor Wilkins has gone in company with the party to Le beuff, I have requested him & directed Mahaffey to write to me by every opportunity, & should anything material be discovered, to send off an express.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem,

Sir,

your obed^{t} Servant,

E. DENNY, *Cap^{t}.*

THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esquire, *Governor of the State of Pennsylvania.*

GEN. JOHN WILKINS TO COLONEL CLEMENT BIDDLE.

FORT FRANKLIN, *25th April, 1794.*

D^r SIR: I arrived at this place yesterday evening. There came a party along consisting of about forty men from Capt^n Denny's command, & thirty Volunteers from the county allegheny county. We proceed tomorrow to Cussawago. The news at this place is not favourable towards our establishment at Presq 'Isle—all the persons most conversant with the Indians at this place, as well as the commanding officer of this Fort agree that the indians, instated by the British, are meditating an opposition to the designs of government respecting that place. Cornplanter & the other indians on the alligheny river have been invited to a Counsil at Buffaloe Creek, to which place he & they immediately went, & on the result of that Counsel seems to hang peace or war between us and the Six nations. There has been a great deal of pains used lately by the English to sour their minds, & the seem in some measure to have effected it. The claims of the Six nations seems to rise as the western indians are successful against the army of the United States, & as the British promises to afford them assistance. This counsil to which the english has summoned & the readiness with which the indians obeyed the summons promises no good towards this part of the country.

My intention is to proceed to Cussawago & wait for farther intelligence a day or two; & should a serious opposition seem to be medi.ating by the indians, to proceed no farther with the stores untill reinforced by more men, to enable the effecting an establishment at Le beuf. The water is very low. It is with the utmost difficulty we will be able to go on with small canoes at present, but live in hopes that we will have a rise in the water.

I am, Sir, your most ob^t

H^e S^t

JN^o WILKINS, J^r

CLEMENT BIDDLE, Esq^r, *Q^r Master Gen. State Penn^a.*

SECRETARY DALLAS TO CAP^t. JOHN WOODSIDES

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
PHILAD^a., *28th April, 1794.*

SIR: The Governor directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your personal (several) letter, requesting that a court martial may be

held, to investigate your charges against Lieu^{t}. James Thompson. A variety of circumstances prevented an earlier decision upon your application; but I am instructed to inform you that it will not be neglected. As, however, you admit the possibility of an amicable adjustment of the controversy, I am, In hopes that, in consequence of a letter sent this day to Lieu^{t} Thompson, you will receive a reasonable satisfaction, without the trouble of convening a court martial, should that not be the case the necessary orders will be issued.

I am, Sir,

Yr. obed. Hble. Serv^{t}.

A. J. DALLAS.

To Cap^{t} Jno. Woodside.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO LIEUT JAMES THOMPSON.

Secretary's Office,
Philad^{a}, *28th April, 1794.*

Sir: The Governor directs me to inform you, that Cap^{t}. John Woodside's has repeated his request for instituting in enquiry into your conduct at Fort Mifflin on a charge for violating the 1st article of the 24 section of the act of the General Assembly, entitled "An Act for the regulation of the Militia of the Commonwealth of Pen^{a}," and also, on a charge (exhibited by virtue of the 19th article of the same section) for violating the 5 article of the 18 section of the rules and articles for the Government of the Federal Army.

A compliance with Cap^{t} Woodside's request has hitherto been delayed principally, with a hope that an accommodation, satisfactory to both parties, would take place; but as this prospect seems to be at an end, the governor thinks it proper that you should be apprised of the necessity for his ordering a court martial to be held on the occasion.

Permit me, however, to express a wish that you will take advantage of this communication to enter into an honorable compromise with Cap^{t} Woodside's; and that I may be able to inform the Governor of the result in the course of a few days, during which the proceedings will probable be suspended.

I, am, Sir,

Yr. Most Obed Ser^{t},

A. J. DALLAS.

To L^{t} James Thompson.

COL. M^cCUTCHEON TO GEN. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

JUNIATTA CROSSINGS, *April 20th, 1794.*

D^rn SIR: I arrived here last Evening, with the men. Shall Proceed on my march to-morrow morning. I find it very Difficult to Get Provisions Since I left Carlisle. I should have been much farther, but badness of Weather Prevented; & one of my men taking sick while at Carlisle, I applied to Dot^r Stevenson to attend him, & in a short time he Got Better. I here that Lieut^n Harebssowd is at Bedford, waiting for me to Come up. I shall, however, make the Best of my Way for Pittsburg, According to my Instructions.

I am, with much Respect,
Your humble Servant,
SAM^l M^cCUTCHON, *Q^r M^r*

CLEMENT BIDDLE, Esq^r, *Q^r M^r Gen^l.*

MAJOR DENNY TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURG, *May 2nd, 1794.*

SIR: I had the honor to address you on the 25th ult, since which nothing material has happen'd. The party sent forward to establish a post of protection and defence at Le beuff consisted of a Captain, Lieutenant, & 30 Volunteers, and an Ensign & 47 of the State Troops—they were at Fort Franklin the 24th as expected. A very seasonable rain which fell while they were on their march to that post will, (provided the way is open,) enable the contractor to push all the provisions and stores up the creek without loss of time. We are not without apprehensions that this council holding between the Chiefs of the Six nations and the British at the mouth of Buffaloe Creek, may terminate unfavorably to our establishment.

The Corn Planter is not with them, but I am told he has ordered away the Traders who had Stores in his town.

Before our detachment proceeds further than Mead's settlement, the disposition of these Indians will be known, and in case any oppostion is offered, the party will halt and secure themselves & the Stores until a sufficient reinforcement joins them. I depend upon Doctor Wilkins, & Ensign Mahaffy for the earliest notice.

Lieut. Murphy and Ensign Patterson have been about three weeks away, endeavoring to find men for the Allegheny company. Patterson has been tolerable successful. Murphy I have not heard

from. He is in Fayette county. They must both be here in a few days now.

No doubt but you have been informed of the death of Lieut Hazlewood. His men will reach this perhaps in six days.

I acknowledge the honor of your Letter of the 25th April. The delays which took place in sending on the men from the other counties, the inspectors took pains to account for; & I'm in hopes there will be no ill consequences. The inspectors are all desirous to promote the establishment at Presquisle, and have informed me of their orders from the Governor.

I have the honor to be,
with great respect and esteem,
Sir,
your most obedt & most hmble servt,

THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esquire, *Governor.* E. DENNY, *Captn.*

GEN. ISRAEL CHAPIN TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

CANANDARGUAY, *6th May, 1794.*

Since the departure of my son, I have received more direct information of the British having began to erect a fort at Sandusky than I had, when I had the honor of writing to you by him. I therefore at that time only verbally directed him to acquaint you therewith.

"They feel very much alarmed at the garrisoning of Presque Isle, and endeavour to persuade the Indians that it is only to secure the property of that place, which they contend was fraudulently purchased of a few idividuals, and not of the nation. If the garrison destined for that place is not pretty strong it is doubtful whether it will not be attacked."

SECRETARY DALLAS TO GEN KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
PHILADA, *9th May, 1794.*

SIR: In the absence of the Governor, permit me to communicate to you, for the information of the President, copies of letters, which have been received this day, from General Wilkins and Capt Denny,

relatively to the arrangements that are made, for laying out a Town at Presqu-'isle, agreeable to a law of the State of Pennsylvania, and the possible opposition, which the Indians may give, to the accomplishment of that object.

I am, Sir,

Your most obed Hble Sert,.

A. J. DALLAS, *Secy of Common.*

To HENRY KNOX, esq., *Secretary of War.*

SECRETARY DALLAS TO GEN. WILKINS.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
PHILAD^{a}, *9th May, 1794.*

SIR: I am happy in the opportunity of repeating to you, by Gen^{l} Irvine, the Governor's instructions, for proceeding with the utmost vigilance and precaution, in executing the object of the law, for laying out a town at Presque Isle. The authority already provisionally given for making drafts from the Governor conceives to be sufficient to meet every possible mergency; but he directs me to add, that whatever plan Gen^{l} Irvine may approve, being consistent with the law, and necessary to carry it into effect, he will ratify, you will therefore, from an actual view of the state of the country, and the movements of the Indians (which, at this distance, cannot be seasonable taken by the Governor) concert with Gen^{l} Irvine, and proper officers of the Western countries, the measures necessary for safety and defence. The letters recently received from you & Cap^{t} Denney dated respectively the 25 of Ap^{l} & 2^{d} of May, show that the situation of the detachment may eventually become critical, and therefore the Governor entreats that no lawful exertion may be omitted.

I am, with great regards,
Sir,
Your Most Obed^{t} Ser^{t},
A. J. DALLAS.

To JOHN WILKINS, Jun., Esq., *Brig^{r} Gen^{l} of Allegheny County.*

[A similar Letter was written to Ebenezer Denny, Cap^{t} of the Presque-Isle detachment.]

GEN. JOHN WILKINS TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

FORT FRANKLIN, *11th May, 1794.*

SIR: On the first of this month a very disagreeable affair happened at this place. A white man of the name of Robertson, killed a friendly indian. The man was taken into custody immediately by the commanding officer, & still remains in confinement. Robertson is a young man, & perhaps was a little intoxicated, but his character is not good. It is thought best not to remove him from this place untill the indians are satisfied. If he is removed before, some innocent person may suffer, as the Indians say the white people always tell them they will punish crimes of this kind, but never yet have done it; & they are determined not to let this instance pass without having justice. The father of the young man, who is a decent old man, lives at pittsburgh, has sent Joseph Nicholson to endeavour to satisfy the friends of the deceased. Nicholson, yesterday had a counsell with all the Indians that were here, at which we all assisted & offered about one hundred Dollars to replace, in the Indian way, the man that is dead. The indians were all well satisfied with the offer. The property is to be deposited in the hands of the commanding officer until the relations come for it, if they are satisfied with it, & the young man is to remain in confinement at this place until the opinion of the relations is taken. Too much cannot be done at present by the state of Penn[a] to keep the six nation Indians friendly, & perhaps, on this occasion, some person might be authorised to make them some presents. I enclose the depositions I took of some white men who were present.

The troops of the state took possession of the forks of french creek, about two miles below the old post of Lebuef, & had a small block house built, to which place I accompanied them. I was with them two days, but a runner from the indians occasioned my return to this place, on account of the man being killed. The troops would move forward to Lebuef in two or three Days, only waited the cutting of logs out of the Creek, which obstructed the navigation, & untill the fatigue parties had finished getting materials, so that the whole might go forward at once, & cover themselves. This part of the business has been accomplished by about seventy men, consisting of forty men raised for Capt[n] Denny's command & thirty Volunteers from allegheny county. The greater part of the military stores have been forwarded as far as Cussawago, but owing to the low water, from the advanced season of the year, they now remain, & I am waiting the first rise in french creek to convey them compleatly to Lebuef.

No doubt but you have been officially informed of the result of the counsel at Buffloe creek held by the six nations. They refuse at-

tending a treaty they were invited to at this place by the agent of the united states. All the friendly Indians I have talked with here, and at other places, say, the British are determined to oppose the progress of the state troops from Le buef to presq 'isle. An Indian, this day, a very honest, intelligent fellow, told me that the English were fixed in making opposition to the first party that should attempt opening the road from Le buef to Presq 'isle, by sending a number of Indians & english to cut them off—Cornplanter writes to the commanding officer of this post nearly to the same affect. I mention these circumstances, & I mean to know more, as it is probable he will have to be strengthened by a party of militia.

I am, Sir, with great respect your very

Hum° Ser^t^

JN° WILKINS J^r^.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, *Governor of Penn^a^.*

SECRETARY DALLAS TO GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
PHILADA, *12^th^ May, 1794.*

SIR: M^r^ Eddie, a member of the Senate of Pennsylvania, has addressed the Governor, in favor of M^r^ Brown, who wishes to apply, for an appointment as Surgeon's mate in the western Army; and in the absence of the Governor, I think it incumbent on me to communicate a copy of the letter to you.

I am, Sir,

Y^r^ most obed Hble Ser

A. J. DALLAS,
Secretary.

To H. KNOX, Esq., *Secr. at War.*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. HARMAR.

PHILADELPHIA, *May 19^th^, 1794.*

SIR: In addition to the instructions, which I have this day, given in order to comply, with the President's requisition for 10,768 Militia, I think it proper in a separate communication to advert to the difficulty, that may arise from a non-compliance with that part of the

law, which enjoins it, as a duty, upon every man not especially exempted to provide his own arms and accoutrements as far as it is practicable to enforce this reasonable regulation, I wish it to be done; but at the same time, the immediate want of arms and accoutrements must not be made an impediment to the organization of the detachment in every other respect; because, if the mode prescribed by law for arming & equipping the militia should prove ineffectual, I shall eventually deem it incumbent on me, in a service of so much importance, to require the particular aid of the Legislature. You will, therefore, in a confidential manner, suggest to the Brigade Inspectors the sentiments which I entertain on this subject; and inform them that while they endeavor by every patriotic incitment and lawful co-ercion to produce a compliance with the existing regulations, it will be proper as early as possible to ascertain and communicate the actual prospect of success, from individual exertions, that I may regulate my conduct accordingly. As however there are some public arms in every county; and as the volunteer corps have in general armed and equipped themselves, I indulge a hope, that an extraordinary interposition of the Legislature (which cannot be speedily obtained without great expence and trouble to the country) may be avoided,

I am, sir,

Y^r^ most obed^t^ ser^t^

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To JOS. HARMER, Esqr., *Adj. Gen^l^ of Penn^a^.*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADA, *20^th^ May, 1794.*

SIR: In compliance with your request, communicated by the Secretary at War, in his letter of the 19^th^ current, I have the honor to inform you, that orders were immediately issued to the Adjutant General for organizing, arming, and equipping, according to law, 10,768, of the Militia of Pennsylvania, officers included; agreeably to your requisition, founded on the Act of Congress entitled "An Act directing a detachment from the Militia of the United States." Of those orders, of the Roll stating the quota of the several Brigades of this Commonwealth, and of a letter to the Adjutant General calling for such information as may eventually enable me to guard against the want of arms and equipments I have for your satisfaction, inclosed authenticated copies; and, permit me to assure you, Sir, that I shall with the utmost cheerfulness take the most effectual

measures in my power, for organizing arming and equipping according to law not only the detachment comprised in your requisition, but the whole Militia of Pennsylvania.

I am, with perfect respect,
Sir,
Y^r^ Most Obed^t^ H^ble^ Sr
THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To The President of the U. S.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO MILITIA OFFICERS OF THE WESTERN COUNTIES.

PHILA., *23^d^ May, 1794.*

SIR: The information that I have received, relatively to the hostile disposition of the Indians, as well as of the British upon our Northern frontier, convinces me of the necessity of immediately taking effectual measures to ensure the execution of the law, which directs a town to be laid out Presque Isle. Notwithstanding, therefore, the general discretionary authority which I have formerly given, I have determined to direct a draft of 1000, Militia officers included, from the Brigades of Westmoreland, Washington, Allegheny and Fayette, expressly to co-operate, under the command of Gen^l^ Wilkins, with Cap^t^ Denny's detachment. The quota of the (Allegheny) Brigade amounts to which you will muster with all possible dispatch, and march them to such place of rendez . . . as Gen^l^ Wilkins and the Brigade Inspectors of the other Counties as we mentioned shall agree upon. In this and every other arrangement, however, relatively to the Presque Isle object I wish particular attention to be paid to the opinion and advice of Gen^l^ Irvine, who will, I hope, be at Pittsburgh before the receipt of this letter, should the establishment of Block-houses on the route to Presque Isle be deemed indispensible to the safety of the detachment, and the execution of the law, a judicious and an economical plan of that kind will also meet with my approbation.

I rely essentially upon your zeal and prudence in the execution of those orders, which, owing to my distance from the scene of action, and the nature of the service, must be, in a great measure, discretionary. But, I am persuaded, you will proceed with such circumspection, as to preclude every idea of reproach, either with respect to your own conduct, or the confidence which I have reposed in you. I state only, therefore, add a wish to hear from you by every regu-

lar opportunity; and if any extraordinary event occurs, you will communicate it by express.

I am, Sir,

Y^r^ Most Obed^t^ H^ble^

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

Circular to the Brigade Inspectors of the counties of Westmoreland, Washington Allegheny and Fayette.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

PHILADELPHIA, *May 23, 1794.*

SIR: As I am desirous to furnish the President with every article of useful intelligence which I receive, I have thought it proper to communicate to you, for that purpose, a copy of a letter from Brigadier General Wilkins, dated the eleventh current, relatively to the murder of a friendly Indian at fort Franklin, and the prospect of opposition from the British troops, in laying out a town at Presqu 'Isle, agreeably to the directions of the Legislature of Pennsylvania. On the first of these subjects, I have received the copy of Lieutenant Polhemus letter, enclosed in yours of this day, but the depositions mentioned by General Wilkins, as well as by Lieutenant Polhemus, have not been transmitted to me; I shall, however, refer the case to the attorney general of this State, with instructions for proceeding, in the most expeditious manner, to bring the murderer to justice.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 23^d^, 1794.*

SIR: I have the honor to transmit your Excellency enclosed the Copy of a letter just received from Lieut Polhemus, the commanding officer at Fort Franklin, relatively to a murder which has been committed on a Munsee Indian by a Citizen of Pennsylvania, I believe belonging to the State troops. The importance of taking all pos-

sible measures to bring the offender to Justice will be obvious to you.

I have the honor to be,
with great respect,
Your obedient Servant,
H. KNOX,
Secy of War.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

LIEUT. JOHN POLHEMUS TO GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

FORT FRANKLIN, *9th May, 1794.*

HON^ble^ SIR: On the first day of this month, at night, a certain Andrew Robinson killed a Muncy Indian without any provocation. The Prisoner I have in confinement. Gen^l^ Wilkins has taken the depositions of those Men that were present, and fowarded them to the Governor of Pennsylvania This creates a great uneasiness in the minds of the six Nations. They say that since they have become friends of the United States, they have lost several of their Warriors, for which, they say, they have been promised satisfaction, but have never yet received any. The young Warriors at this place say, that if their Chiefs do not see this man executed, that they will. They are determined that he shall not be removed from here, until their minds are made easy; they wish that the President of the United States should be acquainted with this circumstance as soon as possible. I expect, in a few days, that the Civil Authority will call on me for him. Should he be taken from this place previous to an answer to this, I am afraid it will be the cause of innocent blood to be shed.

The weakness of this Garrison is great. My Men are almost worn down with fatigue. The Indians about this place appear to be much altered within a few days. I have reason to believe that the British are watching the movements of the Troops in this country bound for Prisque 'Isle. I have reasons likewise to believe we shall meet with trouble in this country. Be assured nothing shall be wanting on my part that can be done.

I am,
Sir,
with sentiments of the
greatest respect,
your most obed^t^ hum^b^ Serv^t^,
JN^o^ POLHEMUS, *L^t^*

General KNOX.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GENERALS IRVINE AND WILKINS.

PHILADELPHIA, *23d May, 1794.*

SIR: Inclosed I send you a copy of a circular letter to the Brigade Inspector of the Western Countries: from which you will perceive my determination, by every lawful means, to support the detachment employed in executing the law for laying out a town at Presque Isle. I request your particular attention to the arrangements which will be made on this occasion; and you will still remember that defensive operations are the only objects of our armament. Let me hear from you by every regular opportunity; and if any extraordinary event occurs, be pleased to communicate it by express.

[I am very sorry at the intelligence contained in your letter of the 11th current, relatively to the murder of a friendly Indian but the measures which have been pursued seem to me to be as judicious as could be devised. The Executive of the General Government had previously informed me of the unfortunate occurrence; and I have referred the prosecution of the offender to the Attorney General. The depositions taken at Fort Franklin did not, as you mention, accompany your letter.]

Some intelligence has been received of the March of several Companies of British troops to take part near the rapids of the Miami, in the very course of general Wayne's march. This maneuver, together with your own information, must evince a hostile disposition, which cannot fail to command the most serious attention of the Genl Govt. In the meantime, however, it may serve to warn you of the critical state of our Presque Isle settlement, and calls for an exertion of judgment, prudence, and spirit.

I am, Sir,

Yr Most Obedt Hble Sert

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To Brig. Genl JOHN WILKINS.

[A similar letter was sent to Genl Irvine, leaving out the paragraph contained between the crotchets, and instead of the words your own in the last paragraph, the words General Wilkins.]

COLONEL JOHN WILKINS TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

PITTSBURGH, *May 23, 1794.*

SIR: On the 1st of this month a very disagreeable affair happened at this place. A white man by the name of Robertson killed a friendly Indian. The man was taken into custody immediately, by the commanding officer, and still remains in confinement. Robertson is a young man, and perhaps was a little intoxicated; but his character is not good. It is thought best not to remove him from this place, until the Indians are satisfied. If he is removed before, some innocent person may suffer, as the Indians say the white people always tell them they will punish crimes of this kind, but never yet have done it, and they are determined not to let this instance pass without having justice. The father of the young man, who is a decent old man, living at Pittsburg, has sent Joseph Nicholson to endeavor to satisfy the friends of the deceased. Yesterday, Nicholson had a council with the Indians that were here, at which we all assisted, and offered about one hundred dollars to replace, in the Indian way, the man that is dead. The Indians were all well satisfied with the offer. The property is to be deposited in the hands of the commanding officer, until the relations come for it, if they are satisfied with it, and the young man is to remain in confinement at this place, until the opinion of the relations is taken. Too much cannot be done at present, by the State of Pennsylvania, to keep the Six Nation Indians friendly, and, perhaps, on this occasion, some person might be authorized to make them some presents. I enclose the depositions I took of some white men who were present.

The troops of the State took possession of the Forks of French creek, about two miles below the old post of Le Boeuf, and had a small block-house built, to which place I accompanied them. I was with them two days; but a runner from the Indians occasioned my return to this place, on account of the man being killed. The troops would move forward to Le Boeuf in two or three days. Only waited the cutting of logs out of the creek, which obstructed the navigation, and until the fatigue parties had finished getting materials, so that the whole might go forward at once, and cover themselves. This part of the business has been accomplished by about seventy men, consisting of forty men, raised by Captain Denny's command, and thirty volunteers from Allegheny county. The greater part of the Military stores have been forwarded as far as Cassawago, but, owing to the low waters, from the advanced season of the year, they now remain, and I am waiting the first rise in French creek, to convey them completely to Le Boeuf.

No doubt but you have been officially informed of the result of the

council at Buffalo creek, held by the Six Nations. They refuse attending a treaty they were invited to, at this place, by the agent of the United States. All the friendly Indians I have talked with here and at other places, say, the British are determined to oppose the progress of the State troops from Le Boeuf to Presqu 'Isle. An Indian this day, a very honest intelligent fellow, told me, that the English were fixed in making an opposition to the first party that should attempt opening the road from Le Boeuf to Presqu Isle, by sending a number of Indians and English to cut them off. Cornplanter writes to the commanding officer of this post nearly to the same effect. I mention these circumstances, and I mean to know more, as it is probable he will have to be strengthened by a party of militia.

I am, &c.,

JOHN WILKINS, Jun.

A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary.*

ANDREW ELLICOTT TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURG, *May 23d 1794.*

SIR: I arrived at this place early on tuesday morning last, and immediately waited on Capt Denny, who I found had made such arrangements, that it would be in our power to proceed up the river whenever joined by Gen. Irvine, whose arrival we are now hourly expecting. I have been endeavouring to obtain such information as may be relied on respecting the disposition of the Indians; but the accounts are so vague, and in some cases so contradictory, that nothing less than a spirit of devination could enable a person to draw any certain conclusions from them. One company of surveyors, from a strong presumption of danger, quitted the woods on wednesday last and returned to this place. I have enclosed the copy of a letter from Mr Wilkins to Capt Denny. The information which It contains I presume will not be very agreeable, neither the creek, nor road appear as yet to have been meddled with. But in this I have not been disappointed and always calculated upon a delay from that quarter. You may safely presume upon our assertions, [and in the language of Uncle Toby,—by G—d the establishment shall be completed this season.] I is not without great pleasure, that I have it in my power to inform you with truth,—that the detachment of Artillery under the command of M. Hazelwood makes a much better appearance than I had any reason to expect.

I am sir, with much esteem,

Your real Friend,

GOV. MIFFLIN. ANDrw ELLICOTT.

JOHN WILKINS, Jr., TO MAJOR DENNY.

FORT FRANKLIN, *15th May, 1794.*

D^r SIR: I received yours of the tenth Ins^t. I left the troops about a week ago at the forks of French Creek, about two miles below Le beuf, where they had built a small block house, & would remain until they had procured Materials for erecting block houses at Le beuf. We halted at the forks on account of the Navigation from that up being obstructed with logs, which would be to cut out before they could ascend the Creek.

The Indians all say an opposition will be made by the British to the progress of the Troops from Le beuf to Presqu 'Isle. What dependance is to be put on this kind of intelligence I am at a loss to know. I think the Indians believe it, for they seem anxious for our safety.

I shall be down in a few days—I suppose the Artillery had best not move until I come down. The Cannon & Stores are all scattered along the Creek, having been obliged to leave them as the water fell very fast, and am now waiting for its rise.

I am, &^c, your,

JN^o WILKINS, Jun.

Cap^t DENNY.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILA., *24th May, 1794.*

SIR: The information contained in the letter from Gen^l Wilkins, which I communicated to you yesterday, and the general aspect of our affairs on the frontiers, enfering the necessity of an immediate exertion, to support the detachment which the Legislature of Pennsylvania directed to be formed, for the purpose of protecting the commissioners, who were authorized to lay out a town at Presque Isle, I have issued orders for drafting one thousand Militia from the Western Brigades for that particular service. I have the honor to enclose a copy of my orders, and to be, with perfect respect.

Sir,

Your Excellency's

Most Obed^t H^ble

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To the P. of the U. S.

GENERAL KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

War Department,
May 24, 1794.

Sir: The President of the United States has directed me to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of this date, enclosing a copy of the orders, which you have issued for drafting One thousand Militia from the Western Brigades, to support the detachment which the Legislature of Pennsylvania directed to be formed for the purpose of protecting the Commissioners, who were authorized to lay out a Town at Presque Isle.

It was intimated to the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania by me on the 10 instant, that, under the actual circumstances of the United States, it became a subject of serious consideration whether any measures ought now to be urged, which are likely to produce disgust to our friends the Six Nations and to extend Indian hostilities.

Since then information has been received from Israel Chapin, of which a copy is herein enclosed, by which it will be perceived that affairs are critically circumstanced between the United States and the said Six Nations.

The President of the United States, on mature reflection, is of opinion that it is adviseable to suspend for the present the establishment at Presque Isle. That independent of certain other considerations of delicacy and moment, which at no distant day will be better appreciated, the high probability of an immediate rupture with the six Nations, if the measure be persisted in, countenanced by the late information, and encreased by the recent murder of one of their people, appears to him a solid reason for a temporary suspension.

I have the honor to be,
with great respect,
Your Excellency's
Obedient Servant,
H. KNOX,
Secretary of War.

His Excellency Governor Mifflin.

CIRCULAR DIRECTING THE SUSPENSION OF THE PRESQU' ISLE SETTLEMENT.

PHILADELPHIA, *24th May, 1794.*

SIR: At the particular instance and request of the President of the U. S., (communicated to me subsequently to the departure of the post with my letter of the 23d,) I have been induced to suspend, for the present, the execution of the Act of the Genl Assembly, for laying out a town at Presque Isle. You will, therefore, consider my orders for drafting from your Brigade, me, being our quota of 1000 Militia, intended to support the detachment under Capt Denny's command, as rescinded by this letter.

I do not mean, however, to withdraw or to impair the general authority which I have heretofore given for embodying in cases of emergency, a force of the Militia, competent to repel any threatened or actual invasion and hostility, for the existing circumstances of the Indian War seems, on the contrary, to require the utmost vigilance and spirit in providing for the safety and defence of our frontier.

I am, Sir,

Yr most Obedt Hble Servt,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

The Brigade Inspectors of the 4 Western Counties.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, *May 25th, 1794.*

SIR: I have occasion to regret, that your opinion, on the expediency of suspending, for the present, the establishment at Presq' isle, was not communicated to me previously to the receipt of the letter from the Secretary at War, dated yesterday, in which that opinion is, for the first time, explicitly expressed. I am apprehensive, indeed, that it is too late to prevent the execution of the measures, which, under the authority of the law of Pennsylvania, were concerted relatively to that object, and of which I had the honor regularly to appraise you: but, ever anxious to promote the views of the General Government, and to avoid encreasing the dissatisfaction of the Six Nations, or in any other manner extending the sphere of Indian hostilities, I shall consider your interposition and request, as a sufficient justification for a Hempting, even at this late period, to arrest the progress of the Commissioners in laying out the Town

at Presqu' isle, comformably to those directions of the Legislature which I could not, on any less authority, venture to supersede. Copies of my letters to the Commissioners, to the Captain of the Detachment, and to the Brigade Inspectors of the Western counties, for that purpose, are now inclosed.

It may not, at the same time, be improper, Sir, to remark, in vindication of the measure projected by the Legislature, that the territory within which the Town is directed to be laid out, has not only been purchased from the United States by Pennsylvania, but has, likewise, been ceded to her, for a valuable consideration, by the Six Nations. It could not, therefore, be, in the contemplation of her government, that any hostile opposition would be made to her settling upon a property thus fairly acquired; or that the advancement of her peculiar interests in that respect would be deemed incompatible with the general interests of the Union.

In regard to my agency upon the occasion, permit me, also, to trouble you with a short recapitulation. On the 8th of April, 1793, the Act for laying out a Town at Presqu' isle was passed; in which I was empowered to obtain a survey of the reserved Tract in that quarter, and directed to cause a certain number of acres to be surveyed and laid out in Town-lots and Out-lots. It was obviously the intention of the Legislature that this trust should be speedily executed; as the bounty offered to settlers, was limited to those who should actually inhabit and reside in the Town before the 1st of January 1794: but the dangerous state of the Frontiers at that time, induced the Commissioners appointed for making the survey, to protract their departure, till the meeting of the General Assembly in December last, when I represented the necessity of providing adequate means for the protection and safety of those gentlemen, if the accomplishment of the plan confided to them was deemed of immediate importance Accordingly, during the Session, two laws were passed; by one of which I was authorised to make a detachment, for that particular service, from the four Defensible Companies raised by Pennsylvania; and by the other the period for allowing Counties to settlers was extended to the 1st day of May, 1795. The language and spirit of these Legislative provisions left me no alternative, but as to a choice of means for carrying them into effect; and lest, even in that respect, any interference with the Federal arrangements should occur, I have punctually transmitted to you information of every step that was taken; as you will perceive by a reference to my several letters of the 28th of March, the 9th, 23rd and 24th of May, 1794.

Under these circumstances, Sir, I trust it will appear, that I could not, with justice to my official station, act upon the bare intimation given on the 10th current by the Secretary at War to the Secretary

of the Commonwealth; and that I sufficiently manifest my confidence in your advice, by pursuing it, when it is expressly stated.

I am, with perfect respect,
Sir,
Your Excellency's
Most Obedient
Humble Servant,
THO. MIFFLIN.

To the President of the United States.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO THE PRESQU' ISLE COMMISSIONERS.

PHILADELPHIA, *25th May, 1794.*

GENTLEMEN: The inclosed copy of a letter from the secretary at war, which was transmitted to me, subsequently to the departure of the post on the 24th current, will shew you, that it is the particular request of the President of the U. S. that the survey and establishment of the town at Presque Isle, should, for the present, be suspended. Though, I have reason to lament that this interposition was not made at an earlier period a sincere desire to promote the views of the Genl Govt, and to avoid the imputation of extending the sphere of Indian hostilities, commands on my part, a prompt and willing acquiescence, you will, therefore, be pleased to suspend all proceedings, for executing the laws directing a town to be laid out at Presque Isle, until further orders; and, in the meantime, I shall direct Capt Denny's detachment to remain at Le Boeuff.

I am, Sir,
Yr most obedt Hble,
THOMAS MIFFLIN.

The commrs for laying out a town at Presque Isle. [A similar letter was written to Brig Genl Wilkins.]

JOHN WILKINS, Jr., TO COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

PITTSBURGH, *23d May, 1794.*

Dr SIR: I this moment received yours of the 17th inst. I arrived about fifteen minutes ago from Le buef. I have left the detachment

there well covered, & in good Spirits. They have built, under my directions, two small block houses, picketed in, which I think will render them sufficiently strong untill the reinforcement goes under Capt^{n} Denny. The Indians I have conversed with still continue of the opinion that the British will make an opposition to the establishment at Presqu' Isle. There arrived at Cussawago, while I was there, an Indian from Sandusky, where he had been left by the Senneca last fall, sick. He say M^{c}kee, the L^{t} Gov^{r} of upper Cannada, & Elliott, the Indian Agent, the two last refugees, from this country, were visiting all the Indian towns in that quarter, & exciting them there to continue their opposition to the Americans, & assuring them of support from their *father*, the British Monarch. He farther adds that they were prepared for fighting Gen^{l} Wayn the moment he moved, & that the British were erecting garrisons at the Miami river. He confirms the accounts of the other Indians, that they were determined to oppose the establishment at Presq' ile. *I cannot say more, as the post is just going.*

Your Hu^{e} Se^{t}

JN^{o} WILKINS, J^{r}.

GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 27, 1794.*

SIR: I have the honor, in confidence, to transmit your Excellency an extract of a letter received from General Chapin, Agent to the Six Nations, dated at Canandarguay, the 6th instant.

And I am instructed by the President of the United States to acknowledge that yesterday he received your favor of the 25 instant, and its enclosures, stating the measures which you have taken to suspend, for the present, the establishment at Presque Isle, conformably to his opinion transmitted to you on the 24th instant. This opinion was communicated to you on the same day your letter was received, announcing your orders for drafting a thousand Militia to support the establishment, and it was the result of a general view of the subject founded upon the recent information which had been received.

I have the honor to be,
with great respect,
Your obedient Servant,
H. KNOX.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO MAJOR DENNY.

PHILADELPHIA, *28th May, 1794.*

SIR: The inclosed copy of a letter from the secretary at war, which was transmitted to me, subsequently to the departure of the post on the 24 current, will shew you that it is the particular request of the President of the U. S. that the survey & establishment of the town at Presque Isle, should, for the present, be suspended. Though I have reason to lament, That this interposition did not take place, at an earlier period, a sincere desire to promote the views of the Genl Govt, and to avoid the imputation of extending the sphere of Indian hostilities, command, on my part, a prompt and willing acquiescence, I have consequently instructed the commissioners to suspend all proceedings for executing the law directing a town to be laid out at Presque Isle; and as the only object of your detachment was to protect them in discharging that trust, your further progress, has, of course, become unnecessary. You will, Therefore, remain at LeBoeuff until further orders, unless it should be found unavoidably necessary to retire from that station, in order to prevent an actual contest with the friendly Indians, in which event you will exercise a reasonable discretion: taking lawful precaution for the safety of your detachment, and the general protection of the neighbouring frontier.

I am, Sir,

Yr most obedt Hble Servt,

THOs MIFFLIN.

MAJOR DENNY TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *May 30th, 1794.*

SIR: I had the honor of receiving your instructions of the 9th inst., forwarded by General Irwine, from Carlisle. Your Letter to the inspector of this County, of the same date, was also forwarded from that place. Genl Irwine wrote, at the same time, that he had letters similar to that of Colonel Neville, for the Inspectors of Westmoreland and Washington which, he says, he will bring on to Greensburgh, and then use them according to the information he may receive from Mr. Ellicott, Mr. Wilkins or myself at that place, as he concerted with Mr. Ellicott to write to meet him there; and, further, that what he had in view was, in case of actual necessity, for a strong company of the Militia from each of the three Counties.

General Wilkins had just arrived from french Creek when your Letters came. He said the Six nations expressed concern for our safety. They were certain our establishment would meet with opposition, but declared they would take no part. However, they have been at the trouble to send runners to inform the Western Indians. We have a letter from Mr. Rice, the Surveyor, who was present at the Buffaloe Council. He relates no more than was expected of the British. That Butler & the other agents urged the Six nations to join the hostile Indians, telling them that they should be supported, &c., and that it would not be long until the King, their father, would join his arms with theirs; and, by a friendly Indian from the westward, an account that the British were establishing three posts on the Miami river, came to fort franklin before Mr. Wilkins left that place.

Mr. Ellicott & General Wilkins concluded there was an actual necessity for a reinforcement of men to aid us in executing the Law for laying out a town at Presq' Isle, and wrote to meet General Irwine at Greensburg, agreeing with him in calling for a strong Company of the Militia from each of the three Counties. That being done, and in order to expedite the business, I wrote to the Inspectors of Washington & this County, making the request of a comp^{y}, leaving General Irwine to make the arrangements with the Inspector of Westmoreland.

Mr. Ellicott expects we will march on Monday next. We are waiting only for the arrival of the other Commiss^{r}. The Militia will follow and join us at Le beuff.

I have the honor to be, with
great respect & esteem,
Sir,
Your most obed^{t} H^{ble} Servt^{t},
E. DENNY, *Cap^{t}*.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

JOHN WILKINS, Jr., TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

PITTSBURGH, *30th May, 1794*.

SIR: I have the honour of the Governor's letter of the 23^{d} instant. There is no exertion of mine shall be wanting both as to prudence & spirit, as far as is in my power, to do justice to the designs of government. The arrangements made on this occasion, on the part of penn^{a} by the Governor, I think reflects the highest honour on him & on the spirit of his administration—

In my letter to Col^{o} *Biddle* I mentioned the news in the indian

country. Part is confirmed from another quarter, that of the British fortifying the rapids of the Miami, & makes me believe all the other information the Indian gave me. He had been taught whilst he was at Sandusky, that the English & americans were at war, & was astonished that we should be at Le beuf with so small a force & undisturbed. The following is an extract of a letter to me from M^r^ *Reece*, the deputy surveyor of the triangle tract, dated Cussawago 21^st^ May, '94. "I have been through the Genesee Country, & I find that there is every industry made by the British that is in their power to put the indians on us. There was a counsel held at Buffloe Creek eight days ago by them, & runners sent to the western indians to inform them that there was a garrison building at Presque Isle." M^r^. *Reece* came through the Gennesee Country by Buffloe Creek, thence to Presque Isle, & over to Le beuf.

Under the discretionary power vested in Capt^n^ Denny by the Governor to call for militia to aid him in the object of an establishment at Presque Isle, there was a draft ordered from the Counties of Westmoreland, Washington & Allegheny, of one Company each, which is now nearly Compleated. We are in hourly expectation of the arrival of Gen^l^ Irvine.

Am, Sir, with great respect, your
most ob^t^ H^m^ Ser^t^,
JN° WILKINS, J^r^.

A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary State, Penn^a^.*

GEN. JOHN WILKINS TO COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

PITTSBURGH, *30^th^ May, 1794.*

D^r^ SIR: In my last I informed you of my having just arrived at this place; in that I informed you of the news I had from an Indian, just from Sandusky, & I find that part is confirmed by the account coming another way, that of the British erecting a fort at the rapids of the Miami river. It makes me believe the greater part of what he told me, tho' I was suspicious of his truth at first.

I have this instant the honour of yours of the 24^th^. I shall attend particularly to what you require, & hope nothing shall be wanting on my part to assist the establishment. I am certain, from the rain we have had lately, french creek has been raised sufficient to enable our Boats to proceed on with the cannon & stores to le beuf. I had made the necessary arrangements, & the men & boats were ready the moment the river was raised to go on.

Gen^l^ Irvin has not yet arrived, but we expect him hourly. All

the Military & Commissners' Stores has been forwarded on a considerable time.

There has been incurred such an expence in the transportation & providing a supply of provisions to meet as well what was at first contemplated, & the draft of militia, that I am considerably exausted of money. I find a difficulty in procuring money for Bills, as our merchants are only lately from Phil^{a}. I will be obliged to you to send me one thousand Dollars in post notes, of 50 Doll. each, in my name.

I enclose a Draft on Col^{l} Smith of Baltimore, which I beg you will have accepted & placed to my C^{r}, along with the other Bill I sent you.

Am sincerly your friend & H^{m} S^{t},

JN^{o} WILKINS, J^{r}.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO ANDREW ELLICOTT.

PHILA, *31st May, 1794.*

SIR: A very respectable remonstrance has been presented to the Governor against the Contractors for opening the State Road to Pittsburg. He is anxious to have an early and accurate investigation of the subject; and wishes, as you are in that quarter, that you would undertake to view the work, and report the progress that has been made, and the probable periods of compleating the several Contracts.

There is not time to send the Copies of the Contracts by this post; but those, together with a Copy of the remonstrance alluded to, shall be forwarded by the next opportunity. In the meantime, be so good as to mention this commission to the inhabitants of the Western Counties, whenever you find proper occasions. There is no object that the Governor has more sincerely at heart, than the faithful expenditure of the moneys appropriated for public improvem^{t}; and he is determined to enforce the execution of the Contracts by every lawful means.

Your lre of the 23^{d} Inst. has been rece^{d}; but before this reaches Pittsb: you will be apprised of the suspension of our Presq enterprise. I hope no reason may occur to lament the interpos: of the Prest^{t}

I am, with great regard,

Sir

Y^{r} most Obed Serv,

A J DALL, *Sec.*

To AND^{w} ELLICOTT, *ck*

The following are the names of the Contractors, with whom it may be well to settle the order & time of your viewing their respective works, even before you receive the copies of their Contracts:

Rob^{t} Dickey, from East side of Allegheny Mountain to the forks of Stodler's Road.

Dan^{l} Stoy, from the forks of Stodler's Road to M^{c}Connehy's Run.

James and John Wells, from M^{c}Connehy's Run to Loyalhanning Creek.

W^{m} Todd, from Loyalhanning Creek to the 9 mile Run, west of the Chesnut Ridge.

MAJOR DENNY TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *June 4th, 1794.*

SIR: We had the honor of your Dispatches by the extra post, suspending the establishment at Presqu' isle. Tis impossible to express the astonishment which the interference of the General Government occasioned. The disappointment is much lamented. However, its a satisfaction to know that the State did every thing possible, and that the failure was not owing to any want of exertions on the part of our executive. Your orders are for me to remain at Le beuff. I would just submit to the Governor, whether, (after arranging every thing at that place and nothing likely to be done) there would be any great impropriety in asking leave to be absent from the post. Our business has taken a total change. The prospect of being at Presque isle reconciled an absence of Six or Seven months. The present is not so encouraging. Lieu^{t} Hazlewood is endustrious & careful, & will pay every attention in my absence.

I have the honor to be,
with great respect,
Sir,
your most hb^{le} & Obed^{t} Sev^{t},
E. DENNY.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esquire, *Governor.*

CHARLES CAMPBELL TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

GREENSBURGH, *June 5th, 1794.*

SIR: I Received your Letter of the 24th of May, in Regard of stoping of the draught for the Support of Brisqu'ile station, whitch

seemeth mutch to alarm the froonteers of our County, as it discovers to the Indians that we are Not able to Maintain that Post. The thirtieth of May the Indians fired on A Cannoe in the Allegany River, Between the Mouth of Kiscumenitus River and the Cattanian; killed one man and wounded Two. The evening of the same day, they fired on A Boat that Left my Place to go to Keaintuckey, about Two Miles Below the Falls of the Kiscumenitus, killed three Persons and wounded one, whitch was all the men that was in the Boat. The Boat then Drifted Down the River till About Twelve Miles above Pitsburgh with the wounded man and the women and Children, when the were seen By some Persons who went to their assistance, and Took the Boat to Pitsburgh. The froonteers seems to be Mutch Allarmed at Sutch unexpected News and the Signs of Indians seen on the froonteers. I Consulted with General Jack, and we Agreed to Order Captain Elliot, of the Riffle Company, on the fronteers, until Sutch Times as I Could get An Account from you, to Know if would meet with your aprebation, as it will Be Imposible to Keep the froonteers from Breaking unless Being well suported; and if once the one that Now makes the Stand Breakes, I Beleive it will be Hard to get Any other to stand as well, as it will give so mutch Encouragement to the enemy, as it Cannot Be Expected that the friendship of the Six Nations will now be Confided in. I Could wish to do Every thing in my power for the Benefit of the Publick and the safety of the froonteers. I Remain your Obedient Humble Servt,

CHAs CAMPBELL.

DAVID REDICK TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WASHINGTON, *June 5th, 1794.*

SIR: At this Criticle Moment, I would not trouble you to read a letter from me, were not your own Interest or that of the public deeply concerned. When both are combined, I find the impuls irresistable. As my passions are agitated, I hope you will overlook any asperities which may escape me. The law for laying out a Town and establishing a settlement at Presqu' Isle I consider as one of the most important and worthy political Acts which has succeeded in Pennsylvania for a long time, all important as I consider the safety of the Northern frontier esentially connected with its prompt and instant execution. I found my confidence in the State executive stenthened by the Judicious appointment of Commissioners, who would guard against any improper offence or Umbrage being given to the Six Nations or other Neighbouring Nation equally

wicked or prefidious. Altho I had, nor have, any views in that part of the State, yet I panted for the execution of the Law. I have been long convinced that the Six Nations would be under the Absolute control of whoever would have the greatest force in their neighbourhood. I have ever considered Presque Isle as the most elegable Station for that force on a variety of Accounts. I have not doubted but that the british wishes seriously to possess it. It is very probable that obstructions which their industry and a little delay on our part will put out of their road, will give them a possession and footing there which may, perhaps, materially effect the lives or political relation of our part of America, especially of Pennsylvania. It is pretty certainly known that for a considerable while bye past no vessel has gone up or down that Lake without Instructions to put in at Presqu' Isle, and see whether we were there or no. The Six Nations have already given sufficiently strong evidences of their Ill disposition to our Government, and has not this disposition been put into form by British agents? Has not the "messengers sent lately by" the President to Buffelo Creek with the Belts been sent back unattended to? Does not the Letter of O'Beal to the Commanding officer at Fort Franklin evince the proud insulting agency of British haughtiness? Is there any doubt in the mind of any reasonable man who reflects, but that instead of Indian opposition to the execution of this desirable and essentially necessary measure, that it is British opposition? In the name of common sense, Governor Mifflin, what could have induced the President to make such an unconstitutional request, or who could have counseled him to so Ill timed, Ill Judged, and impolite interference? It never was his own head nor heart, else the American people has been surely mistaken in both. I have called it an unconstitutional interference. I did not say so unguardedly. What authority could he have to prevent the execution of a State law, or to Interfere with the execution of it by a majistrate who is bound by the strongest obligations, both politic & moral? Nor do I see how he can dispence with the neglet of a Legislative Measure in which, in all human probability, the lives of many of his Constituents are eminently endangered, if not certainly ruined. Your personal and political enemies are, already begining to turn this unhappy business to aid an opposition which had become hopeless by several defeats. Nor will your friends, unless other reasons besides the ostensible ones appear, be able to rebut. Besides, there is danger of a declention even amongst them, especially if the dreaded mischief should unhappily take place. I am persuaded that the last consideration would not influence your Conduct when ballanced by the public good. But, Sir, how is the fact in this Instance? I do not wish or expect an answer to queres, I write for your consideration. I am persuaded that you are confident of my untainted Zeal for the public weal, as

also my friendly attachment to your political & personal happiness. Therefore I assure myself you will not take in ill part the sentiments & facts which, under the most sincere impressions, I have thought my duty to communicate.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most ob^{t} & very humble ser^{t},

DAVID REDICK.

ANDREW ELLICOTT TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *June 5th, 1794.*

SIR: I shall not undertake to discribe my feelings on receiving your communication of the 24th of last month, (with its enclosure,) directed to Gen^{l} Irvine and myself. The interference of the general Government with the internal police of the State on that occasion appears to me highly improper, because the State establishments on French Creek and at Presq' Isle, were intended to protect the Frontiers against the depredations of the hostile Indians, a right recognised and acknowledged by the constitution of the U. S.—a right, the relinquishment of which will not only materially effect the sovereignty of some of the States, but, (if we are to judge of the military arrangements of the general government from the result of several campaigns,) leave a valuable portion of our citizens a prey to savage barbarity.

The fear, as suggested by the executive of the U. S., of offending our *good friends and allies, (the six nations,)* by continuing and protecting our settlements in a country to which they can have no possible claim, is carrying American fear to a frightful length, indeed!

The establishment at Le beuf has already awed those *valuable* allies into good humour, and they have now agreed to meet in Council at Venango, which they had before, (althio' requested by the Secretary at War,) peremptorily refused to do. From this circumstance it clearly follows that the executive of the U. S. has either decided upon partial information, or been influenced by reasons not communicated to us. But whatever may have been the real views and however well intentioned the interference, the consequences must be unfavorable to this country, and for these obvious reasons, *first, our good friends and allies, (the six nations,)* will now presume upon their importance, and become more insolent than ever; *secondly*, because the hostile Indians, who reside on the river Huron, near the upper end of Lake Erie, and who last week committed some horrid murders, and reduced a number of innocent families, not far

from this place, to poverty and distress, have nothing to dread from the circuitous rout of eight hundred miles, taken by Gen. Wayne. But, sir, from Presq' Isle they may be chastised in three or four days, with little or no risk on our part. By this establishment they would be awed into good faith and alliance.

I shall leave this tomorrow, with a number of young gentlemen, and proceed to Venango, but with a determination not to interfere with Secretary Knox's Indian Treaty at that place, unless the U. S. should, by their agent, meddle with the internal police of this State, or propose a cession of part of the commonwealth to *our Allies, (the six nations,)* which, to me, would be neither more extraordinary, nor unexpected, than the interference in laying out a town. In that case, as a citizen of Pennsylvania, I trust that I shall be found supporting its independence and true interest. My views in proceeding up the River are merely to have our stores taken care of, and secure from damage my valuable apparatus.

I yet hope, when you consider the critical situation to which a number of valuable citizens, who have settled on French Creek, must be reduced, and the injury many adventurers at Presq' Isle must sustain by the suspension of an Act of the Legislature, under the faith of which they have already made expenditures, you will think proper to submit their safety, and the further prosecution of the business, to the discretion of the commissioners.

We have just received information that a party of the hostile Indians are now on the Allegany, and that Lieu^{t}. Polhamus, the commandant at Venango, is hourly expecting an attack from them.

I shall write to you again from Venango or Le-bueff.

I am, sir, With great regard,

Your Real Friend,

AND^{w} ELLICOTT.

Governor MIFFLIN.

GEN. WILLIAM JACK TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

GREENSBURGH, *June 6th, 1794.*

SIR: I beg leave to lay before you a statement of the information I have received of the Hostile disposition manifested by the Indians on our Frontiers.

On Friday last, in the morning of the same day, a canoe was fired on above the mouth of Kiskiminetas, in the Allegheny river, by which one man was Killed and two wounded. On the same day, in the Evening, Capt. Sharp's Boat was attacked in the Kiskeminetas

river, near to Chambers' station, (Having just set off for Kentucky,) by a party of Indians, supposed to be twelve in number. There was but three men and one boy with the boat when Attacked, and the savages kept up a constant fire on the boat while she kept Drifting down the river. It appears that one man & a boy was Killed, one made his escape, and Capt. Sharp supposed to be mortally wounded. The boat, with some women and a number of children, miraculously got to Pittsburg. By a letter just received from Col. Charles Campbell, he informs me that the Spies had made a discovery of a large trail of Indians on Pine Creek, above the Kittaning, who appear'd by the track to be making for the settlement. By another discovery of the Spies, it appears that three Canoes, with six or seven Indians in each, had crossed the Allegheny river at the mouth of Puckety, in consequence of which the settlement of Pine Run is broken up, And a very general alarm excited on the frontiers.

Several Parties have turned out voluntarily to intercept the enemy if possible, and for the security of the Frontiers, but as these are not regular Drafts, it is not to be expected they will remain out more than a few days. There is great reason to believe these Indians are of the Six Nations, and that the Frontiers will of course continue to be constantly harassed. By the best information, it appears that many, even of the frontier Inhabitants, are destitute both of Arms and Ammunition, and that a supply at this place would prove extremely useful for the use of such as turn out on occasional Scouts.

Waiting your pleasure and Directions in the premises,

I remain your Excellency's

Very Humble Serv^{t},

Wm JACK.

His Excellency Thomas Mifflin, Esquire.

GEN. NEVILLE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

Pittsbg., *June 6th, 1794.*

Sir: I rec^{d} yours of the 24th Ult^{o}, rescinding your directions for drafting 1000 Militia to support the Presqu' Isle detachment. Prior to your orders for raising those Militia, Gen^{l} Wilkins had call'd a Company into Service from this County, which Company I have ventured to retain in Service, and hope it will meet with your approbation, as the Indians have committed several Murders within the County, within a few days past, as the frontiers are greatly

alarmed, and particularly as Cap^{t} Denny hath had so little success in recuiting; for after taking his detachment to L'Beauf, he has left only thirteen men for protection, and those very indifferent. I am but just arrived at home by the way of Virginia, but will have the honor to write you more fully by the next opportunity.

With great respect & Esteem,
I am, Sir,
Your very obd^{t} Serv^{t},
PRESLEY NEVILL,
B. In. Ally. Cty.

Governor MIFFLIN.

GEN. WILLIAM IRVINE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURG, *4th June, 1794.*

DEAR SIR: The letter written jointly by the Commissioners, is, of course, a public one, and I have designed my own herewith to be so too, if you have no objection. I mean so far at least as that you should communicate it to the President, or to whom you think proper, and in such way. Perhaps you may think some of the expressions too poignant, but I could not say much less, if any thing at all, and my honor, duty, or conscience would not suffer me to remain quite silent. I think I have been extremely moderate. If you were here, you would wonder how I could be so much so. The interest & honor of the Country is sacrificed. People are astonished that I am not, or at least do not appear to be, angry as well as themselves, especially when the whole Country were ready to proceed with me if necessary. The difficulty would have been only in the selection, as I have said I did not want many; but I could have taken five hundred—some mounted, some Rifle men—of such as would have effectually awed the Savages and British, too, in that quarter, into profound respect and peacable demeanor; and I am sure not the hair of any man's head would have been hurt, unless he deserved it.

If not at first reading my letter, I persuade myself on a second or third reading you will perceive it to be more for you & your interest than against you. I am sure I mean it so, and hope I have not mistaken the point. It would not do, perhaps, to have all the railings lavished on the General government without touching the State a little; it is most certainly a cursed business. I had some private business here to do, on which I might have spent several

more days, but I can not bear the ravings and revilings. So, for the present, mean to escape precipitately to-morrow morning.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your Obed^{t} Serv^{t},
W^{m} IRVINE.

THO^{s} MIFFLIN, Esq^{r}.

N. B. As to the affair of Robison killing the Indian, there is quite too much said about that. It resulted from a mere private quarrel. The Indian and Robison were fellow labourers in a boat in the service of Wilkins. They quarreled and boxed. The Indian was too strong for Robison, and persisted in beating him, til at length he took up a rod of Iron, and gave him a blow.

But it is all settled on the part of the Indians. They are satisfied, and Robison is still confined, and at their mercy at Fort Franklin.

GEN. GIBSON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *June 6th, 1794.*

DEAR SIR: The enclosed letter was handed to me yesterday by Gen^{l} Wilkins, accompanied with a request that I would take up the matter, and send volunteers, or some of the Militia whear ordered to be in readiness. Or consulting Gen^{l} Irvine, we concluded that as the account which M^{r} Polhemus rec^{d} might have come from some person who might not be relied on, and as I have not a single communication from any person, how am I to act on any Emergency, that it would be most advisable to defer calling out the Militia, until we hear further. I have wrote the Commanding officer at Venango, that should he have any reason to apprehend any danger, or his informing me of it. I shall use every means in power to afford him relief, In the mean time, I have wrote to the different Inspectors in the division, to have the men ready, agreable to the requisitions made from the adjutant General.

I am, Dear Sir,
with respect, your very Humble Serv^{t},
JN^{o} GIBSON.

FORT FRANKLIN, *June 2, 1794.*

SIR: from the best information that I have received this day, I have reasons to believe the Indians will attempt to make themselves Masters of this post. Cornplanter has requested the Six Nations not to plant any Corn this season; if they should, they might

not expect to receive any benefit from so doing. I consider we are in a Dangerous situation. You will please to consider whether you can assist in doing that, which may be most for the safety of this place, which may in all probabilty aid to our future satisfaction. By the person whom I received the above Intelligence, he informs there have been four spies at La Bief, & have every reason to believe they will be more numerous at Different places.

Consider me as
Your friends &
H^ble^ Serv^t^,
JN° POLHEMUS,
L. Commanding.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO MAJOR DENNY.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
PHILADA., *7^th^ June, 1794.*

SIR: The Governor directs me to inform you that notwithstanding the recent orders for suspending the establishment at Presqu' isle, it is his intention that your detachment shou'd muster in full force at Le Beuff, there to wait for further instructions. In carrying this into effect, he desires you will use every lawful precaution to prevent surprise and to avoid hostilities; and, under the general authority for those purposes, you will erect block-houses or any other necessary works. The Commissioners are directed to remain in the western counties, as it is possible that it may soon become expedient to resume the execution of their trust.

I am, with great regard,
Sir,
Y^r^ m° bb^t^ Ser.,
A. J. DALLAS, *Sec.*

To Capt. EBENEZER DENNY.

Capt. Rice will receive orders to march next week with his Artillery C^y^ for Fort pitt, to strengthen your hands.

T. M.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO GEN. WM. IRVINE.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
PHILADA., *June 7th, 1794.*

DEAR SIR: I am directed by the Governor to express his wish that, notwithstanding the recent orders for suspending the establishment at Presqu' isle, you and the other Commissioners would remain in such a situation in the western Counties as would enable you, upon a short notice, to resume the execution of that object. With a view to coöperate in the idea here suggested, orders are sent to Captain Denny to muster the whole strength of his detachment at Le Beuff, and there to remain till farther orders. He will, of course, establish block houses and such other works as may be necessary to secure him from a surprize; and the Governor requests that you will give him the benefit of your advice on the occasion.

I am, with great esteem,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
A. J. DALLAS, *Secy.*

To General IRVINE.

Captain Rice will be ordered to march with the remainder of the Artʸ Company next week for Fort Pitt.

ANDREW ELLICOTT AND MAJOR DENNY TO GENERAL GIBSON.

CAMP THREE MILES FROM PITT, *June 8th, 1794.*

SIR: From the information received last evening by two men from fort Franklin, we have some reason to apprehend that the Six Nations have determined upon joining our enemies. The account is that D. Ransom was told, by the Standing Stone, that it was or would be the case; and it seems Ransom must believe it from his breaking up his store at French creek, and bringing off all his effects, cattle, and every part of his property; and it appears that Tiawancas, an old friendly Indian, has also taken the alarm, (from some cause, no doubt,) and is on his way down, with all his family. The bearer is sent back to bring forward to us the facts upon which these apprehensions are founded. We wish you, sir, to take Ransom's deposition, and to get everything possible from the Indian. You will be able to judge whether we ought to proceed, our not, until reinforced by volunteers, or by a draught of militia. If it is

true that the Six Nations are at war, it would be no difficult matter for them to send a party to meet us. The bearer will wait your orders and remain until Ransom gets down, which will be to-day, we suppose. We intend halting at Ewault's Cabins until he joins us, and will be governed by your opinion.

We are, &c.,

ANDREW ELLICOTT,
E. DENNY.

MAJOR DENNY TO GENERAL GIBSON.

EWAULT'S CABINS, *2 o'clock, June 8, 1794.*

DEAR SIR: Since we have been on this ground, Mr. Woods, one of the spies, came to us, and informed us that four men had made their way good to the mouth of Pine creek, where Woods left this morning. That the said four men were just from fort Franklin. That they came ten miles only upon the common road, and there met with Ransom's cattle turned back. That the people who were drawing them down to Pitt, were killed by the Senecas. However, you will have an opportunity of getting more particular information, and we trust you will take such measures as will be best.

I am yours, &c.,

E. DENNY.

LIEUTENANT POLHEMUS TO GENERAL GIBSON.

FORT FRANKLIN, *9th June, 1794.*

SIR: From my letter, which I expect you have received from Mr. Wolf, who left this place the 2d instant, you may have reason to suppose I consider those under my command exposed to the intentions of the hostile Indians. Since which time, on the 5th of this mouth, threemen, named Wallace, Power and Richard Van Sickler, on their way to Pittsburg, were overpowered by the Indians. The two former were killed. The latter returned, who gave me this information. The day following, I ordered five Seneca Indians and five white men, not belonging to the garrison, to go in search of the deceased. They found Wallace and Power, shot, scalped and Tomahawked.

You will please to judge whether the application which I have

already made be rational. I will endeavor not to be deficient in doing that which may be most for the benefit of my country.

I am, &c.,

POLHEMUS.

NOTE.—You will please to have the above inserted in the Pittsburg Gazette.

GEN. NEVILLE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSB^G^, *June 10^th^, 1794.*

SIR: On Friday last Gen^l^ Wilkins, M^r^ Elliott, & some Volunteers, with Cap^t^ Denny & his detachm^t^, left this place for l^e^Bœuf, since which alarming accounts have arriv'd from Venango, by one *Ransom*, a Trader, and an Indian, called *broken Twig*, of the Senecas. The Statement of the former, on oath, is forwarded to you by Gen^l^ Gibson. The Substance of y^e^ whole is, that the Six Nations, at the Instance of the British, had joined the other Indians against us, & that a large body, assisted by them, (the British,) some in crossing the lake, & others in descending the Allegheny, were to take Fort Franklin, destroy the Settlem^ts^ at Cussawago, and make an Establishment at Presque Ile. What credit is to be given to these reports I will not pretend to say; but this Trader, well acquainted with Indian Affairs, believes them. He moved his femily & goods to this place by water, & sent his Cattle with three white men, who were killed near Fort Franklin. For my own part, I have no doubt of the hostile disposition of the Senecas, and that they actually committed the late murders on the Allegheny river.

I think we shall have interesting news shortly from Venango, which I shall communicate without delay.

Ive the honor to be, Sir,

Your Ob^t^ Ser^t^,

PRESLEY NEVILL.

THO^S^ MIFFLIN, Esq^r^., *Gov^r^ of Pennsyl^a^.*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. JOHN CADWALLADER.

PHILADELPHIA, *11th June, 1794.*

SIR: The alarm, which had extended from our Western to the Northern frontier, in consequence of the hostile appearance of some Indians, in your neighborhood induced me (before the receipt of your letter of the 23rd ulto.,) to procure a supply of arms and ammunition, and to direct them to be forwarded by Colo Clement Biddle to the Brigade Inspectors of Luzerne, Northumberland, Mifflin, and Huntingdon. You will receive your proportion with all possible dispatch; and I have only to add, that, in case of any actual or menaced invasion, you have my authority to call into actual service a competent force of the Militia of your Brigade, for the purposes of protection and defence. In exercising this authority, however, you will consult the Major General of the Division, and the Brigadier of the Brigade, to which you belong. It is not in my power to promise a re-imbursement of the voluntary expences that have been incurred by our fellow citizens on the frontiers in imploying spies, & since the Legislature (though repeatedly solicited by me) did not deem it expedent to make an appropriation for such services; but I will cheerfully promise to recommend the subject to the attention of the Genl Assembly, at the next session, and I am persuaded the principles of justice and humanity will ensure success.

I am, Sir,

Your Most Obedt Sert,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To JOHN CADWALLADER, Esqr, *Brig. Inspr of Huntingdon.*

[A similar letter was written (omitting the words contained between the parenthesis, and also the whole of the last paragraph) to the B. I. of the counties of Luzerne, Northumberland, & Mifflin.]

GENERAL GIBSON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURG, *June 11, 1794.*

DEAR SIR: Enclosed are two depositions taken by me, by which you will be informed of what has happened since my last to you, per post; also, of the disposition of the Indians. From every account, I have reason to believe the Six Nations mean to be hostile.

The detachment under Captain Denny, with whom went Mr. Ellicot and General Wilkins, marched from this place on Saturday last, and, on Sunday evening, I received from them the enclosed

letters. I immediately transmitted to them a copy of Vert's deposition, and gave it as my opinion that they ought to remain where they were, until Ransom and the Broken Twig came here, as we then might be better able to judge what was best to be done; since which I have not heard from them. I have wrote to the different inspectors of my division, pressing them to have the men ready, agreeable to the requisition of the Adjutant General, and you may rely on my using every means in my power for the protection of the Western frontiers. The bearer, Mr. Sloops, intended setting out on Monday, but I detained him until Ransom came in. He has promised to go express with those letters. I hope you will please to allow him for his trouble.

I shall esteem myself happy on hearing from you, and am, &c.

Deposition of Henry Verts.

Allegheny County, ss:

Personally appeared before me, John Gibson, one of the associate judges for the above county, Henry Verts, who, being duly sworn, deposeth and saith: That he, this deponent, left fort Franklin, at the mouth of French creek, on Thursday, the fifth instant, in company with three other men, at three o'clock, P. M.; that they came along the road leading to this place, about ten miles, and encamped; that, in the night, one of the cattle, which had been sent off the day before, by a certain Ransom, in order to be driven to this place, passed them in the night; that the next morning they started by break of day, and came along the road, about four miles, when they met the remainder of the cattle turning back to fort Franklin; that on their proceeding about a mile further, he, this deponent, heard a noise like a man groaning, and immediately discovered a man lying on the ground, dead, or dying, as he appeared bloody about the shoulders and body; that the party being very much alarmed, they left one of their horses and luggage, and immediately took into the woods; came to the mouth of Pine creek, on the Alleghany river, and from thence to this place. He further saith, that the commanding officer and inhabitants, at fort Franklin, told them they were expecting an attack from the Indians daily, and were much alarmed.

his
HENRY + VERTS.
mark

Sworn and subscribed this 9th of June, 1794, at Pittsburg, before me.

JOHN GIBSON.

A True Copy.
JOHN GIBSON.

Deposition of D. Ransom.

Allegheny County, ss:

Personally appeared before me, John Gibson, one of the associate judges of the above county, Daniel Ransom, who being duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that he, this deponent, has, for some time past, traded at Fort Franklin with the Senecas and other Indians, and that a chief of the Senecas, named Tiawancas, or the Broken Twig, came there and informed him the times would soon be bad, and advised him to move off his family and effects. On this he, this deponent, asked him how he knew the times would soon be bad. The Indian then informed him that the British and Indians had sent a belt of wampum to him, inviting him to council at Buffalo creek; that he had declined going, and that the messengers then informed him of the intended plans of the Indians; they said that the Cornplanter had been bought by the British, and had joined them; that he, the Cornplanter, intended soon to come to fort Franklin, on pretence of holding a council respecting the Indian who was killed by Robertson; that there the British and Indians were to land at Presqu' Isle, and then form a junction with Cornplanter, on French Creek, and were then to clear it by killing all the people, and taking all the posts on it; that he was so much affected as to shed tears, and said, what shall I do? I have been at war against the Western Indians, in company with Jeffers, and killed and scalped one of them. If I now go back to the Indians, after having discovered this, they will kill me. He also informed this deponent, that a number of cannon had been purchased by the British, and collected at Junisadagoe, the town where Cornplanter lives, for the purpose of conveying the Indians down the river.

He, this deponent, further saith, and the Standing Stone, a chief of the Onondagoes, also informed him, at Fort Franklin, that he thought the times would soon be bad, and pressed him very much to leave fort Franklin, and assisted him in packing up his goods, &c.; that, from what he heard and seen from other Indians, he has every reason to believe the above account to be true. That seven white men came down the Alleghany, a few days ago, to fort Franklin, who informed him they saw the above mentioned cannons at Junisadagoe, and that the Indians appeared very surly, and had not planted any corn on the river, at their towns.

D. RANSOM.

Sworn and subscribed at Pittsburg, this 11th June, 1794, before me,

JOHN GIBSON.

A true copy: attested,

JOHN GIBSON.

GENERAL ISRAEL CHAPIN TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

CANANDAIGUA, *June 12, 1794.*

SIR: The council which was to have been held at Venango is to meet at Buffalo creek. I have already received three messages from the Indians, requesting my immediate attendance. I was in hopes that I might have been able to put off going until the return of my son; but this last message presses me in the most earnest manner to repair thither immediately, and I shall accordingly start to-morrow.

I am afraid of the consequences of the attempt to settle Presqu' Isle at present. The Indians do not acknowledge the validity of the Cornplanter's sale to Pennsylvania.

I shall inform you by express of the result of the treaty at Buffalo creek, on my return to Canandaigua.

Your Obed^{t} servt,
I. CHAPIN.

DAVID REDICK TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WASHINGTON, *June 12th, 1794.*

SIR: I last wrote you under impressions of mind which probably contributed to the Communication of sentiments not sufficiently guarded, perhaps not sufficiently accurate. On mature reflection, I at least regret very much every circumstance which induced you to put a stop to a measure which, in my opinion, you had properly taken, and, so far as you went, wisely pursued. I hope everything will turn out well. Yet, still, I would rather you had had the honor of putting an end to the Indian War, and which, I think, you would have done, than that the Sec^{ty} at War should have the chance of dishonouring himself by prolonging it, and, perhaps, eventually failing. I am Serious, Sir, in saying that I think had you put a respectable force at Presque Isle that it would have put an end to the War.

In my last, I said I had no views in that quarter of the world, nor did I then, or ever before, think of any; but since I have thought of removing there, if peace were once established, in order to get fish, for I seriously believe my Offices will not get me bread here. The profits have been in a sickley & languishing condition ever since I

enjoyed them. Now, since the extension of Justice's Jurisdiction, I may look for their death. I had an Idea, were it not presumptuous, to attempt bartering that which is held at the pleasure of the Governor and not in the power of the possession to transfer. I say I had thoughts of saying to my Neighbour Marshal, we will throw up Crown or piller who shall have all. I have, however, seriously thought that it would be but Justice in the Legislature, if they destroy the means of living and of a decent support to a officer which still continues to be necessary, especially whilst they increase their own wages, to make provision by giving them a moderate Sallery, and take the fees to the aid of the Funds of the County, from whose Stock he might be paid. I should be contented with £300 ℔ Annum for all the offices I hold; nay, had I £200, I could struggle to live. My office occupies my whole time, as well as that of a Clerk. The books lay many years back. All the spare time, in which I have been very diligent, has not got them forward, nor will less than a year's exertions to come finish them. It is true, were they brought up and in good order, which I flatter myself they will be in when finished, a good deal of time would be then unoccupied by the running business of the office. But still constant attendance will be absolutely necessary. Whether any other officer may mention this subject to you, Sir, or to the Legislature, I know not. Indeed, I believe, this County and Fayette excepted, business is a live, So that the Officers may not be needy, but in these two Counties, where business is slack and much of the fees goes down stream, and never gained, a decent support on those and some other accounts cannot be obtained at present. Perhaps things may mend. I have taken the Liberty of mentioning those things to you, Sir, so that if any motion should eventually be made in the Legislature you might be prepared to give it such a degree of countenance as you shall think it merits.

I am, Sir,

Sincerely you Obliged humble Sérv^{t},

DAVID REDICK.

Gov^{r} Mifflin.

GENERAL GIBSON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

Pittsburgh, *June 13, 1794.*

Dear Sir: Since my last, per Mr. Sloops, I received the enclosed from Lieutent Polhemus, commanding at Venango. The messenger who brought it says, that the Senecas disavow the relation of the Broken Twig, as mentioned in my last, and threaten to kill him.

Captain Denny and his party have proceeded on to Venango. I have wrote him, that on his arrival there, in case he found the reports to be well founded, to inform me, and I would endeavor to support him. I have also wrote to the different brigadiers and brigade inspectors to have their quotas ready, and shall think myself justifiable in ordering them out, should these accounts prove to be true.

Captain Powers, in a letter from Cassawago, to General Wilkins, writes, that on the people who live there, hearing of the murder of the two men, as mentioned in the letter of Lieutenant Polhemus, they were going away, and that he would, if possible, try and move the artillery to fort Franklin. I have ordered one hundred and fifty of the militia of Westmoreland to range on the frontiers of that county, in order to protect the inhabitants. Should the present alarm subside, they shall immediately be discharged.

I have appointed James Bryson, Esquire, one of my aids. You will please to order a commission to be sent for him.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN GIBSON.

GEN. NEVILLE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSB^{g}, *June 13th, 1794.*

DEAR SIR: Since I had the honor of addressing you last, we learn that one man, of the party said to be all killed near fort Franklin, had escaped. We have also reason to believe that the Indians, who did the mischief, were from the west, and not of the Six Nations. They, by accounts from the officer commanding Fort Franklin, so far from being hostile, a party of Senecas, joined to a detachm^{t} of that Garrison, went in pursuit of the perpetrators of that last Murder. The fluctuation and inconsistency of our news is such that it is difficult to form a proper opinion. Cap^{t} Denny hath continued his march, &, I suppose, is now at Venango. I shall continue the company of Militia, about 35 in number, on the frontiers of this county. We have only 12 of Denny's men. Should you think proper to order a completion of the Presqu' Isle business, and a Draft be necessary for that purpose, I flatter myself this county will be excused, on account of having spared her whole protection already to that object, for the 12 men left, as above mentioned, are the refuse of the Earth. Some of them cannot walk.

I've the honor, with great Esteem,

Y^{r} Ob. Ser.,

PRESLEY NEVILL.

Gov^{r} MIFFLIN.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GENERAL WILLIAM IRVINE.

PHILADELPHIA, *13th June, 1794.*

SIR: That the suspension of the Presque Isle establishment should create dissatisfaction among our Fellow citizens on the Frontiers is an event that I sincerely regret, but confidently expected. A candid review of my conduct, however, will shew, that no part of the blame can, in justice, be imputed to me; unless a co-operation in the measure of the General Government, at a crisis deemed by the President to be peculiarly delicate, may be rendered a subject of condemnation. I have sent you a copy of the answer, which I wrote to the secretary at war; and I intend, for my own vindication, to publish the material parts of our correspondence relatively to this object.

It is with pain that I receive an intimation of your resolution immediately to return. The suspension, in the terms of the Presidents request, and of my instructions, is only for the present; and I am in anxious expectation that, on a re-consideration of the nature and operation of the proposed establishment, the existing opposition on the part of the general Government will be speedily withdrawn. Let me request, therefore, that you will not abandon the trust; but, remaining for a short time at Pittsburgh, afford me an opportunity of a direct communication with you, should its execution be, as I hope, unsettled. While there, you will be able to make important observations and arrangements for that event, and by your advice facilitate the task, not only of opening our way to Presque isle, but of sheltering the frontiers, generally, from Indian depredations.

It has been proposed to remove the State Garrison at Fort Mifflin, to make room for troops belonging to the Union. The propriety of acquiescing in this proposition has not yet been decided; but if it should be adopted, I design adding the whole of Capt Rice's company to our forces at LeBoeuff. In the meantime, Capt Denny has orders to remain with all his men at that post; and, if any danger menaces, he is to be supported by a competant draft from the Militia. The confidence which I feel in your zeal, judgment, and friendship, induces me to request that you will confer with the proper officers of the County on these various points, and give them and me your assistance and advice.

I am,

With great esteem,

Dr Sir,

Your Most Obedt Hble Sr,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. NEVILLE.

PHILADELPHIA, *13th June, 1794.*

SIR: I am sorry to find the disposition of the Indians so hostile, as your letter of the 6 instant describes. The protection of our frontier is an object which I have most seriously at heart; and I should not only violate my feelings, but desert my duty were I to hesitate in giving a sanction to every lawful measure by which it can be promoted with this view. I issued, originally, the discretionary authority for making competent drafts from the Militia, to meet every danger; and with this view, I now approve the continuance of the company called into service by Gen[l] Wilkins, till every just cause for the existing alarm shall be removed. But let me entreat, that the strictest economy and prudence may be exercised; and it may be proper, wherever an extraordinary draft of the militia is made, to transmit to me a certificate of the expediency of the measure from as many of the neighbouring citizens as can conveniently attest it.

Your knowledge of my anxiety to accomplish the Presque Isle establishment, will give you some idea of my mortification at the interference by which that object is unavoidably suspended. I hope, however, that a reconsideration of the business will induce the President to withdraw his opposition, and that the commisioners may yet be authorized to execute their trust. Under that expectation, indeed, I have directed those Gentlemen to remain at Pittsburgh; and Cap[t] Denny has orders to preserve his station at LeBoeuff.

I am, Sir,

Y[r] most obed[t] H[ble] S[r],

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. JOHN GIBSON.

PHILADELPHIA, *13th June, 1794.*

SIR: I received your letter of the 6 instant, and observe, with pleasure, your attention to the protection & defence of the Frontiers, as no object is, in my opinion, more interesting. In all my official communications to the Brigade Inspectors of your division, I have contemplated that your opinion would be particularly attended to, and I repose implicit confidence in the arrrangements which you may consent, with the other proper officers, as well for general security, as for supporting Cap[t] Denny's Detachment. The

presence of Gen' Irvine at Pittsburgh I consider a fortunate circumstance at this crisis, as he will chearfully give you his assistance and advice. It is to be lamented that the Gen[l] Government has interposed to prevent the establishment at Presque Isle. I hope, however, that the effects of the suspension may be beneficial but that its continuance may be short.

I am, with great esteem, Sir,
Y[r] most obed[t] H[ble] Se[r],
THOMAS MIFFLIN.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO ANDREW ELLICOTT.

SEC[ys] OFFICE,
PHILA., *13th June, 1794.*

D[r] SIR: The Governor has receiv'd the various Communications relatively to the disatisfaction which the Suspension of the Presqu' isle establishment has created; an event which he expected, and which, from your knowledge of his Solicitude on the Subject, you will readily suppose has given him considerable pain. If Gen[l] Irvine shou'd be absent, you will open and peruse the enclosed Letter for him. It will afford some evidence of the Governor's Sentiments, and serve as instructions to you, in your Character of Commissioner. There is no reason to hope that a reconsideration will induce the President to withdraw his opposition; and, therefore, the Governor wishes that you and Gen[l] Irvine would remain on the Spot, so that your trust may yet be executed before any inconveniency has arisen from the Suspension of it.

M[r] Hall leaves the City in a few days, and will take with him all the documents relatively to the roads, &c., which are to be viewed in the Western quarter of the State. I will write you again by next oppertunity.

I am, with great regard,
D[r] Sir, y[rs],
A. J. DALLAS, *Secret[y]*.

To M[r] AND[w] ELLICOTT, *Pittsburgh.*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. WILKINS.

PHILA., *13 June, 1794.*

D^r^ SIR: Your letter of the 6 of June did not excite a new sentiment in my mind relatively to the suspension of the Presqu' isle establishment. I regarded the interference that produced it, from the first moment, as impolitic, unpopular, and dangerous; and, I am persuaded, that some dexterity will be employed to cast all its odium on the Governor. You, however, and many of our friends to the westward, are so well apprised of his solicitude and exertions to accomplish this favorite object, that you will be able to counteract every contrary suggestion; and I entertain some hopes that even yet the Commissioners will be allowed to proceed. Under the same expectation, the Governor wishes that you should all remain at your stations; and he has written to the Commissioners and Capt. Denny, requesting them to do so. It is preferred that you communicate to each other the orders and intelligence that are, from time to time, received; and, therefore, to avoid unnecessary repetition, the Governor refers you to Gen^l^ Irvine, M^r^ Neville, & M^r^ Ellicot, for more particular information, as well respecting the Presqu' isle establishment as the general defence of the Frontiers—to both which objects your zealous attention will, of course, be directed.

I am, with great regard & esteem,
D^r^ Sir,
Y^r^ most ob. H^b^,
THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To Brig. Gen. WILKINS, *Pittsburgh.*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO MAJ. DENNY.

PHILADELPHIA, *13^th^ June, 1794.*

SIR: I anticipated the dissatisfaction which the suspension of the Presque Isle establishment would create on the Frontiers, from the sentiments of my own mind on the subject. I am in hopes, however, that a re-consideration will induce the President to withdraw his opposition, and that the Commissioners will speedily receive instructions to execute their trust. In the meantime, it is my earnest desire that you will remain, with your whole force, at LeBeuf, taking every lawful precaution to preserve peace, and prevent surprise. As the detention cannot last long, I am persuaded

you will not hesitate to make a sacrifice, which I consider essential; for, whatever confidence may be reposed in the officers under your command, the state of the Frontier calls for the personal attendance of every man engaged in any service connected with its protection and defence.

If a proposition for removing Cap^{t} Rice's garrison from Fort Mifflin should take place, I mean to direct his whole company to proceed to LeBœuf to strengthen your detachment; but whatever forces you may, at any time, deem necessary to maintain your post, will be granted from the Militia, on your requisition, adopted to the Brigade Inspectors of the neighbouring counties of Allegheny, Washington, Westmoreland, & Fayette. On all your proceedings, however, you will consult Gen^{l} Irvine, Gen^{l} Gibson, Gen^{l} Wilkins, & the Brigade Inspectors.

I rely upon your spirit and prudence, and am, Sir,

Y^{r} Most Obed^{t} H^{ble} S^{t},

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To Cap^{t} DENNY, *commanding the Presque Isle Detachment, Pittsburgh.*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, *13th June, 1794.*

SIR: I think it proper to communicate the letters, which I have received from the western counties, representing the hostile proceedings of the Indians in that quarter, and the dissatisfaction of the citizens at the suspension of the Presque Isle establishment, in compliance with your request. As I wish to answer these letters by to-morrow's post, I have, for the sake of dispatch, transmitted the originals, which you will be pleased to return as soon as you have perused them. I take the liberty to request, likewise, that those parts of this correspondence, which are of a private nature, may be considered as a confidential communication.

I am, with perfect respect, Sir,

Y^{r} Excellency's

Most Obedient Humble Servant,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To the President of the United States.

List of Original Letters Above Referred To.

No. 1. The Presque Isle Commissioners to the Gov^{r}, 5 June, 179..

No. 2. Gen^{l} Gibson to the Gov^{r}, 6 June, 1794.

No. 3. Cap^{t} Denny to the Gov^{r}, 4 June, 1794.
No. 4. Brig. Insp. of Allegheny to the Gov^{r} 6 June, 1794.
No. 5. Brig. Insp. West^{m} to the Gov^{r}, 5 June, 1794.
No. 6. And^{w} Ellicott to the Secretary.
No. 7. From Mr. Jack to the Gov^{r}, 6 June, 1794.
No. 8. From Gen^{l} Irvine to the same, 3^{d} June, 1794.

NOTE.—In this last letter, are sent a part of Gen^{l} Wilkin's narrative to Gen^{l} Irvine, and a copy of a letter from Jn^{o} O'Bail to Lieu^{t} John Polhemus.

SECRETARY OF WAR TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *14th June, 1794.*

SIR: I am instructed by the President, to reply to your letter of the 13th instant, and to inform you that the reasons which induced the opinion communicated to you on the 24th ultimo continue to operate, and have not been weakened by any information since received. It must be obvious to you, sir, and seems even to result from some of the information which you have transmitted, that the proposed movement is an extremely delicate one, as it regards our peace with the Six Nations. To bring on hostilities with those nations, would be, at any time a serious evil; considered in reference to the operations we are carrying on against the more western tribes, its possible mischiefs assume a still more important aspect. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the inconveniences which might ensue to those operations, by throwing, unexpectedly, in the midst of a campaign, so considerble an additional weight into the adverse scale.

When we take into the calculation, the precarious situation of our affairs with the Creek Indians, hostilities with the Six Nations might co-operate to place us too near the verge of a general Indian war, not to admonish us particular caution in any step which might lead to those hostilities. It will be happy, indeed, if the circumstances which have already occurred, should be found not to have matured the evil beyond the possibility of a remedy.

A comprehensive view of the subject cannot but include some considerations relative to the foreign nations, in the neighborhood of the United States, in aid of the primary ones which respect the Indian Nations. In the present delicate, if not critical, posture of our affairs, viewed in connection of those of Europe, amidst negotiations which concern not only our peace, but other great interests of our country, where every moment may be expected to bring some new developments, very cogent and urgent reasons, indeed, ought

to be found in support of any measure which may have even a remote tendency further to embarrass or embroil.

If, in the execution of the measures which are in train, there shall be found reasons for varying the opinion now delivered, it shall be communicated to you without delay; and you may be assured that nothing shall be omitted to obviate the temporary obstacles which exist.

I am, your ob^{t} hm^{ble} serv^{t},

H. KNOX.

GOV. MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILAD^{a}, *June 14th, 1794.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your answer (communicated in a letter from the Secretary of War, dated this day,) to my letter of the 13th instant, stating that the reasons which induced your opinion, relatively to the Suspension of the Presqu' isle establishment, continue to operate, and have not been weakened by any information since receiv'd.

The nature of the trust reposed in me by the Act of the General Assembly, the dissatisfaction which a Suspension of the proceedings of the Commissioners has excited, and the ambiguity of some of the expressions contained in the Secretary's letter, seem to demand an early explanation of the principles that have regulated my conduct upon this occasion.

As it is the peculiar province of the Legislature to Judge of the policy of the laws, it wou'd be thought, perhaps, an Act of Supererrogation on my part were I to attempt to enumerate the various motives which Suggested and Justify the Act for laying out a Town at Presqu' isle; but I may be indulged in observing, generally, that the maintenance of a System for the Sale and Settlement of the public lands (by which a sufficient revenue had been produced to exonerate the State from the pressure of her debts), and the Obligation of the Government to Strengthen the means of protecting our distant frontier, might fairly be considered by the Representatives of Pensylvania as very cogent inducements to the measure which they contemplated. With a right acquired by honest purchase, either to advance or to decline the establishment of a Town at Presqu' isle, the expediency of exercising that right must have formed the principal Subject of Consideration. And, when we reflect that the Consequences of a Rupture with the Six Nations wou'd, in a peculiar manner, be injurious to the Citizens of this State, we

must presume that the Legislature either thought that the improvement of our Territory in that Quarter cou'd not be Obnoxious to the Indians, or that the projected establishment wou'd afford the most effectual defence against that hostile disposition, which even the Northern Tribes had previously manifested, for reasons certainly unconnected with our plan of Settlement. Nor cou'd a Collision of the State and Fœderal Jurisdiction have been anticipated, as naturally flowing from the measure, since it was rather to be expected by the Legislature that, independently of the Constitutional obligation of the Union to protect all its Members in the enjoyment of their respective territorial rights, the Fœderal Government was, in this instance, peculiarly bound to maintain the Title and Occupancy of the State, as Vendor, for a valuable Consideration, of the property in question.

But, whatever may be the policy of the Legislature, however erroneous in its principle, or pernicious in its consequences, the province of an Executive Magistrate is certainly circumscribed to enquire what the Law is, not what it ought to be; to perform the task prescribed, not to arraign the Wisdom that prescribed it. Hence, Sir, you will perceive, from the documents (which have been regularly communicated to you), that the prosecution of the preparatory Steps for forming a Settlement at Presqu' isle was imposed upon me as a duty, and Consequently that the most Cogent reasons will be necessary, on my part, to justify a neglect or Suspension of the Work. By the Act of the 18th of April, 1793, it is declared, in mandatory terms, that in the most eligible Spot within the reserved tract on Lake Erie, "*the Governor shall cause to be laid out and Surveyed* 1600 acres of land, in Town lots, not more than one third of an acre each, and also 3400 acres adjoining the same in out lotts, not less than 5 Acres nor more than 10 acres each," and that every obstacle arising from an apprehension of hostile opposition might be removed. An Act of the 28th of February, 1794, after providing for the Security of the Port of Philadelphia, and the defence of our Western Frontier, authorises the Governor "to detach from the Several Companies of Artillery and Infantry, raised by the State, as many Men as can be conveniently spared from the specific objects of protection and defence, for which the Companies were particularly destined; and to Station the detachment so made at such place or places, at or near Presqui' isle, on Lake Erie, as shall, in his Judgment, be best calculated to carry into effect the Act, entitled 'An Act for laying out a Town at Presqu'-isle, to protect the infant Settlements beyond the River Allegheny, and to promote the general defence of the Frontiers.'" By the Language of these Acts, it is obvious (as I have remarked on a former occasion) that nothing was expressly left to my direction but the mode of carrying them into effect; and conclusively, to demonstrate the Legislative

expectation of a Speedy execution of that trust, it can only be necessary to consider, that, by the first regulation, the time for allowing a bounty to persons who "shall actually inhabit and reside within the Town" was limitted to the 1st of January, 1794; that, by the Second regulation, it is only protracted to the first day of May, 1795; and that, by the third regulation, the very existence of the Companies from which the detachment is formed to carry into effect the Act for laying out the Town is limitted (in its utmost extent) to the meeting of the General Assembly in the ensuing Month of December.

Acting under these peremptory injunctions to perform a Specific duty, I have not, Sir, been regardless either of the respect that is due to the General Government or of the precautions which a movement of so delicate a nature required. The Laws, and my instructions, founded on those laws, for forming the detachment and laying out the Town, were communicated to you during the Session of Assembly; and, although any attempt to interrupt the proceedings of the Commissioners must have been accompanied with a deliberate and hostile invasion of the State of Pensylvania (for it has never been intimated that the Station at Presqu'-isle is actually pre-occupied by any other power, whether British or Indian), I admonished the Officers and Commissioners to observe a friendly and conciliatory conduct towards every description of persons whom they shou'd meet, and even in the event of an attack or menace from any quarter to confine their resistance strictly to defensive operations within the acknowledged boundaries of the State.

The machinating efforts of the Agents of a foreign Nation, in the neighbourhood of the United States, and not the inimical disposition of the Indians, produced in my mind the apprehension of a design to oppose the Settlement at Presqu'-isle soon after the detachment, for effecting that object, was formed at Pittsburgh; and the intelligence which was brought by successive posts, and punctually communicated to you, Sir, rendered it at last expedient, in my judgment, to resort to the general authority of the Militia-law for calling into actual Service a Competent force to repel the threatn'ed invasion, to support the party destined for Presqu'-isle; and generally, to prevent a failure of the measures which the Legislature had directed to be pursued, and which, without farther authority, I did not conceive it wou'd be warrantable to abandon. On your receipt of a Copy of my orders for making this draft, it was, for the first time, directly Stated to me that you deemed it adviseable to suspend, for the present, the establishment at Presqu' isle, and, "if it will, indeed, be happy, that the Circumstances which have already occurred shou'd not be found to have matured the evil beyond the possibility of a remedy." I derive some consolation in recollecting that you were possessed of the Law while the Legislature (whose

power was alone competent to repeal it) was in Session; that You were seasonably apprised of every Step that was taken to carry it into effect; and that if, from information unknown to me, an earlier discontinuance of the Executive proceedings was deemed Salutary, my conduct will evince the readiness with which I shou'd have acquiesced in an earlier declaration of that opinion.

But, I confess, Sir, that on this ground, I perceive very little cause for disquietude or reproach. If the Legislature has prescribed a task to the Executive Magistrate, which cannot be performed without endangering the publick tranquility, the Legislature, and not the Executive Magistrate, must be responsible for the consequences. But there is, indeed, another reflection which weighs heavily on my mind at the present moment, and which claims, perhaps, an interest in your Consideration of the Subject: Can the requisition or advice of the Executive authority of the United States justify the Act which suspends the operation of a positive law of Pensylvania? The Constitutional Supremacy of the Laws of the Union will not be disputed. But, may it not be asked, what law of the Union does, nay, what power there is to pass a Law which cou'd controul the Commonwealth in the legitimate exercise of her Territorial jurisdiction? Where there is no Law there can be no obligation; nor, consistently with the principles of a Republican Government, can reasons of State or the admonition of circumstances (upon which the Secretary at War relies) furnish an Executive Magistrate with an authority to Substitute his opinions for Legislative institutions. While, then, I was impressed with these sentiments, the prompt compliance which followed the communication of your wishes for the suspension of the Presqu'-isle establishment, must, at least, be regarded as an incontrovertible evidence of an Official disposition to promote the views of the general Government; of an earnest desire to cultivate every possible means of peace; and of a personal confidence in your Judgment and Patriotism. But, however consolotary such considerations may be to my private feelings, as my public trust may require other instruments of vindication, I receive, with peculiar satisfaction, "an assurance that nothing will be omitted to obviate the temporary obstacles which exist." The bare suspension of our measures will, probably, indeed, increase the difficulty of accomplishing them; and any great delay might eventually introduce a Controversy upon the right of doing so. The evil wou'd become irremediable by any peaceable process, if, taking advantage of the Circumstances which have already occurred, either the Six Nations, or any other ill-disposed neighbour, shou'd seize on the Station which has been designated for our establishment.

For these contingencies, however, and for the expence which the State has already incurred, I have no doubt the Justice of the Gen-

eral Government will satisfactorily provide. It only remains, therefore, Sir, to repeat, that (notwithstanding the remark made by the Secretary at War, in his letter of the 24th ult°) I am not sensible of having failed in duly appreciating every consideration of delicacy and moment connected with the Subject; and that, whatever may be the result, the establishment at Presqu' Isle will be suspended untill you shall vary the opinion which you have delivered.

I am, with perfect respect,
Sir,
Your Excellency's
most Obed^{t}
Humb^{e} Serv^{t}
THO. MIFFLIN.

To the President of the United States.

MAJOR DENNY TO GENERAL GIBSON.

FORT FRANKLIN, *15th June, 1794.*

SIR: I have the honor of acknowledging your two letters dated the 9 & 11th inst. After receiving the first, we concluded it would be best to proceed upon our march. We arrived here the day before yesterday as well. The account of Ransom's people being killed was too true, but by what nation of Indians is yet doubtful. M^{r} Elliott & M^{r} Wilkins have written & sent two runners for the Corn-planters, and they have requested me to wait the return of the express. When they arrive you shall be informed of the success of the message. I am suspicious the old fellow will not show himself. The fact is, that the Indians about here, from 20 downwards, for some time past have been exceedingly insolent; treated the officer, the fort, & every person about it, with the utmost contempt; but since our arrival they have altered their tune—so say Lieu^{t} Polhemus & Doct. McCray. We have written to LeBeuff, & gave the officer there a caution. The day after to-morrow the runner is to be back. Vanhorn and Bales, the two men who brought your last letter, saw one Indian at the plains, about 20 miles this side Pittsburgh, and the trace of six or seven. I am not surprised at Polhemus' alarm. The fort is worse than any frontier station you ever see, & that for the Block House, which is far from being the best, it would be infinitely worse than nothing at all. The pickets might do to enclose a garden, and do look more like a fence than any thing else. They are placed in the form of a square, without any thing to defend the curtains flanks, & in the bottom of a ditch,

along which five hundred Indians might lay perfectly secure. Before we came, Mr. Polhemus kept the place Locked up day & night—permitted no person to pass out or in. He even neglected his garden, and suffered every inconvenience of a close seige. He says that he has made frequent representation of the declining state of the *Garrison;* that it was impossible for him, with his present strength, to repair it; and that he believes Genl. Knox's intention is to let it go to ruin.

June 16th. Yours, enclosing a copy of Polhemus came yesterday. The corn-planter's nephew arrived from the Town about the same time. He delivered a long speech from his uncle to Lt. Polhemus. Upon summing up the whole, we have not a shadow of doubt but that a plan was formed to destroy all the posts & settlements in this quarter. It was all done upon the strength or prospect of a war between the British & us. That subsiding, the other, I am In hopes, has also. There is no doubt but the English will urge them to join the Western Indians, & I have done every thing possible, and perhaps a few may; but I rather think that, unless we have a war with them, we'll have none with the six nations, generally. The Corn-planters has gone to another council, at Buffaloe. He set out the same time the nephew started for this place, and will return in about ten days. He says he is very sorry for the mischief done lately, and is extreemly concerned at the account given of their going to take up the hatchet; says they are bad men that reported it; that its a lie, & insists upon knowing who the information comes from. As it is evident that a stroke was meditated, but now perhaps dropt, every apology which he can possibly make wont be sufficient to clear him of the imputation of a treator. Some of the nation say the English have bought O Beal. We shall spend two days to come in helping Mr. Polhemus to put his Garrison in some state of defence; for should any thing happen it, we should fare the worse above.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your very Hble Servt,

E. DENNY.

To General Gibson.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR TO GOVERNOR MIFFIN.

War Department, *June 19, 1794.*

Sir: Your Excellency's letter of this date, addressed to the President of the United States, has been opened by me. The appearances up the Alleghany dictate that Fort Franklin be reinforced. I have,

accordingly, ordered this done, and Captain Crawford is to assume the command, and to have with him an abundant supply of provisions and military stores.

Besides this measure, some recruits, on their march to Pittsburg, amounting to about one hundred, will be detained there for the present, under Major Butler, excepting such a portion of them as shall be necessary to reinforce the garrison of Fort Franklin.

In addition to this, I have forwarded five hundred arms and accoutrements, one hundred barrels of powder, and twenty tons of lead, to form a magazine at Pittsburg, to serve in case of an exigency.

I am, your ob^{t} humble ser^{t},

H. KNOX.

[NOTE.—See letter from General Chapin, dated 29th April, 1794, and proceedings of a council, holden at Buffalo creek, 21st April, 1794, transmitted 21st May, 1794.]

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADA, *19th June, 1794.*

SIR: I have the honor to transmit, for your information, a copy of the dispatches which I have this morning received from Gen^{l} Gibson, relatively to the hostile disposition of the Six Nations, instigated and supported, as it is alledged, by the British, and to be, with perfect respect, Sir,

Y^{r} Excellency's Most Obedt, H^{ble}

Serv^{t},

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To the President of the United States.

List of the documents accompanying this letter.

1. A letter from Gen^{l} Gibson to the Gov^{r}, dated 11th June, 1794.
2. Deposition of D. Ranson, 9th June, 1794.
3. Deposition of H. Certs, 9th June, 1794.
4. Letter from And^{w} Ellicott & E. Denny to Genl. Gibson, 8th June, '94.
5. E. Denny to Genl. Gibson, 8th June, 1794.
6. A letter from Presley Nevill to the Governor, 10th June, '94.

GOV. MIFFLIN TO COL. CHARLES CAMPBELL.

PHILADELPHIA, *June 13th, 1794.*

SIR: I have received your letter of the 5 instant, representing the hostile proceedings and disposition of the Indians on our Frontier, and referring you to the general authority, which I formerly gave, for making competent drafts from the Militia, to meet every danger, I repeat my assurances, that every lawful exertion for protection & defence will receive my approbation. As the law empowers each Brigade Inspector, in the first instance, to station the Rifle company of his county at such places as he shall judge most beneficial, my distance from the scene of service will prevent my interfering with your arrangements, which, I have no doubt, will be made with judgment and effect.

The suspension of the Preque Isle detachment was directed upon the express request of the President. The measure has given me some uneasiness, and has occasioned great dissatisfaction. I hope, however, that it will not produce the mischievous consequences which you apprehend; and that, at all events, the President's opposition will be speedily withdrawn. You must, therefore, exert yourself to prevent the breaking up of the frontier settlements, as an event of that nature would greatly retard and obstruct the object which we wish so much to accomplish.

I have daily occasion, more & more, to lament, that the Legislature, though repeatedly solicited by my messages, did not appropriate any fund to supply the militia with arms. Your request upon that subject, however, shall be seriously considered; and, if any money can be spared for the purchase of arms and ammunition, (which I do not expect,) out the fund appropriated to raise the Rifle Companies, I will cheerfully apply the surplus in that manner.

I am, sir, Your Most Obed^{t}, H^{ble} Ser^{t},

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To CHARLES CAMPBELL, *Brig. Insp^{t} Westmoreland County.*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO COLONEL PRESLEY NEVILLE.

PHILADELPHIA, *20th June, 1794.*

SIR: I have duly received your several letters of the 10 & 13 instant. The critical state of the frontiers certainly affords great cause for apprehension, and my distance from the scene naturally

increases my share of the uneasiness. It is with pleasure, however, that I observe the attention paid by you, and the other officers in the neighbourhood, to the means of protection & defence. This only renders it necessary to repeat my general instructions, for meeting every threatened hostility with a competent draft from the Militia. All that I stipulate, is a prudent and economical exercise of this discretionary authority, which the nature of the case, and the remoteness of the place, demand.

I have requested Gen^{l} Gibson to communicate to you copies of a correspondence that has passed between the officers of the Gen^{l} Gov^{t} and myself, as well respecting the Presque Isle establishment as the general defence of our Frontier. I am conscious of an ardent desire to promote both those objects; and my conduct, when candidly considered, will evince my sincerity to the world. The task imposed on me is an arduous one: to suspend a favorite plot for state improvement, or to bear the imputation of involving the Union in a general war with our neighbours, is the painful alternative proposed in the President's letter. I hope, however, that a short time will obviate the difficulty.

I am, Sir,

Your Ob^{t} Serv^{t},

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To Presley Nevill, Esqr., *Brig Inspec^{t}, Allegheny Co., Pittsburgh.*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. JOHN GIBSON.

Philada., *20th June, 1794.*

Sir: I have duly received your several letters of the 11 & 13 instant. While I regret the critical situation of our Frontier, it is some consolation to find that I may rely upon your exertions for its protection and defence. As my distance from the scene of danger necessarily prevents my being able to provide for every sudden exigency that may occur, I can only, therefore, repeat the general instructions, which have been issued, for meeting any threatened hostility with a competant draft from the militia of the neighboring counties, and I am persuaded that on such occasions you will act with all possible prudence and economy.

By the inclosed copy of a letter from Gen^{l} Knox, in answer to a communication of your dispatches, you will observe that the general Government is disposed to take some steps for strengthening our means of defense. I have likewise, sent you a copy of my an-

swer to the President's communications, relatively to the suspension of the Presque Isle establishment, which will explain, and, I hope, justify the principles that have actuated my conduct on that subject. I still expect that the obstacles suggested by the President will be removed in time to accomplish our object in the course of the summer. I have, therefore, thought it advisable to keep Cap^{t} Denny's detachment at its present station, and I will thank you to recommend the utmost vigiliance to that officer, and those connected with his command.

Should Gen^{l} Irvine be at Pittsburg, you will be pleased to communicate this letter and its inclosures to him. I wish likewise, that Genl. Wilkins, Co^{l} Neville, and as many of our Fellow Citizens as you can conveniently attend to, may be made acquainted with what has passed between the officers of the General Government and myself. It would consume more time than the post will allow to multiply the copies; but I am anxious that all my official transactions should be publicly known, and candidly interpreted.

I am, with great esteem,

Sir,

Y^{r} Most Obed^{t}, H^{ble} Servt,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To Maj. Gen^{l} GIBSON, *Pittsburgh.*

GEN. JOHN GIBSON TO GOV. MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *June 20th, 1794.*

DEAR SIR: I had the honour of receiving yours per this day's post. In my last, I informed you that I had ordered 150 Militia for the protection of the Frontiers of Westmoreland, and have wrote to the difer^{t} Brigade Inspectors to have their quotas complete.

The Inclosed letters have since come to hand, and from their contents, and the information rec^{d} by a man who left Corn planter's town about twelve day's ago, we have every reason to conclude that the Six Nations will be obliged to join the Western Indians. This man declares that an attempt had been made to take his life by an Indian, But that the Corn planter prevented it by telling the Indians the time was not yet come for them to strike, that the Indians at the town appeared very surly and Ill-natured, and that a person of the name of Jennings, who lives at the Cornplanter's town, informed him that he thought the Cornplanter must join the Western Indians.

I am in great hopes Cap^{t} Denny, with his detachment, will get

safe to LeBeouf, and will be able to make a stand until he can be supported. I shall use every means for the protection of the Frontiers, and shall afford Cap^{t} Denny every assistance in my power, if necessary. It is more than probable that in a few days the result of the council at Buffaloe Creek will be known. If favourable, the Indians will send in Messengers to palliate their conduct; if the reverse, they will strike on our Frontiers. I shall, at any rate, give you the earliest information.

I have the honor to be,
with Respect, Sir,
your Most Obedient humble ser^{t},
JN^{o}. GIBSON.

GEN. ISRAEL CHAPIN TO THE COMMANDING OFFICER AT VENANGO.

MOUTH OF CATAROQUOS CREEK, *June 20th, 1794.*

DEAR SIR: I was called by the principal Sachems and chiefs of the Six Nations of Indians to attend a large Council of theirs, holden at Buffaloe Creek on the 18th of this month, at which Council I was strongly urged by the sachems and Chiefs to go immediately to Presque Isle, with a deputation of theirs (consisting of about 15 Chiefs and Warriors), to deliver a message from the Six Nations to some armed men, which they said were either at that place or La Beuf. I accordingly set out, agreeable to their request, and was met at this place by Capt^{n} Obail, who informed me that he had been sent for by two great men to go to Venango. Capt^{n} Obail desired me to inform those men that he should not go in person, but had sent his voice by the deputation which was going to Presque Isle, and wished that those men would meet the deputation at that place. He also informs that he heard one of his warriors had been lost about 20 or 30 miles below Venango. He has returned the 4 strings of white and black wampum which were sent by the message. I expect to be at Presque Isle on the 22^{d} of this month, and wish, Sir, that you would inform those great men (whome Capt^{n} Obail mentioned) that the deputation desire them to meet me at Presque Isle as soon as is possible, and as my business is of importance, I wish not to be detained there one day longer than what is necessary.

ISRAEL CHAPIN,
Superintendant of the Six Nations of Indians.

To the Commander in Chief at Venango.

GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *June 25th, 1794.*

SIR: Your Excellency's letter to the President of the United States, dated the 14 instant, (which has been opened pursuant to general directions,) was only delivered to Mr Dandridge, the Secretary, on the 17th instant, at 3 o'Clock. The departure of the President for Mount Vernon, on the morning of that day, prevents my being able to reply to it at this time under his immediate direction.

But antecedent communications with the President on the transaction to which your letter relates, and my immediate agency in the matter, afford me the means of offering some explanatory observations; which I shall do in a spirit, that will accord with what I know to be a primary rule of Conduct on his part, the steady cultivation of harmony and cordiality between the officers of the general and particular governments.

With regard to that sentence in my letter of the 14. instant which has been peculiarly adverted to, and which is in these words: "It "will be happy, indeed, if the circumstances which have already oc- "curred, shall not be found to have matured the evil beyond the "possibility of a remedy," it will I hope be sufficient to say, that it was a mere general reflection on the probable or possible tendency of the circumstances which had occurred, without intention of passing an opinion on the motives to, or reasons for, the measures which had been pursued by the Government of Pennsylvania, either in a legislative or executive capacity. Among the circumstances alluded to, was the unfortunate coincidence of the murder of one of the Indians of the Six Nations; an ingredient which was mentioned in my letter of the 24. of May.

In order to avoid the inference of having acquiesced in the suggestion, I beg leave to add, that there is no evidence in the possession of this Office which establishes the fact of a previously hostile disposition of the Six Nations.

Your Excellency appears to lay stress on the lateness of the communication of the President's opinion as to the expediency of suspending the proposed establishment.

In proportion to the validity of the considerations which support the right of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to project and make the establishment, was the delicacy of the interference of the Executive of the United States. Whatever may have been the anticipations entertained of the effect of the measure, the situation seemed to require that an opinion should be deferred, till the progress of the experiment had produced some indication of probable consequences. When this happened, the opinion was given. Had

it been given sooner, it might, perhaps, have been deemed premature.

The rights of Pennsylvania in this case, and the obligations which are urged to exist on the part of the United States in relation to them, would be improperly made a question. But the fundamental principles of Society, and the practice of all political communities, frequently concur in postponing the enjoyment of a particular right, or interest of a part of a nation, to considerations respecting the safety or wellfare of the whole nation. The propriety then of a temporary suspension in the present instance must depend on the weight of the reasons which dictate it.

The discussion how far the requisition or advice of the Executive of the United States can justify such a suspension under the circumstances of the laws of Pennsylvania, is rendered more absolutely useless by your Excellency's determination, that whatever may be the result, the establishment at Presque Isle will be suspended until the President shall have varied the opinion which has been delivered. No arguments, I am persuaded, can be necessary to satisfy you, that when he saw, or thought he saw, in a measure of a particular State consequences endangering important interests of the Union, he discharged a duty in declaring to the Executive of that State an opinion that it was advisable to suspend the execution of that measure, leaving that opinion to be appreciated as it deserved.

The President of the United States cannot fail to do justice to the disposition, which has produced the determination you have announced to comply with his opinion.

No time will be lost, after the arrival of the President, in submitting to him your letter and this reply; and, in the meantime, the attempts for obviating the temporary obstacles, are put in a train of execution.

With great respect,
I have the honor to be
You Excellency's
most obedient Servant,
H. KNOX,
Secretary of War.

His Excellency the Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO SECRETARY OF WAR.

PHILADELPHIA, *24th June, 1794.*

SIR: The cultivation of a good understanding between the Officers of the Federal and State Governments, has been among the favorite objects of the administration, which my Fellow-citizens have entrusted to my care; and, I am persuaded, that the President of the United States will not perceive anything in the recent explanation which I have given of my conduct, relatively to the Presqu' isle establishment, that would warrant a deviation from that cordial and harmonizing Spirit, by which he has been, reciprocally, actuated.

That the Northern Indians, previously to the passing of the Act, by which I was enabled to carry into effect the law for laying out the Town at Presq' isle, had manifested a hostile disposition, for reasons unconnected with our plan of settlement, is a fact of such notoriety, that I did not think the evidence of official documents would be necessary to establish it. But it may be proper, in answering your letter of the 21st instant, to refer you to the Reply which the Six Nations made to a Speech delivered by General Chapin on the 10th of February last, a copy of which you transmitted to me on the twenty-fourth day of May. By this document, furnished from the records of your office, independently of all other evidence, it will, I think, appear, that some old grievances alleged to have been suffered from the Union, the inflammatory speech of Lord Dorchester, the constant machinations of British Agents, and the corruption of British bribes, had, in truth, previously excited that hostile disposition, which you seem to consider as the effect of the measures pursued by Pennsylvania for establishing a Town at Presqu' isle.

I am not inclined, Sir, to enter into a discussion of the extent or operation of those principles of Society, or of that practice of political communities, "which," you observe, "will frequently concur in postponing the enjoyment of a particular right or interest of a part of a Nation, to considerations respecting the safety or welfare of the whole Nation;" but it is obvious, that a doctrine of this nature must depend essentially upon the terms of the social or political compact to which it is applied; and that of all the modifications of which it is susceptible, the least adapted to our system of Government (a Federal Republic) would, perhaps, be the acknowledgment of a discretionary power in the Executive Magistrate of a particular State, to suspend, under any circumstances, the execution of a law, enacted by the only competent authority, and directed, by legitimate means, to a legitimate end. The question on the

propriety of consulting the welfare and interest of the whole nation at the expence of a part of it, might, indeed, be justly proposed to the Legislature of Pennsylvania; and would, I am persuaded, receive from that Department of our Government, a liberal consideration; but you will recollect, Sir, that my difficulty occurred, because the question was proposed to the Executive Magistrate, who, if he had not originally the authority to interpose, could not, I was apprehensive, acquire it, merely from a consideration of "the weight of the reasons" which might be suggested on the subject.

It may be proper here to remark, that my determination to continue the suspension of the Presqu' isle establishment till the President shall vary the opinion which he has delivered, is founded principally on the assurances I have received that the obstacles are of a temporary nature; and, consequently, that the success of the attempts, which you inform me, are put in train to remove them, may be so seasonably attained as to admit, not only of an accommodation of the views of the General Government, but also of the execution of the law of Pennsylvania, within the period contemplated by the Legislature. For, although no arguments can be necessary to convince me of the patriotic attention of the President to the interests of the Union, it would be contrary to the ideas which I entertain of his justice, candor, and wisdom, to suppose that, in order to facilitate the duties of his station, he would advise me to pursue a measure inconsistent with the duties of mine; or, that he would deliver an opinion to the Executive of any State, which it might be thought indelicate to disregard and illegal to adopt.

I am, with great respect,
Sir,
Your most obed: Serv:
THO. MIFFLIN.

To HENRY KNOX, *Secretary at War.*

GENERAL CHAPIN TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

FORT LE BOEUF, *June 26, 1794.*

HON. SIR: I left Canandaigua on the 13th of this month, in order to attend a council at Buffalo creek. I waited more than a week after my first notification for my son to return, that I might have an answer from you, but the chiefs, growing impatient, kept constantly sending runners. I was obliged to set out at last, to my great disappointment, without having received any information from you. On my arrival I found the minds of the Indians much

agitated with regard to the movements made by the State of Pennsylvania. On the 18th I met the Indians in general council, the proceedings of which you find here enclosed. At this council I was requested to go to Presqu' Isle (as you will see by their speech) to desire those people to move off who had made encroachments on their lands. I found that no excuse would answer, and was finally obliged to comply with request. On the 19th I left Buffalo creek, accompanied by a deputation from the Six Nations, consisting of sixteen chiefs and warriors. I arrived at Presqu' Isle on the 24th, but finding no person there, I proceeded to Le Boeuf, where I found Mr. Ellicot and Captain Denny. After informing those gentlemen the business I came upon, I gave them a copy of the speech which had been delivered to me at Buffalo creek. The answer which they made I send you, enclosed with the other speeches.

Although the minds of the Six Nations are much disturbed at the injuries which they say they have sustained, they are still opposed to war, and wish, if possible, to live in peace with the United States. They are much opposed to the establishing of garrisons in this quarter, as they think it will involve them in a war with the hostile Indians. They are likewise displeased with having those lands surveyed, which they say were not legally purchased. In this critical situation, would it not be best to have commissioners appointed to treat with the Six Nations, that all difficulties may be settled which subsist between them and the United States, especially those that regard the State of Pennsylvania? And it is the wish of the Six Nations that this treaty should be holden at their council fire at Buffalo creek. I shall return by the way of Buffalo creek, where I expect to hold another council, the proceedings of which I shall forward to you as speedily as possible.

Your obt sert,

ISRAEL CHAPIN.

PROCEEDINGS OF A COUNCIL HOLDEN AT BUFFALO CREEK, BY THE SIX NATIONS OF INDIANS, ON THE 18th DAY OF JUNE, 1794.

PRESENT: The principal sachems, chiefs, and warriors of the Six Nations. From the United States, General Chapin, with his attendants. From Upper Canada, Mr. Johnson, the Interpreter of the Indian Department; Captain O'Bail, Speaker; Mr. Horatio Jones, Interpreter.

Brother:

(Addressed to General Chapin.) We are thankful that you have

attended to the call of the Six Nations, and that you have been preserved by the Great Spirit, &c.

Brother:

(Addressed to the President of the United States.) I have for a long time aimed at the good of both parties. I have paid you different compliments, as that of brother, father, and now I call you friend. We were pleased when we heard that you were appointed to have the chief command of the United States.

Brother:

The Great Spirit has so ordered that every nation shall have some one to be at their head. You are to look over your people and settle all difficulties, and we, the Six Nations, expect that you will not be unmindful of us, but see that we have justice done, as well as your own people.

Brother:

We, the Six Nations, now call upon you. We pay no attention to what has heretofore been done by Congress. Their proceedings we consider as unjust. We wish for nothing but justice, and hope that it will take place.

Brother:

You know our demands. We ask but for a small piece of land; and we trust, as you are a great man, you can easily grant our request.

Brother:

You wish to be a free people in this country, who have come from the other side of the water and settled here; and why should not we, whose forefathers have lived and died here, and always had possession of the country?

Brother:

We, the Six Nations, have determined on the boundary we want established, and it is the warriors who now speak.

Brother:

You have the map on which the boundaries are marked out which we want established.

Brother:

We want room for our children. It will be hard for them not to have a country to live in after that we are gone.

Brother:

It is not because that we are afraid of dying that we have been so long trying to bring about a peace. We now call upon you for an answer, as Congress and their commissioners have oftentimes deceived us, and, if these difficulties are not removed, the consequences will be bad.

This speech was delivered with eight strings of black and white Wampum.

Brother:

We have opened this fire upon two different kinds of business; we wish you to listen to them with attention.

Brother:

We are in distress. A number of our warriors are missing and we know not what is become of them, but suppose that they have been killed by the Americans.

Brother:

Last fall an Indian chief, by the name of Big Tree, left this country and went to the American army in a friendly manner, and we have since been informed that he was killed by them.

Brother:

The other day a very unfortunate circumstance happened. One of our nephews, (of the Delaware nation,) was killed at Venango, by a party of warriors, who were going on to Presqu' Isle, without giving us any notice whatever.

Brother:

You are sensible this must be very hard, to have a man killed in time of peace, one who was sitting easy and peacable on his seat. You certainly would complain if we were to treat you in the same manner.

Brother:

It has been customary, when one person has killed another, that those who have done the injury, go to the injured party and make satisfaction.

Brother:

We told you that we had two pieces of business to attend to; we hope that you will pay attention to both.

Brother:

The establishing a garrison at Presqu' Isle may occasion many accidents, as the Southern Indians may do injury, and we may be blamed without a cause.

This speech was delivered with ten strings of black wampum.

Captain O'Bail then addressed himself to General Chapin.

Brother:

When we sent for you, it was because we placed great dependence upon you. We hope that you would not fail to doing every thing in your power to assist us.

Brother:

We now expect that you will exert yourself in removing those people off our lands. We know very well what they are come on for, and we want them pushed back.

Brother:

We now wish that you and Mr. Johnson would go together and remove those people back over the line, which we have marked out upon the map.

Brother:

If those people off immediately, we shall consider them as our friends; if not, we shall consider them as no friends.

Brother:

We expect that you and Mr. Johnson will go together on this business, and we shall send two warriors to attend you, and we expect that you will bring us word when you return.

This speech was delivered with six string of black and white wampum.

General Chapin's answer to the speech delivered by Captain O'Bail:

Brothers:

I have heard the speeches which you have delivered, with great attention, and have thought seriously on what you have communicated to me. You have requested me to go to Presqu' Isle. As I wish to do every thing in my power, both for the United States and the Indians, I shall comply with your request.

Brother:

I can do no more to those people than to give them my advice. It is not in my power to drive them off.

Brothers:

You must be sensible that I am obliged to look at the interest, both of the United States and the Indians, and consider myself as accountable to both for whatever I do, and you may depend that, when I return, I will give you a just account of whatever takes place.

Brothers:

This business is of a serious nature, and is really a matter of importance to both parties. You may rest assured that the President is your friend, and that he will pay attention to the business which you laid before him.

Brothers:

You observed that you would send ten warriors to attend me. I must also request that you would send two of your chiefs.

Brothers:

The business which you desire me to do is what I had little thought of. I am unprepared for the journey. However, as I informed you that I would go, I shall set out immediately.

Brothers:

The speeches which you have delivered for the President, shall be

sent on as soon as is convenient, and you may shortly expect to receive an answer.

MINUTES OF INDIAN COUNCIL.

At a Council holden at Fort LeBeauf, June 26th, 1794, by Mr. Ellicott, Captain Denny, with Genl Chapin, and a deputation from the Six Nations, Genl Chapin opened the Business by reading the proceedings of the Council at Buffaloe Creek, which were as Follows:

At a Council Holden at Buffaloe Creek by the Six Nations of Indians, on the 18th of June, 1794, Genl Chapin was address'd as follows, Captain O'Bail, speaker:

Brother:

When we sent for you, it was because we placed Great Dependence upon you. We expected you would not Fail in doing every thing in your power to assist us.

Brother:

We now hope that you will exert yourself in removing those people off our Lands. We know very well what they have come for, and we want them pushed back.

Brother:

We now wish that you and Mr. Johnson would go together and remove those people back over the line which we have marked out upon the Map.

Brother:

If those people remove off immediately, we shall Consider them as our Friends. If not, we shall Consider them as no Friends.

Brother:

We wish that you and Mr Johnson would go together upon this Business, and we shall send Ten warriors to attend you, and we shall expect that you will bring us word when you return.

This speech was delivered with six strings of black and white wampum. After the above speech had been read, Mr. Ellicott & Capt Denny desired an interval of one hour to prepare an answer. At the expiration of which time, Mr. Ellicot delivered the following reply to the message sent by Genl Chapin & Mr. Johnson.

Brothers of the Six Nations:

Your Bretheren of pennsylvania have always been attentive to the Interest of the Indians, especially to that of the Six Nations, & happy to meet them in peace & unity.

Brothers:

We have heard your message by Genl Chapin & Wm Johnson, & have considered the request.

Brothers:

By the peace of 1782 the King of G. B. ceded to your Bretheren of Penn[a] all the lands which they claim, but from a regard to justice, & considering you as the real owners of the soil, could not consider themselves as entitled to it until fairly purchased from yourselves.

Brothers:

The lands which you have requested us to move off have for several years past been purchased by the State of Pennsylvania from the Six Nations, & the lines bounding the same were opened & marked with their consent & approbation. The purchase north of the north boundary of Penn[a], west of the Conewago river, Lake Chataque & the path leading from them to lake Erie, & south of the said Lake, was made of your Chiefs at Fort Harman by Gen[l] Butler & Gibson, & the money & goods punctually paid to them.

Brothers:

Your Bretheren have fairly & openly made the purchase of all the lands to which they claim, & having sold those lands to such people as chose to work & settle them, they think it now their duty to protect such setlers from the depredations of all such persons as may attempt to molest them.

Brothers:

The present military preparations of your Bretheren of Penn[a] were intended to protect the citizens against the western hostile Indians only, not supposing any protection necessary against the Six Nations, whom they consider as their friends & allies.

Brothers:

The line which you have marked on the map will take back from your brothers of Pennsylvania a large Tract of land which they have purchased from you. We cannot, therefore, consistently with our duty remove from those lands, unless directed by the great council of our people, to whom we shall immediately send your message.

Brothers:

We should be sorry that, continuing on our Lands, which you have sold to your Bretheren of Penn[a], should be the cause of any uneasiness, or why we should not be considered by you as friends.

Brothers:

Your Brethern of Penn[a] are a generous people; they have never wished for more than they were willing to pay for, and have never attempted to take what did not belong to them. They will be glad to meet you at all times, & afford relief to the weak & hungrey of your people who may take the trouble to come & see them at this place. In the mean time, as we are ordered here by the great coun-

cil, your Brothers of Penn[a], we cannot consistently with our duty remove from hence until orders come from them for that purpose. Your message, however shall be immediately forwarded by express to them for their consideration.

(Signed) ANDREW ELLICOTT,
E. DENNY, *Cap[t]*.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GENERAL GIBSON.

PHIL., 27 *June*, *1794*.

SIR: I have received your letter of the 20[th] instant, and its inclosures. I entertain some hopes that measures will be adopted by the General Government, which, co-operating with the political and military events in Europe, will change the hostile dispositions of our neighbours on the Frontiers, and remove the obstacles to our Presqu' isle establishment. On that subject two letters have passed, of which copies are inclosed for your information.

Relying upon your prudence and vigilance, I remain,

Sir,

Y[r] most obed. Hble. Ser.,
THO. MIFFLIN.

To Gen[l] GIBSON, *Pittsburgh*.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO GENERAL IRVINE.

SEC. OFFICE,
PH[a], *27[th] June*, *'94*.

D[r] SIR: I have only time to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23[d] Instant, and to transmit copies of two letters that have passed on the Presqu' isle subject, since I wrote to you last.

I am, with great esteem,
D[r] Sir,
Your most Obed. Serv.,
A. J. DALLAS,
Secretary.

To Gen[l] WILLIAM IRVINE, *Carlisle*.

GENERAL WILKINS TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *27th June, 1794.*

Dr SIR: I have this morning returned from Cussawago, to which place I had accompanied Capt. Denny's detachment, that the ballence of the Stores might be forwarded, & to collect as much information of the temper of the six nations as I could. All the military forwarded before I came away to Lebeuf, except two of the six pound cannon, which would be sent on by the next boats. I am happy to assure you that every thing depending on your department is compleatly forwarded to lebeuf, & that we have there deposited about six months' provisions. I am highly gratified to have your good opinion of my conduct.

I have received your letter covering the Bank notes for 1000 Doll.

The British are using all the means in their power to set the six nations at war with us. I think they will succeed. How much debased must the Political morality of that people who will employ those savage murderers against our women and children.

By next Post I will be very particular.

Am, Dr Sir, your most Hub,

JNo WILKINS, Jr.

GEN. WILKINS TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *27th June, 1794.*

SIR: I have this instant returned down the Allegheny river, from accompanying Capt Denny's Detachment as far as Cussawago, within twenty-two miles of Lebeuf. Capt Denny would have sooner reached the place of his destination, but detained at Fort Franklin some days assisting the officer at that place in putting his garrison in posture of defence.

From every thing I could collect among the Indians, I am, indeed, to believe that the English continue intriguing with the Six Nations, & our peace or war with them depends on our being in peace or war with the English. The Senecas, who are the best disposed of any of the Six Nation tribes, say that the English have bought over all the other tribes, but that they are determined to be neutral; but if there is an English war, their neutrality is not to be depended on. Corn planter's nephew, who came on a message from him to Fort Franklin, told me the English had two armed Ships

lying off Presqu' Isle, either to give opposition to the Americans taking possession of it; or to give immediate information of its being done. This information has been confirmed by many white people who have seen the vessal constantly hovering about the bay.

I enclosed to you a copy of a letter from Gen[l] Chapin to the commanding officer at Fort Franklin. Part of it is intended as a reply to letters written to Cap[t] O'beil by Mr. Ellicot & myself. What he says, as to the wampum, is in answer to a message sent to him and the rest of the Senneca chiefs by Gen[l] Wayne, respecting the death of Big-tree. The commanding officer sent a copy of this letter to Mr. Ellicot. The letter which I wrote to Cap[t] O'beal, was to inform him that two white men had been killed nigh to Fort Franklin, within the bounds of his people; that some of his nation had been blamed for it, and that I wanted his explanation, that I might communicate the same to you. This deputation of Indians, coming to Presq' Isle or Lebeuf, I think, fore body no good. I am apprehensive they are coming with an intention to desive our troops to move from either of these places. This is only my opinion, which, I think, the more necessary to give you, that you may be prepared how to act, should it be the case. Am,

Sir, with the greatest respect,

your most Hu[b] S[vt],

JN[o] WILKINS.

COL. BAIRD TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WASHINGTON, *27th June, 1794.*

SIR: I have completed the draft required by your orders of the 21[st] May, and wish to know whether it will be proper to employ them for guarding the frontiers, if it should be necessary, or call the other militia to that service. I had made a draft to march to Presqu' Isle, and the men had rendezvoused before your orders to countermand it arrived.

. The suspension of the law for laying out the Town on the lake has created considerable uneasiness in this Country, especially since the people are convinced that the Northern Indians are hostilely disposed.

Our frontiers have been hitherto safe, and Captain Seals has exerted himself much to prevent any apprehension of Danger. He has a fine Company and well disciplined.

I am, with great respect,

Your most obed[t] ser[t],

A. BAIRD,

Inspector 1st Washington Brigade.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

MAJOR DENNY TO GEN. GIBSON.

FORT LE BŒUFF, *June 27th, 1794.*

DEAR SIR: Enclosed you will receive a copy of a message brought me by a deputation of Chiefs & Warriors sent for that purpose from the six nations, and also our reply. You will perceive by the message that these Indians are disposed to have us pushed back, and if we dont leave the country they are to consider us as no friends. I dont apprehend much danger here as long as we can keep our men together; but at present a number of the people, who were on before me, are ill with the flux, and the working parties which we are necessarily obliged to have at some distance, together with two escorts, one sent to franklin with Packhorses, the other some where between, & Cussewago with boats, reduces our force very considerably. Doctor Wilkins has made a requisition for 10 or 12 men to be sent to pitt to guard a drove of cattle on to this place. from the present appearances it would be very improper to detach so many men from my command; I am, therefore, Sir, under the necessity of begging a few militia for that purpose; they will be wanted about the first week in the next month. Indeed, at this particular junction, I dont think a company would be too many to assist us in having the supplies brought forward. The people at Cussewago wished for a guard of my men; I would not spare them yet. The consequence, I'm afraid, will be a total evacuation of that settlement. If you should think proper to send on a Company, a part posted at meads will answer a double purpose; then the contractor has a deposit, & it serves our people as an intermediate post between franklin & this place, which ought to be by all means supported; you promised you would not neglect us.

I am, with great regard & esteem,

Sir, Your most Obed^{t} Serv^{t},

E. DENNY,

Cap^{t} Penn^{a} State Troops.

Major Gen^{l} GIBSON.

MAJOR DENNY TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

FORT LE BŒUFF, *June 29th, 1796.*

SIR: I had the honor of writing to you on the 6th inst. The day following we marched with the remaining part of my detachment, & encamped one mile from the Allegheny. 8th, we were detained until late in the day waiting for a drove of cattle which, I thought

best to have along. Twenty two beeves were brought over, and we moved on 7 miles, & halted sometime before night. 9th, was detained till 2 o'clock. The cattle in the night took the road back to the river, where they were followed & brought back. We marched this afternoon 14 miles, & encamped on a branch of Brush Creek. 10th, marched at 7 o'clock; crossed Conniqueness; halted one hour, took the rout again, & encamped one mile over Muddy Creek; this day's march, 23 miles. 11th, marched at 8 o'clock; passed over a rich level country; stopped at Slippery rock; went on and encamped at a fine spring; 20 miles.

12th, marched at 7 through thickets of brush; few trees, but the land good; rain for two days past; the path somewhat deep; passed the graves of two men who were killed a few days ago, eighteen miles from Franklin; halted for half an hour; proceeded, & got to the fort about 4 o'clock; 20 miles. 13th, lay encamped, drying, cleaning, & putting our arms in order. 14th, Mr. Ellicott made a request in writing for me to remain until the arrival of the Corn planter; that he and Genl Wilkins had sent for him; agreed.

15th, Finding fort franklin in a wretched state of defence, & but about 20 Invalids to garrison it, and having very good reason to apprehend mischief from the six nations, and being sensible of the importance of the post and the connection which we necessarily must have with it, all agreed that something ought to be done while we were there; for the garrison, for some time past, suffered every inconvenience of a close seige. The people were afraid to turn out to work their gardens; the gates kept locked night & day; but both gates & pickets served more to cover the enemy than any defence for those within. Accordingly, we set to work, & in four days erected an entire new work round the block house, which we left in tolerable defencable order. Lieut Polhemus, who commands there, is of opinion that Genl Knox intends letting the fort go to wreck; that he had often represented the condition of the place and his incapability to repair it, but to no purpose. The block house can't last more than another year or two, and then it will be easier building upon the old British work, which ought to have been done at first, than to repair the present one.

21st June, hearing that the corn planter had gone to Buffaloe, we decamped and crossed french creek in canoes; the water high & rapid; marched over a fine country; forded big sugar creek waist high; 12 miles.

22nd, marched at 7; the road and country from franklin to cusse-wago excellent; got to the settlement about 3 o'clock. 23rd, The cattle late bringing up; did not get off until 11 o'clock; marched 12 miles over a rich, level, but wet country.

24th, marched at 8 through pine swamp & bad roads; came upon french creek seven miles below Le Boeuff. The land and situations

from this up exceeds all, & the road very good. Joined our people about 4 o'clock.

The rout from franklin to Lebeuff, by way of Cussewago, is not less than 60 miles. The first part may be made good, but the other will be made very difficult. A straight rout from Franklin to Lebeuff wont exceed 45, but 'tis yet uncertain what kind of road the country will afford.

We would be made the better of a surgeon. Many of the men who were on here, are laying bad with the flux. However, we are doing every thing possible to get them on foot. Constant salt provisions, and not the best attention paid to cleanliness, has caused it to spread. Our fresh meet, with the little knowledge we have of medicines, has already had a good efect.

The evening of our arrival here, I received the enclosed Letter, from Israel Chapin, superintendant for the six nations. The next day, by the time mentioned, he & the Indians arrived. They expected to meet us at Presque Isle. They came from the mouth of Buffal)e there in a row boat. Next morning, we met and received their message, a copy of which, together with our reply, is also enclosed. W^m^ Johnson, who is mentioned in the message, is a British agent. He acted slightly as prompter to the chiefs. They denied having sold their country ; told us that the paper (deed) which they signed, at Fort Harmar, was thought by them then to be nothing but a treaty of peace, & that the goods which was delivered them they considered as presents; money, they say, they received none. The Line which they had marked upon their map began at O'Bails town, &, in a direct line, crossed French creek, just below meads, & on to the head of Cayahaga; from thence to the Muskingum, & down to the Ohio to its mouth, & up the Mississippi, leaving a small square for a trading house, at the mouths of the rivers, & one where Clarksville now is. The fellows were very inquisitive to know if any surveyors were out, & told us to stop every person going towards the Lake. They will expect an answer from our great council.

I would just remark, that in case of a war, it will be very difficult keeping either horses or cattle about the place, and impossible to get any supplies, being so near their towns, unless we have three times the number of men which we now have, & establish several intermediate posts.

Have the honor to enclose a return of the Troop.

I am, with perfect respect,

Sir, your most obed^t^ Ser^t^,

CAP^t^ E. DENNY.

Gov. MIFFLIN.

ANDREW ELLICOTT TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

FORT LE BOEUF, *June 29th, 1794.*

SIR: In my last Letter to you from Pittsburgh I mentioned that you might expect to hear from me both from Fort Franklin and Le Boeuf; but from a variety of Circumstances no opportunity occurred of writing from the first. On my arrival there, the place appeared to be in such a defenceless Situation, that, with the concurrence of Cap[t] Denny and the Officer commanding at the Fort, we remained there some time, and employed the troops in rendering it more tenable. It may now be considered as defensible, provided the number of men is encreased. The Garrison at present consists of twenty five men, one half of whom are unfit for duty, and it is my opinion that double that number would not be more than sufficient, considering the Importance of the Safety of the settlements on French creek. At Fort Franklin Gen[l] Wilkins and myself wrote to the Corn-planter to attend there, that we might have an opportunity of explaining to him the nature of our business, and of obviating any difficulties that might arise in our proceedings. However, he did not come as was expected, having gone some days before to a Council of the Six Nations at Buffaloe.

With this Letter you will receive a Copy of their Message, presented by General Chapin and M[r] Johnson to Cap[t] Denny and myself, with our Reply to the same. I leave to yourself to consider the propriety of a British agent attending a considerable number of Indians, with a Superintendant of Indian Affairs of the United States, to order the People of Pennsylvania to remove from those Lands which had been ceded to them by treaty by the King of Great Britain, and since that time regularly purchased from the Six Nations, and punctually paid for. After repairing Fort Franklin, we proceeded to this place, and are now beginning to strengthen the works here, so as to render it a safe deposit for military and other Stores, and in doing which, agreeably to Instructions, economy shall be strictly attended to.

The Line described by the Indians on the map will take from the State of Pennsylvania the Cassewago Settlement, being part of the purchase of 1784, and the whole of the purchase of 1788. But with respect to this claim, they can be serious only so far as encouraged by the British agents and the countenance shown them by the late Interference of the United States.

The objection made by M[r] Brant to Gen[l] Chapin, that the Establishment at Presqu' Isle would cut off the Communication between the Six Nations and the western hostile Indians, and thereby diminish their joint strength, is the strongest argument that can be urged

in favor of that Establishment. Gen[l] Chapin and myself are of opinion that all differences between the State of Pennsylvania and the Six Nations might be accommodated by Treaty, which Treaty ought not to be held in the Neighborhood of any post occupied by the British, the United States, or this State at present, and that Presqu' isle is the most elegible place for such a Treaty. [Gen[l] Chapin, I presume, has communicated his Sentiments to Gen[l] Knox on this subject.]

Standing-stone, a chief, residing at Conyat, has informed us, since we arrived at this place, that the late mischief on the Allegheny River and Venango Path was done by a party of eight Warriors from Huron River, which falls into Lake Erie, about twenty six miles above Cayahogo. One of his Brothers saw them on their way to commit those depredations. Those Indians are only to be chastised by the way of the Lake. But it is neither the Interest of the British, Brandt, nor the other agents to have them punished. It is the Interest of the United States, and yet the United States, by directing a suspension of the business at Presqu' Isle, have taken effectual measures for the Security of this Nest of murderers, whose cruelties have for some years past been severely felt by the Citizens of this State.

You must recollect that I always had my doubts respecting the fulfilment of the Contract for opening the navigation of French Creek and a Road from Le Boeuf to Presque Isle, and, agreeably to my expectations, have hitherto not been able to discover any thing done in that business. For the further Security of the Frontiers of this State, it would be necessary to erect two Block-houses on the Venango path, between Fort Pitt and Venango, and a third between Venango and this place. At present Mead's Settlement appears to me to be the most proper Situation.

I am, Sir, with great respect,

Your real friend,

AND[w] ELLICOTT.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO SECRETARY OF WAR.

PHILADELPHIA, *30th June, 1794.*

SIR: On the receipt of your letter of the 24[th], covering an extract from General Chapin's letter, dated the 12[th] current, in which that gentleman states, "That the Indians do not acknowledge the validity of the Cornplanters' sale to Pennsylvania," referring, I presume, to the triangular tract on lake Erie, I have thought it proper

to prepare and communicate the enclosed copies of the deeds of cession, for the information of the President.

I take this opportunity, likewise, to transmit a copy of a letter, dated the 20th inst., and the accompanying documents, which I received from General Gibson by the last post.

I am, &c.,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

Copy of the articles between the chiefs, &c., of the Six Nations of Indians and the Commissioners of Pennsylvania.

Be it remembered, By all whom it may concern:

That on the ninth day of January, in the year of our Lord 1789, in open and public council, we, the undersigned chiefs, warriors, and others, representing the following named tribes of the Six Nations, to wit: the Ondawagas, or Senecas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, and Oneidas, for and in behalf of ourselves, our tribes, our and their heirs and successors, on the one part, and Richard Butler and John Gibson, Esqrs, commissioners for and on behalf of the State of Pennsylvania (Onas) on the other part, did make and conclude upon the following articles, viz:

Article 1. That, as soon as these articles are signed, interchangeably, by the aforesaid chiefs and commissioners, the said chiefs will execute a deed of conveyance to the State of Pennsylvania for a tract of country, as shall hereafter be described.

Article 2. The signing chiefs do acknowledge the right of the soil and jurisdiction to, in, and over that tract of country bounded on the south by the north line of the State of Pennsylvania, on the east by the west boundary of the State of New York, agreeable to the cession of that State and the State of Massachusetts to the United States, and on the north by the margin of Lake Erie, including Presqu Isle and all the bays and harbors along the margin of said lake Erie, from the west boundary of Pennsylvania to where the west boundary of the State of New York may cross or interest the south margin of the said lake Erie; to be vested in the said State of Pennsylvania, agreeable to an act of Congress, dated the 6th day of June last, 1788.

Article 3. The said chiefs do agree that the said State of Pennsylvania shall and may, at any time they may think proper, survey, dispose of, and settle all that part of the aforesaid country lying and being west of a line running along the middle of the Conowago river, from its confluence with the Alleghany river into the Chadochque lake, thence along the middle of said lake to the north end of the same, thence a meridian line from the north end of the said lake to the margin or shore of lake Erie.

ARTICLE 4. The said chiefs do agree that the navigation, or water communication, of the said Conowago river and the Chadochque lake, shall be free to the citizen of the State of Pennsylvania, in common with themselves, but that neither party should build, or erect dams over or across the Conowago river, so as to obstruct the passing of boats or canoes up and down the same to the Alleghany river.

ARTICLE 5. That as several villiges belonging to the signing chiefs and their people are now living on the said Conowago creek, and in other parts of the country, suppossed to be within the tract of country west of the west line of the State of New York, and east of the line through the waters, as described in the third article; and as they have no country to remove to from where they now live, the said chiefs do reserve for their own and their peoples residence, hunting, and fishing, all that part of the tract of country described in the second article, passing from the Alleghany river, along the middle of the Conowago creek, the Chadochque lake, and a meridian line from the north end of said lake, to lake Erie.

ARTICLE 6. The said chiefs do engage for, and in behalf of themselves and their tribes, to give protection to the citizens of the said State of Pennsylvania, and others who may come to trade or transact business, under proper authority, among them, and to live peaceably with all the citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE 7. The said Richard Butler and John Gibson, Esqr^{s}. commissioners for, and in behalf of the state of Pennsylvania, do agree to the aforesaid articles, in their true intent and meaning, and they do further engage on the faith of the State of Pennsylvania, that the aforesaid Chiefs and the people of their tribes shall have full and peaceable liberty to hunt and fish within any part of the country first above described, they demeaning themselves peaceably towards the inhabitants. But the said chiefs, or their successors, shall not, at any time hereafter, directly or indirectly, lease, rent, or make sale of, any part or parcel of the tract here reserved for their use and residence to any other State, person or persons.

In testimony of the above articles being duly, openly and fairly agreed and concluded upon, the chiefs and commissioners aforesaid have interchangeably set their hands, and affixed their seals, the day and year first above written.

Senecas, GYANTWACHIA, or the Corn planter, † L. S.
GYASHOTA, or the Big Cross, † L. S.
KANASSEE, or the New Arrow, † L. S.
ACHIOUT, or the Half Town, † L. S.
ANACHKOUT, or the Wasp, † L. S.
CHISHEKOA, or the Wood Bug, † L. S.
SESSEWA, or the Big Bale of a Kettle, † L. S.
SCIAWHOWA, or the Council Keeper, † L. S.

Senecas.	TEWANIAS, or the Broken Twig, † L. S.
	SOUACHSHOWA, or the Full Moon, L. S.
	CACHUNEVASSE, or Twenty Canoes, † L. S.
Tuscaroro Chief,	HICHONQUASH, or Tearing Asunder, † L. S.
Senecas,	CAGEAHGEA, or Dogs about the Fire, † L. S.
	SAWEDOWA, or the Blast, † L. S.
	KIONDASHOWA, or Swimming Fish, † L. S.
Onandago Chief,	ONCHYE, or the Dancing Feather, † L. S.
Cayugas,	SOAHAES, or Falling Mountain, † L. S
	OTACHSAKA, or Broken Tomahawk, † L. S.
Oneida Chief,	TEKAHIEFS, or the Long Tree, † L. S.
Seneca Chief,	ONESECHTER, or the Leaded Man, † L. S.
Munsey Chiefs,	KIATULAHOH, or the Snake, † L. S.
	AQUEIA, or the Bandy Legs, † L. S.
Senecas,	KIANDOCH-GOWA, or Big Tree, † L. S.
	OWENEWAH, or Thrown-in-the-Water, † L. S.

N. B. The two Munceys signed as being residenters on the land, but not owners.

R. BUTLER.

In the presence of

Ar. St. Clair,
Josiah Harmar,
Lt. Col. Com. 1st U. S. Regt., and Brig. Gen. by brevet.
David Zeigler, *Captain 1st U. S. Regt.*
Winthrop Sargent,
John Tracey,
N. McDowell, *Ensign.*
Jacob Melcher, *Cadet in 1st U. S. Regiment.*
Joseph Nicholson.

Be it remembered, that, on the 30th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1792, and in the 16th year of the independence of the United States of America, came, personally, Joseph Nicholson, one of the witnesses within named, before me, James Biddle, Esq., president of the courts of common pleas, in the district consisting of the city and county of Philadelphia, and counties of Bucks, Montgomery, and Delaware, and made oath, on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that he was present and saw the twenty-four grantors, and two commissioners, in the within deed named, make the signatures, or marks, to the said deed, and seal and deliver the same, as their act and deed, voluntarily and freely; and that the said deponent subscribed his name as a witness to the execution thereof: and that he also saw the other seven witnesses subscribe their names within written, respectively, to the same deed, and that the name, Joseph Nicholson, thereunto subscribed, is of his own proper hand-writing.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, at Philadelphia, the same day and year aforesaid.

JAMES BIDDLE.
JOSEPH NICHOLSON.

Enrolled in the Rolls Office for the State of Pennsylvania, in Commission Book, No. 1, page 309.

Witness my hand and seal of office, the 19th of June, 1794.

MATHEW IRVIN, *M. R.*
JAMES TRIMBLE, *Deputy Secretary.*

A true copy from the original.
Secretary's Office, June 30th 1794.

COPY OF THE DEED FROM THE SIX NATIONS OF INDIANS TO THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Know all men by these presents, that we, the undersigned chiefs, warriors, and others, representing the following named tribes of the Six Nations, to wit: the Ondawagas or Senecas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, and Oneidas, for and in consideration of the sum of two thousand dollars, to us in hand paid, by Richard Butler and John Gibson, Esquires, commissioners for and in behalf of the State of Pennsylvania, the receipt whereof we do hereby acknowledge, and we, for ourselves, our tribes, our and their heirs and successors, are therewith fully paid and satisfied, have granted, bargained, sold, and assigned over, and by these presents do grant, bargain, sell, remise, release, quit claim, and assign over, unto the said State of Pennsylvania, all our and their right, title, claim, and interest of, in and to all that tract of country situate, lying, and being within the territory of the United States, bounded on the south by the north line or boundary of the State of Pennsylvania, on the east by the western line or boundary of the State of New York, agreeably to an act of cession of the said State of New York and the State of Massachusetts to the United States; and on the north by the southern shore or margin of lake Erie, including Presqu' Isle and all the bays and harbors along the shore or margin of the said lake Erie, from the west boundary of the said State of Pennsylvania to where the west line or boundary of the State of New York may cross or intersect the southern shore or margin of the said lake Erie; to have and to hold the said tract, as above described, with all its appurtenances and advantages, to the only proper use and behoof of the said State of Pennsylvania, forever under and subject to the provisos and reservations made and agreed upon in behalf of

ourselves and our tribes, their heirs and successors, mentioned in certain articles of agreement made and concluded with the aforesaid Richard Butler and John Gibson, Esquires, commissioners for and in behalf of the said State of Pennsylvania, which articles were signed by the aforesaid chiefs and commissioners interchangeably before the executing and signing of this deed.

In testimony whereof, we, the said chiefs, have hereunto set our hands and seals this . . day of January, in the year of our Lord 1789.

Senecas,	GYANTWACHIA, or the Corn-planter, † L. S.
	GYASHOTA, or the Big Cross, † L. S.
	KANASSEE, or the New Arrow, † L. S.
	ACHIOUT, or the Half Town, † L. S.
	ANACHKOUT, or the Wasp, † L. S.
	CHISHEKOA, or the Wood Bug, † L. S.
	SESSEWA, or Big Bale of a Kettle, † L. S.
	SCIAWHOWA, or the Council Keeper, † L. S.
	TEWANIAS, or the Broken Twig, † L. S.
	SOUACHSHOWA, or the Full Moon, † L. S.
	CACHUNEVASSE, or Twenty Canoes, † L. S.
Tuscarora Chief,	HICHONQUASH, or Tearing Asunder, † L. S.
Senecas,	CAGEAHGEA, or Dogs about the Fire, † L. S.
	SAWEDOWA, or the Blast, † L. S.
	KIONDASHOWA, or Swimming Fish, † L. S.
Onandago Chief,	ONCHYE, or the Dancing Feather, † L. S.
Cayuga Chiefs,	SOAHAES, or Falling Mountain, † L. S.
	OTACHSAKA, or Broken Tomakawk, † L. S.
Oneida Chief,	TEKAHIEFS, or the Long Tree, † L. S.
Seneca Chief,	ONESECHTER, or the Leaded Man, † L. S.
Munsey Chiefs,	KIATULAHOH, or the Snake, † L. S.
	AQUEIA, or Bandy Legs, † L. S.
Senecas,	KIANDOCH-GOWA, or Big Tree, † L. S.
	OWENEWAH, or Throw-into-the-water, † L. S.

N. B. The two Munseys signed as being residenters on the land, but not owners.

R. BUTLER.

In the presence of

Ar. St. Clair,
Jo^{s}. Harmar,
Lieut. Col. Com. 1st U. S. Reg^{t}, and Brig. General by brevet.
David Zeigler, *Captain 1st U. S. Regiment.*
Winthrop Sargent.
John Tracey.
N. M^{c}Dowell, *Ensign.*
Jacob Melcher, *Cadet 1st U. S. Regiment.*
Joseph Nicholson.

Be it remembered, that on the 29th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1790, and in the fifteenth year of the independence of the United States of America, came, personally, Joseph Nicholson, one of the witnesses within named, before the Hon. Thomas M^c^Kean, Esq., Doctor of Laws, chief justice of the supreme court of the State of Pennsylvania, and made oath, on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that he was present and saw the twenty-four grantors in the within deed named, make the signatures or marks to the said deed, and seal and deliver the same, as their act and deed, voluntarily and freely; and that the said deponent subscribed his name as a witness to the execution thereof; and that he also saw the other seven witnesses subscribe their names, within written, respectively, to the same deed; and that the name, Joseph Nicholson, thereto subscribed, is of his own proper hand-writing.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, at Philadelphia, the same day and year aforesaid.

THOMAS M^c^KEAN.

Recorded in the office for recording of deeds, &c., for the city and county of Philadelphia, in Deed Book No. 31, page 184.

Witness my hand and seal of office the 5th day of May, 1792.

MATHEW IRWIN, *Rec.*

JAMES TRIMBLE, *Deputy Secretary.*

A true copy from the original.

Secretary's Office, Philadelphia, June 30, 1794.

COUNCIL OF THE SIX NATIONS, JULY 4, 1794.

"The following are the proceedings of a General Council of the Six Nations, holden at Buffaloe Creek on the 4th of July, 1794:

"Clear Sky (an Onandago Chief) first spoke. He thanked the Great Spirit for the preservation of those who had been sent with the message to Le Boeuf. He then observed that they had appointed Captain O'bail (a Seneca Chief) to be their speaker.

"*The Speech of Capt. O'bail.*

Gen^l^ Chapin, M^r^ Johnson, and the whole deputation attend: I thank the Great Spirit that you have all returned in safety."

"Captain O'bail then addressed himself to Gen^l^ Washington, and said, now I call you Friend.

"We, the Six Nations, ever since the beginning of the world, have had love for one another. We have now assembled concerning the business we sent to Presqu'isle, as we have received an answer to the message which we sent to that place.

"The answer we had brought from the men at Le Boeuf relates everything that has taken place since the peace. They mention every payment that has been made, and the greater part they have told us is not true.

General Washington, attend:

"What gives us room for the making of so many speeches is because you relate all the former deceptions which have been used.

There is but one word that was said at Le Boeuf that makes me glad, which was that they had given me land; but to compleat my wishes, I desire that the whole Six Nations might have land given them also.

"Gen[l] Washington: I depend upon you to grant our request, and that will make my mind easy; for sometimes I hear that I am a going flee from my seat for the injuries I have done. These reflections make me so unhappy that I am almost tempted to die with the Six Nations.

"Brother:

We are as determined now as we were before that the line shall remain. We have fully considered on the boundary we have marked out. We know all that we have received from time to time, and we think if you establish this line it will make us about even.

"Brother:

If you do not comply with our request, we shall determine on something else, as we are a free people.

"Brother:

We are determined to be a free people. You know, Gen[l] Washington, that we, the Six Nations, have always been able to defend ourselves, and we are still determined to maintain our freedom.

"Brother:

You must not suspect that any other Nation corrupts our minds. The only thing that can corrupt our minds is not to grant our request.

"Brother:

If this favor is not granted, I wish that my son may be sent back with the answer, and tell me which side he means to join; if he wishes to join that side, he is at liberty.

"Gen[l] Washington: I wish you would give an answer as soon as possible to this speech, and I desire that the messengers who bring it should come to this place.

"And you, Gen[l] Chapin, stand between the Indians and the United States, we wish you would give every assistance in your power to forward the business.

"This speech was delivered with eight strings of black and white Wampum."

"Capt. O'bail then desired Gen[l] Chapin to attend.

"Brother:

You find us as determined as ever about the line between us and the United States. You, Gen[l] Chapin. we place great dependence upon. We wish you to forward our determination to those people who are at Le Boeuf, and desire them not to remove forward, but to remain where they are.

"This speech was delivered with six strings of white wampum."

"*Gen[l] Chapin's Answer.*

"Brothers:

I am happy the Great Spirit has preserved us to meet again in Conncil.

"I have heard with attention the speeches which you have made, and have had committed to writing; they have since been explained to you, and you see there is no deception.

"Brothers:

I give it as my opinion that Gen[l] Washington is a firm friend to the Six Nations, and that he will not, by any means, see you wronged.

"Brothers:

I am happy to hear that you think yourselves a free, Independent people; that is the case with the United States; they are free and Independent, and wish to take you by the hand as Brothers. It seems now that there is some dispute, but the only way to have it settled is to come together face to face and talk the matter over candidly.

"Brothers:

I shall now return home, and I shall forward your speech to Gen[l] Washington as soon as possible. In the mean time, I hope you will set easy on your seats, until you hear Gen[l] Washington's voice.

"Brothers:

I always consider myself accountable to the Indians, as well as the United States. I aim at the good of both parties, and you may rest assured that nothing in my power shall be wanting to assist you. I shall prepare a copy of your determinations to be sent on to Le Boeuf, provided you send runners for that purpose."

N. B.—The mention made of lands by Capt. O'bail, has reference to M[r] Ellicot's conversation in the Council at Fort Le Boeuf. M[r] Ellicot, after relating the particulars concerning the Treaty at Fort Harmar, informed the Indians that the State of Pennsylvania had made three grants of land to Capt. O'bail.

The foregoing proceedings of the General Council of the Six Na-

tions, held at Buffaloe Creek, on the 4th July, 1794, is a true copy from the files of the War Office.

JN° STAGG, *Junr*,
July 17th, 1794. *Ch: Clk.*

GENERAL WILKINS TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *4th July, 1794.*

SIR: When I informed you, from Fort Franklin, of the killing of the Munsey Indian by Robertson, I intended enclosing you two depositions I had taken, but the haste of the express, which the commanding officer was sending away, hurried me so much as to make me neglect enclosing the depositions.

The following is the history of the facts as appeared from the depositions I took: Robertson & the Indian were both a little drunk. The Indian came into a house where Robertson was, & wanted to put himself nigh the fire. Robertson ordered him out of the house; the Indian refused. Robertson pushed him. He seized Robertson, & they both fell on the floor. Robertson sprang up & drag'd him out of the door. Seeming then as if he had accomplished his purpose, he let him go. The Indian got up & made at Robertson as if to fight. They engaged. The deponents saw no more. Robertson returned soon after into the house, his nose bleeding. The Indian, he said, had struck him there, but he had settled him with a blow of a stick. The commanding officer secured Robertson, & was very apprehensive lest the Indians would Revenge the Death of the man by killing some innocent person. The father of the young man, immediately on hearing of what had happened, sent Joseph Nicholson to buy him off from the Indians. When Nicholson came, all the Indians in the neighbourhood were collected, & he offered about one hundred Dollars to pay for the man that was killed. They were all extreamly satisfied, & many of them seemed sorry that it was not their relation, that they might have got so well paid. I would wish to suggest that the father of this young man has taken, altho' a very poor man, uncommon pains to satisfy the Indians, & to have any farther expence spared to him would be humane & equitable.

Since my letter to you, sir, last post, we have had no intelligence from the detachment under Capt Denny. We are all anxious to know the result of the Indians' embassy, & to what new scheme the English are exciting them.

I am, Sir, with great respect,
Your Very Humbl Sevt,
JN° WILKINS, Jr.

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, *Governor of Penn'a.*

MAJOR DENNY TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

LE BOEUFF, *July 4th 1794.*

SIR: I had the honor of addressing you last on the 29th ult., since which we have been busily employed in erecting a stockade fort, the plan of which will be sent you by the next conveyance. We are now beyond the power of any body of hostile Indians that may attempt to strike us, and every day we will be getting stronger, provided we can keep our men together. There has been no Indians near us since Chapin & his party of twenty-five deputies left us. Some are not far off; we here there firing almost daily, but whether friends or foes is yet uncertain. They have it in their power to steal both cattle & horses, but nothing has as yet been disturbed.

Several young gentlemen adventurers who came to Pittsburgh in expectation of going to Presqu' Isle, have since the Departure of the Indians, been at that plaee & returned safe, & I would have no fear of going there with my command as soon as ordered, but would wish the number encreased, on account only if the work which is necessary in making new establishments. The return of our sick are diminishing daily. All hands have been very much engaged, or you should have a return of the Quarter Masters and Military Stores. Lt. Hazlewood tells me that many of the articles are much damaged, particularly powder & slow match.

Lest my Letter of the 29th ult., should not get to hand, I must repeat, that Genl. Chapin agent from the U. S. and Wm. Johnson, agent for the British & Indians, with 25 deputies, chiefs, & warriors of the Six Nations were sent here by the Buffaloe Council to order us out of this Country,—that if we returned back they would consider us as friends, but if not, we were to be considered as no friends. Our reply was, that we were here by authority, & could not remove from hence until orders came for that purpose,—that we would send off their message by express, & that they might expect an answer from our great council in a reasonable time.

I have the honor to be,
with great respect & esteem,
Sir, your most obedt Sertt,
E. DENNY.

To Governor MIFFLIN.

Please to send us a name for the fort. It is not a bad one.

ANDREW ELLICOTT TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

LE BOUEF, *July 4th, 1794.*

SIR: The detachment of State Troops commanded by Capt Denny yesterday moved into the new Fort at this place, which is now defensable not only against the Six Nations, but all the Indians at variance with the U. S. In the execution of the plan, Capt Denny merits the highest commendation for his steady exertions and activity, and I can with truth assure you, that in all my experience I never saw a work of equal magnitude progress with equal rapidity. The plan of the Fort shall be forwarded to you by the first safe conveyance.

As this place, from its situation, must be of importance to the State, I shall, during my stay, execute the general plan of a Town within the reservation, which may be submitted to the consideration of the Legislature. By the enclosed you will see that we have not forgotten the 4th of July. The new Fort has yet no name. I hope that you will be so good as to annex that appendage to it.

I am, with much esteem and
Regard, your real Friend,
AND^{W} ELLICOTT.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *July 7, 1794.*

SIR: Mr. Stagg was authorized by me to request of you the estimate mentioned in your Excellency's letter of the 1 instant, of the quantity of ammunition required for the exigency of the frontiers of this State.

Your Excellency's letter of the 5 instant I received this morning, with the estimate of the Articles required.

I have, in pursuance thereof, the honor to transmit to your Excellency orders on General Hand, at Lancaster, for the Rifles, and on Mr. Hodgdon, the Superintendant of Millitary Stores, for the other articles.

It is to be understood that these articles are furnished by the United States as a loan to the State of Pennsylvania, to be replaced by other articles of the same kind, or paid for according to their Value.

There is no existing authority for furnishing them on any other account.

I have the honor to be,
With great respect,
Your Excellency's
Obedient Servant,
H. KNOX,
Sec'y of War.

His Excellency GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO ATTORNEY GENERAL INGERSOLL.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
PHILADELPHIA, *14th July, 1794.*

SIR: The Governor directs me to submit to your consideration the various measures which have been pursued, to carry into effect the act for laying out a town at Presque Isle, and the correspondence that has passed between the President and him relatively to a suspension of the proceedings of the commissioners. When you have perused these documents, and the laws to which they refer, the Governor requests you will favor him with your opinion on the following proposition:

Can the Executive of Pennsylvania under all the circumstances of the case justify, in point of law, a continuance of the suspension of the proceedings of the commissioners beyond a period that will admit of his carrying into effect the act for laying out the town of Presque Isle, as directed by the Legislature? It may be proper to remark that, in order to assertain the period alluded to, the Governor must eventually take into consideration the limitation of the time for allowing bounties to persons who shall actually settle in the proposed town; the limitation of the time for which the corps is enlisted that furnishes the detachment to protect the commissioners, and the length of time that will probably be consumed in making the necessary surveys.

The Governor is anxious, as far as is consistent with the power and duty of his office, to promote the views of the Gen[l] Gov[t], and even should it be your opinion that his authority as an Executive magistrate does not extend to the present object, he will propose convening the Legislature, if the President shall declare that in his opinion the interest of the Union require it. From the nature of the enquiry, you will readily suppose that the Governor is anxious to receive an early answer to J. Ingersoll.

I am, sincerely, y[r],
A. J. DALLAS, *Sec[ry].*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, *July 15th, 1794.*

SIR: I have the honor to transmit, for your information, copies of the various documents which I have received by express from General Gibson, stating, among other things, the proceedings of a Council, held at Fort Le Bœuf on the 26th ult°, between Captn Denny and Mr Ellicot, and a deputation from the Six Nations in the presence of Genl Chapin.

The requisition which has been made on this occasion, for the abandonment of a great portion of the territory of the State is so extravagant, that we must suppose it to proceed from the instigation of a policy more hostile to the United States than can reasonably be ascribed to the natural arrogance or enmity of the Indians themselves. It is a circumstance, indeed, additionally mortifying, that no attempt was made, even to conceal the source from which the insult came. Mr Johnston the British-Agent attended the Council. It will be obvious to you, Sir, that it is not in my power to authorise a compliance with the requisition, or to treat upon the Subject. My duty calls upon me to execute the laws; and, in doing so, it will be incumbent on me to maintain not only the public claim of jurisdiction, but the private rights of property, throughout the State, against invasion and outrage. For that important purpose, I shall exert all the legal authority of my office; and I take this opportunity to request the co-operation of the general Government, as far as its Federal obligations will extend.

The suspension of the Presqu' Isle establishment has, probably, increased our difficulties; but after the information, which has just been received, I conceive that the essential interests of the State, the Safety of its Citizens, and the preservation of its property, involved in the immediate prosecution of our object; and, I trust, that you will now find reason to concur in that opinion.

I am, with perfect respect,
Sir,
Your Excellency's
Most obedt Servt,
THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To the President of the United States.

List of the documents above mentioned.

Copy of a Letter from General Gibson to the Governor, dated, 7th July, 1794.

Copy of a Letter from Israel Chapin to the Commg Officer at Le Boeuf, 27th June.

Copy of a Letter from Ebenezer Denny to General Gibson, 27th June.

Copy of a Letter from And^w Ellicot to the Governor, 29th June.

Extract of a Letter from Capt^n Denny to the same, 29th June.

Proceedings of a Council with the Six Nations at Le Boeuf, 26th June.

GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *July 15th, 1794.*

SIR: I have the honor to transmit for your information a letter from General Chapin, Agent to the Six Nations, dated at Fort La Beuf, the 26 of June last. You informed me that you had transmitted to you the proceedings of the Council at Buffalo Creek, and the answer thereto by M^r Ellicot and Captain Denny, dated at La Beuf, the 26 of June.

I have the honor to be,
with great respect,
Your Excellency's
obedient Servant,

H. KNOX.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO GEN. JOHN GIBSON.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
PHILADELPHIA, *16th July, 1794.*

SIR: The Governor directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7 instant, with the inclosure, respecting the Council held at fort LeBoeuf. He has written to the President on the subject, and he hopes, before the next post, to receive such an answer as will enable him to proceed in the execution of the Presque Isle law, without incurring the imputation of making a wilful and injurious opposition to the measures and views of the General Government. In the meantime, he requests you will act in conformity to the general authority which he has given for calling into service

a competent force of the Militia of your Division, to repel any actual or threatened invasion and attack.

I am, with great esteem,
Sir,
Your Most Obed^{t} Serv^{t},
A. J. DALLAS, *Sec^{y}.*

The express has been paid, agreeably to your engagement and request, and 8 dollars expenses here. I have enclosed (in confidence) a copy of the Governor's letter to the President.

A. J. DALLAS.

GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *July 17th, 1794.*

SIR: The letter which your Excellency addressed to the President of the United States on the 15th instant, while it presents a new aspect of our affairs with the Six Nations, does not remove the suspicion originally entertained. The proceedings at Buffaloe Creek, on the 26th of June, 1794, speak in threatening language the dissatisfaction of those tribes with the new settlements proposed. A second interview was had between General Chapin and them at the same place, on his return from Le Boeuf, on the 4th instant, and a copy of the minutes is now inclosed. The answer of Mr. Ellicot and Captain Denny could not move their purpose as formerly expressed, and General Chapin, on the 29th of the same month, writes to me that if he had not proceeded to Le Boeuff, "and the party of Surveyors, &c., had proceeded, he believes that blood would have been shed." We cannot well doubt, therefore, that the immediate prosecution of the establishment at Presque Isle would call that confederacy to arms against the United States.

If, indeed, Sir, no hope remained of quieting them, or, at least, of preventing them from joining the hostile nations, forbearance might perhaps be misplaced. But General Chapin, whose duty requires him to attend minutely to those people in particular, and who, by enjoying their Confidence, possesses full opportunity to be well informed, has delivered this opinion in his letter of the 26th ultimo: "Altho' the minds of the Six Nations are much disturbed at the "injuries which they say they have sustained, they are still opposed "to war and wish, if possible, to live in peace with the United "States. They are much opposed to the establishing of Garrisons "in this quarter, as they think it will involve them in a war with "the hostile Indians. They are likewise displeased with having

"those lands surveyed which they say were not legally purchased." On the 9th instant, he adds: "Their main anxiety is, at present, re-
"specting the settlement at Presqu' Isle, as they say they have not
"fairly sold the land. The lines I described to you last winter are
"strongly adhered to by them, and if the party at Le Boeuff pro-
"ceed to erect Garrisons at Presqu Isle it will immediately call the
"attention of the hostile Indians that way, and would, in a short
"time, involve the Six Nations in war, which they wish to avoid.
"They wish to continue in a state of neutrality, if possible."

In both those letters, Sir, General Chapin urges the appointment of Commissioners, who may treat on behalf of the United States and Pennsylvania with the Six Nations; and he is of opinion that such an appointment would answer valuable purposes. Mr Ellicot, who has been employed by Pennsylvania, thinks that all differences may be accomodated by treaty. Such, also, I understood, were the sentiments of your Excellency in a conversation which I had the honor of holding with you on . . . .

The President of the United States, therefore, instructs me to inform you that he is ready to nominate a Commissioner for opening a treaty with the Six Nations, at the Genessee River, on the Fifteenth day of September next; that he shall have it in charge to endeavour, in conjunction with a Commissioner from Pennsylvania, to adjust all discontents against the establishment at Presqu' Isle, and that the department of War shall make all necessary arrangements upon this head with your Excellency. It is not his intention, by this proposition, to cast any doubts upon the validity of the Pennsylvania titles; that must stand upon its own Ground. But, under the present circumstances, it must occur to you, Sir, that the peaceable accommodation of the heart burning of the Six Nations is an object of great importance.

There are other considerations of real weight, which have been already communicated to you. These, too, have lost nothing of their force from late events.

It was never contemplated by the President of the United States to carry his opinions upon this subject farther than to state them as strongly as they were conceived by him. It is with your Excellency to compare them with your constitutional and legal powers. If our enemies should receive so powerful an accession as the Six Nations, the general Government cannot be reproached for inattention, or a neglect to make full representations of the danger to be apprehended.

I have the honor to be,
with great respect,
Your Excellency's
obed. Servant,

H. KNOX,
Secy of War.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

ATTORNEY GENERAL INGERSOLL TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

PHILADA., *July 18th, 1794.*

DEAR SIR: I have considered the Question you state as arising upon the Law for laying out a town at Presqu' Isle. The Terms in which you have expressed yourself, as well as the Nature of my office, excludes from my view, in giving an opinion, every Consideration of Policy or Expediency.

In point of Law, I conceive, even under the Circumstances mentioned in the Communications enclosed, the Executive of Pennsylvania cannot justify omitting to conform to the Directions of the Act of the Legislature to which you refer, tho' the Executive may justify any Delay consistent with the Performance of the Duties enjoined within the time prescribed. The United States are at War with the Indians. A State may, therefore, raise Troops. The Law is not contrary to the Federal Constitution. The Act is imperative in its language & obligatory.

The Circumstances you recite, the Limitation of the time for allowing Bounties, &c., determines the Period beyond which Delay could not be justified.

If it shall appear that Measures of General Concern will be defeated by Pursuing the Line of Conduct pointed out by the Legislature, as the Governor has no dispensing Power, convening the Legislature is the only Remedy for the Inconvenience.

I am,

D^r^ sir, sincerely

Y^r's^,

JARED INGERSOLL.

ALEX^r^ J. DALLAS, Esq.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, *18th July, 1794.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your business answer to my letter of the 15 instant, communicated in a letter from the secretary at war, dated yesterday, and it is with peculiar regret that I perceive the embarrassment of my situation, relatively to the Presque Isle establishment, encreasing with every addition to the correspondence which the subject has produced. I certainly, sir, have hitherto proceeded upon the presumption, that

whatever form of words may have been employed, it was your request that the execution of the Presque Isle law should, for the present, be suspended; and as you possessed all the information upon which that request was founded, I have thought, likewise, that you would readily assume the responsibility attached to a prompt and confidential compliance with it. But when the secretary at war remarks that you never contemplated carrying your opinion upon the subject, further than to state them as strongly as they were conceived, he leaves it to be inferred that for all the consequences of the suspention, without possessing the information, or, perhaps, entertaining the sentiments, that as to the measure, I am deemed to be exclusively responsible.

This idea, sir, claims and justifies, on my part, the utmost circumspection, and I am persuaded, while the executive of the Gen^{l} Gov^{t} is solicitous to avoid reproach for inattention, or a request to make full representations of any danger which is apprehended to the interest of the Union, a similar solicitude in the success of a particular Government to avoid reproach, either for transgressing the constitutional boundaries of his authority, or for sacrificing the interests of the state, will be equally approved and indulged.

Hence, Sir, I have been induced, in order satisfactorily to compare your opinions, on this occasion, with my constitutional and legal powers, to take the advice of the Attorney General of Pennsylvania; and I have the honor to inclose a copy of the letter, in which his sentiments are expressed. From this document, you will perceive that, although any delay consistent with the performance of the duties enjoined upon us may be permitted, a delay which will prevent the execution of the law within the time prescribed will not be justifiable. It is of importance, therefore, to know how long the temporary obstacles which induced you to advise the suspension of the establishments at Presque Isle are expected to continue; for if they should not be shortly removed, I must either direct the commissioners to proceed in laying out the town, or, (resorting to the alternative suggested by the Attorney General,) convene the legislature upon the occasion. The latter measure, however, I shall not think it expedient to adopt, unless you expressly request it.

Though the title of the State to the jurisdiction and soil of the territory on which she proposes to form her settlements can admit of no just controversy, I would cheerfully, as far as my power extends, co-operate in any amicable proceedings to conciliate the minds of the Six Nations; but I have no authority to appoint a commissioner to treat with them upon the subject; and, indeed, the secretary at War has misunderstood the purport of my conversation in that respect, since he ascribed to me an opinion that under the previous circumstances all differences may be accommodated by Treaty. The truth is, that if a particle of justice influenced the

conduct of those Indians, no opposition would have been made to our improving the lands which we had fairly bought, and the sale of which they repeatedly acknowledged; and if they act (as I believe they do) under the direction and controll of British agents, their opposition must be expected to last as long as the policy by which it is excited. If, however, Sir, you should be pleased, on the part of the United States, to authorize a treaty to be held, I shall think it my duty to furnish you with all the documents that relate to the title of Pennsylvania, and its repeated recognitions by Cornplanter and the other Indians who now presume to deny it.

I am, with perfect respect,
Sir, Your Excellency's
Most Obed^{t} Serv^{t},
THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To His Excellency Geo. Washington, *President of the United States.*

ANDREW ELLICOTT TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

Le Boeuf, *July 19th, 1794.*

Sir: I have just now received the result of a council of the six nations, after they had received the reply of Cap^{t} Denny, and myself, to their message, (delivered by Gen. Chapin and W^{m} Johnson,) from which it appears they are determined *by force* to maintain their right to the north-west corner of this State, including the Cussawago settlement, Le Boeuf, and Presqu' Isle. They have sent a message on to the President, and are now waiting his answer. A copy of this message has been forwarded to me by Gen. Chapin, which you will find enclosed.

From a consideration of this subject in various points of view, it appears to me absolutely necessary for the interest, dignity, and safety of the State, either to abandon the country, and break up the settlements down to Fort Franklin, or to extend our posts on to Presqu' Isle. The *first* would, no doubt, satisfy the Indians for the present; but the *second* would place them so completely in our power, that their fears would operate more favourably than their friendship. They would find themselves cut off from the western Indians, their principal Towns liable to be destroyed at any time in three days, and their very existance as a people depending on their preserving peace with the United States. They foresee all these consequences, and are, therefore, by their present menacing and management, endeavouring to prevent an establishment, which they are sensible must command their fears, and awe them into peace,

without purchasing at an extravagant price their good will. If we remain on French Creek, we may possibly have war, but if we extend our posts to Presqu' Isle we shall surely have peace.

The Garrison at this place is in good order, and the work sufficiently strong to oppose with success any number of Indians that would be brought against it. The person who has the charge of this is now waiting. I must, therefore, for the present, bid you farewell.

I am, Sir, with esteem,
and regard your
real Friend,
ANDᵂ ELLICOTT.

Thoˢ Mifflin, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

P. S. We shall have the plan of a Town at this place completed in two or three weeks.

A. E.

MAJOR DENNY TO GEN. GIBSON.

Le Bœuf, *July 19th, 1794.*

Dear Sir: I had the pleasure of writing to you on the 27th June, by Mr Nicholson, and transmitted a copy of a message which we received from the Six Nations, together with our reply. I mentioned that the Troops here were, many of them sick with the flux, and that the escorts which we were obliged to send with pack horses between this & fort Franklin reduced us so much as to make any further escorts or detachments imprudent. Begging, as I had been called upon for men to go all the way to pitt, that you would order a few militia to escort a drove of cattle on for us, I also wrote to Mr Wilkins, and mentioned these circumstances, but as yet do not know what is doing. Not having any more time to lose, I have sent Ensign Mahaffay, with a small party, down, and must request that you will add some men to his command, that he may be able to bring on some supplies. We have not more provisions at present than will serve us till his return. If the Indians begin, the Lord knows how we'll make out. It will be from hand to mouth with us now. The french creek is too low to be of any service, and the horses that have been driving between franklin and this are worn out.

Enclosed you will receive a copy of the proceedings of a council of the Six Nations, held at Buffalo on the 4th inst*. The determina-

*See page 735.

tion of these Indians seems to be fixed; and if it is the determination of our government to even maintain this place an additional number of men adequate to bring on all the supplies will most certainly be wanted. I address Gen^{l} Gibson, as being the commanding officer of militia, in hopes that some arrangement may be made to support us.

I am, &c.,

E. DENNY,
Cap^{t} State Troops.

Major Gen^{l} Jn^{o} Gibson, *Pittsburgh.*

MAJOR DENNY TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

Le bœuf, *July 19th, 1794.*

Sir: I had the honor of addressing you on the 29th ult., enclosing a copy of a message to me from the Six Nations, ordering us back from this place. My last was dated the 4th instant. I now enclose to you a copy of the Corn planter's speech, in council at Buffaloe, after the deputation who brought us their message had returned.

We are pretty secure here while our provisions hold out, but have no stock on hand, and if the Six Nations do make a break, we shall certainly be very much streightened. This small detachment cannot afford parties upon the road all the way betwixt Pittsburgh & this. In case of a war, the whole would not make more than a good escort. There is not much time to loose, and depend upon it, Sir, it will now be difficult bringing any supplies forward. The french creek, at present, is useless. Unless there is some further provision made for supplying this place, our situation will become very critical. Large escorts and entermediate posts are wanted.

M^{r} McCutcheon has not yet been able to complete an exact return of the stores, but thus far I can report that two of the six pounders are at Cussewago, with a quantity of shot, and that our powder, slow match, and almost every article that could receive any damage has sustained some. Besides, there are several things missing.

I have the honor to be,
With the highest esteem,
Sir,
Your most hble & obed^{t} serv^{t},
E. DENNY, *Cap^{t}.*

Governor Mifflin.

GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *July 21, 1794.*

SIR: Your Excellency's letter of the 18 instant, to the President of the United States, has been duly received.

It certainly was not his intention that any personal embarrassment should be produced to you from the suspension of the establishment at Presqu' Isle. It has been uniformly avowed to your Excellency to be his wish that it should be suspended until efforts should be made for removing the temporary obstacles. The expression of this wish was a duty, inasmuch as an harmonious co-operation of the State Governments with the general government must always be necessary upon subjects in which the movements of the former may essentially counteract those of the latter. Still the President does not mean to press upon your Excellency the slightest infringement of your constitutional or legal powers, for while he himself pursues the constitution and laws of the United States he shall always observe respect to those of individual States. Whatsoever responsibility, therefore, is attached to the communication of his desire to your Excellency, he readily assumes and he deems it a fortunate circumstance, that you have thought yourself hitherto at liberty to comply with it.

How long the temporary obstacles to this settlement will continue it is impossible to determine. They will certainly last until the campaign against the Western Indians is ended, unless the disposition of the Six Nations should be materially changed. Neither your Excellency nor the Attorney General have defined the period to which the suspension may, under the circumstances stated by him, be legally continued. But as the enlistments of the Troops do not expire before the first of December, and may be continued longer, and as the period for allowing bounties for actual settlement does not close before the first of next May, it is evident that there is sufficient time for holding a treaty with the Six Nations, if begun about the middle of September. A Commissioner will attend for that purpose in behalf of the United States at Canandaigua on the fifteenth day of September next, and those tribes will be invited thither. As the object will be not only to prevent them from engaging in hostility against us, but also to procure an acquiescence in the settlement proposed, it may be naturally expected that their objections to the purchase will stand very forward. It might prove beneficial if a Commissioner could be sent from Pennsylvania. But it appears, from your Excellency's last letter, that this cannot be done. Our Commissioner, therefore, will take charge of the documents, which you have promised, and will use his best endeavours to quiet the

discontents. He will not be authorized to make any concessions injurious to the Title, nor to give expectation of any further compensation from your State. If he cannot accommodate the dispute under the influence of the United States by proper explanations he will report the result as the basis of ulterior measures.

I have the honor to be,
With great respect,
Your Excellency's
Obedient Servant.
H. KNOX,
Sec^{y} of War.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

PHILADELPHIA, *22nd July, 1794.*

SIR: I have received a letter from the Secretary of War, dated the 21st instant, in which he informs me of your intention to appoint a commissioner for the purpose of holding a treaty with the Six Nations, Canandaigua, on the 15th of September next; and I shall, with all possible despatch, transmit, for your information, the documents relating to the title of Pennsylvania, so far as it is founded on a purchase of the Indians' claims, within the limits particularly designated in the late council at Le Boeuf. But, at the same time, I wish it to be clearly understood that, on my part, no assent is given to any proposition that shall bring into doubt or controversy the rights of the State.

With respect to the opinion expressed by the Secretary of War, that, before the lapse of the period during which, it is thought, the Presqu' isle settlement may lawfully be suspended, there is sufficient time for holding a treaty with the six nations, if begun about the middle of September. I confess my judgment has not dictated the same conclusion, for a consideration of the circumstances which the case presents to my view. It is true, as the Secretary of War observes, that the enlistments of the Troops do not expire till the 1st of December, and that they may be continued until the meeting of the Legislature—that is, until the 2^{d} December; but independent ef the various casualties which usually protract, and sometimes defeat, the project of Indian treaties, it must be obvious that a knowledge of the result of a treaty held at Canandaigua, on the 15th September, cannot reasonably be expected in this city till the mid-

dle of October; that, after knowing the result, a fortnight or three weeks must necessarily be employed in notifying the commissioners, and in the prosecution of their journey to Presqu' Isle; and that, by a progress of this kind the surveys must be executed (if any men, indeed, can then be found so hardy as to undertake the task) in the depth of winter, and at the very moment when the authority for affording protection to the commissioners expires by its own limitation. Nor is the subject without embarrassment when we consider it in relation to the bounties offered to the persons who shall actually inhabit and reside in the town, on or before the 1st May, 1795; for no residence can take place till the surveys are returned; and the surveys cannot be returned, under the circumstances which have been remarked, till the winter, and its effects have, probably, rendered it impracticable to travel to the settlement within the limited period. Not only may the public policy be thus defeated, but the hopes of many adventurous individuals will be totally destroyed.

Under the impression of these sentiments, I might be tempted to express a wish that an earlier day should be fixed for holding the proposed treaty, but that a sense of duty suggests an impropriety in the slightest interference upon the occasion. I will content myself, therefore, with informing you that I shall instruct the commissioners to hold themselves in readiness to perform their trust as soon as the treaty is over. If the issue is favorable to our object, they will be authorized immediately to proceed to Presqu' Isle, but if the Indians should menace opposition, direction will be given to wait for a further communication from me. In the latter event, I shall rely upon receiving the military aid of the General Government, not only to prevent any inconveniency that may arise from the expiration of the Pennsylvania enlistments, but effectually to subdue that resistance to the execution of the law of Pennsylvania, which its suspension, by giving time and confidence to our ill disposed neighbors, must naturally increase.

I am, &c., &c.,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

GEN. WM. IRVINE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

CARLISLE, *July 22d, 1793*.

SIR: I thank you for your confidence in me. I assure you, Sir, the emolument that will attend an acceptance of the tract for laying out a town at Presque Isle, is no inducement to entering on

that business, I consider the measure of great importance to the State. But as it has been determined that you have no legal authority to direct a guard for the protection of the Commissioners, I am clearly of opinion that it would neither be safe for them, nor tend to the advantage or honor of this State, nor possibly of the United States, that an attempt should be made until peace is established with the Savages, or effectual measures can be taken, not only to perform that service, but also for taking such force there as will be able to repel hostile attacks on the post & afford protection to new settlers.

I am informed by sundry intelligent persons, some of whom has been lately in the Senica Country, that the Savages in that quarter are sanguine in their expectation that all the Country Northwest of the River ohio & allegheney will be relinguished to them by the treaty now pending. Of course, they are extremely jealous of even individuals who cross into that territory, but I need not dwell on this, as your official situation will gain you as early & more accurate information than I can obtain. So soon as you will be pleased to notify me that peace is established, or that adiquate protection can be afforded, there shall be no delay on my part. I think however that unless those obstructions are removed in time for the Commissioners to be on the ground, by the first of September, it will be too late for this season, especially for settlers who might wish to remain on the ground. Indeed, I am persuaded, it would be improper even to abandon the place after having attempted to establish a post or settlement; and, therefore, that it will be prudent to be previously prepared to hold it at all events.

I have the honor to be,
with great respect,
Sir,
your most obedient,
Humble Servant,
Wm IRVINE.

Governor MIFFLIN.

GEN. JOHN WILKINS TO COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

PITTSBURGH, *25th July, 1794.*

Dr SIR: I received yours of the 12th & 19th. We have heard this morning from Le beuf, with letters from Mr Ellicott & Capta Denny. They are apprehensive of the indians, & seem to think it would be prudent to abandon the place. They have written to the Governor,

which goes this post, & perhaps may be urging that plan. I should be extreamly mortified that, after all the expense & labour expended in accomplishing that plan, it should be evacuated. They are apprehensive the supply of provisions may be cut off; but I am sure, with very small escorts, I am not affraid of keeping up the supply. We have flour forwarded as far as Fort franklin sufficient for six months, but from the lateness of the season we were not able to carry all up by water, & are now oblidged to continue packing on horse back; but from the number of horses we have there, we can supply all that is necessary with very small escorts. I will pledge myself, that the post at Le buef may be supported with a small expence & a very few more men.

You desire a statement of the expendatures. I cannot give it exactly; but from a cursory view, I have expended, for carriage from Phil[a]. transportation to Le beuf, hire of pack horses one month, pay advanced, money paid to L[t] Hazlewood & M[r] M[c]Cutcheon, articles furnished the commiss[ers], &c[a], about 6000 Dollars. I suppose there will be no great expenditures in the same way. The pay & provisions is to be added.

I furnished M[r] M[c]Cutcheon an exact list of the stores forwarded to Le buef on his first arrival. I did not think myself justifiable in settling the accounts of L[t] Hazlewood & M[r] M[c]Cutcheon. Therefore referred them to you.

Am, D[r] Sir, your friend & humble
Servant,
JN[o] WILKINS, J[r].

GEN. JOHN WILKINS TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *25th July, 1794.*

SIR: From the present hostile appearance of the Six Nations, the infant Settlement at Cussawago is in a dangerous situation. It is an intermediate post between Fort Franklin & Le beuf, which makes it of considerable consequence to be supported. I think the Settlement may be kept up without calling out the militia from the interior Country, by depending on themselves. They can muster about twenty five or thirty men, who would enroll as Voluntiers, & do duty as other militia. Without doubt, the keeping possession of Le beuf is of the utmost consequence to the frontiers, if the Six Nations should declare war, as it will be mentaining a post in their country, from which they may be greatly harrass'd; also, if it is now evacuated, they will only think it done from fear, & encrease in their

demands. To support Le beuf, Cussawago is admirably calculated, & as we are established in their country, in case of a war with the indians, it would be very imprudent to give them up.

Am, Sir, your excellency's most
ob^{t} Hu^{e} Servant,
JN^{o} WILKINS, J^{r}.

His excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

ANDREW ELLICOTT TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

LE BOEUF, *Aug. 1st, 1794.*

SIR: As nothing material has transpired at this post since my last, I hope that circumstance will in some measure be an apology for the shortness of this communication.

The plan of a Town (will be executed on the ground,) for this place in about two weeks. I shall then immediately proceed to Pittsburgh, and from thence to Philadelphia.

In one of my former communications I promised you a plan of the new Fort erected at this place; but on reflecting that Cap^{t} Denny is commandant, it appeared to me that it would come from him with more propriety, I have therefore executed one, which he will forward by the present conveyance.

From experience, I am convinced that some systematical plan should be fallen upon for ensuring the necessary supplies for the several posts in this part of the country, and from a mature consideration of this subject, I can venture to recommend the following: A contractor to be stationed at Pittsburgh, and a trusty person under his direction to receive the supplies at Venango; the business between those posts may generally be carried on with the common Durham Boat, except in the dry part of the season, and then recourse should be had to those built upon the Mohawk, or Schanactady plan. From Venango to this post, the later ought only to be calculated upon. Here another Store-keeper should be stationed. From this place to Presqu' Isle, oxen ought to be used; wet and swampy countries soon destroy pack-horses, which, in all our western expeditions, has considerable encreased the expence. The boating and all other business except that immediately under the direction of the Contractor, or his deputies, should be done by the military, which would not only produce another saving, but constitute several necessary checks on the different departments. I have been very free, and full on this subject in frequent conversations with Cap^{t} Denny.

The Indians, from their own declarations in their councils, must certainly consider themselves as our enemies, and that we are theirs. From this consideration they never come near the Garrison, except as spies, and then escape as soon as discovered.

I am, Sir, with much
esteem & regard, your
real Friend,
ANDʷ ELLICOTT.

Governor MIFFLIN.

MAJOR DENNY TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

LE BŒUF, *August 1st, 1794.*

SIR: Your Letter of the 13th June, which I now have the honor to acknowledge, did not come to hand until the 26th July. It affords satisfaction to know that arrangements are made for supporting my detachment. I have latterly been much mistaken. The suspension of the establishment at Presqu' isle, I took for granted, suspended the authority with which I had been vested for requesting support, as well as the orders which you had sent to the Inspectors.

Directly after our arrival here, finding the stock of provisions but small, and the contractor having called for a party of men to go to pittsburgh, to escort cattle on, and for reasons which you will observe in the enclosed copy of a Letter to General Gibson, dated June 27th, I was obliged to request of him, as commanding officer of Militia, a few men. On the 19th July, I sent off Ensign Mahaffey & 6 men, & wrote the other enclosed copy, but have not yet heard whether any thing is coming on or not. We are now reduced to Seven days' meat and 37 days' flour.

The last Letter which I had the honor of addressing you was dated the 19th July, enclosing a copy of the proceedings of a Council of the Six nations, held at Buffaloe Creek, on the 4th, directed to Mr Ellicott and myself. I mentioned, that if the Six nations broke out, we should, in all probability, be straiten'd for want of provisions; that at present we had no stock for such an advanced post; that we could not afford an escort sufficient for the security of a large supply, and that the dry season had set in, & that it would now be difficult bringing any thing forward. Conceiving it my duty to provide for the worst, I cannot think that such an advance post as this should ever be suffered to have less than six months' provisions in store. Were the convoys in no danger, pack horses might be employed, while the

pasture upon the road is good; but before the end of October the pasture in this country will be done, then the horses will be no more than able to carry their own forrage, and how this post will be supported through the winter, I cant tell.

There are certain seasons, with juditious arrangements, that provisions might be laid in, to subsist any number of men throughout the year, and about as easy at Presqu' isle as at this post. In the first place, the Contractor, under the present Law, cannot afford to have boats proper for navigating french Creek, nor can he afford to keep hands, perhaps, two-thirds their time, waiting for the rise of water. If the business is ever taken up again, I would, with submission, recommend a longer term of inlistment, with a reward of Land; establish a magazine at Venango, where I would have a detachment of men; let the contractor deliver to a public officer, a commissary, at that post, all the supplies; there I would have as many boats upon the Mohawk plan, (no other will do,) as would supply the upper posts, calculating, at most, upon one trip in each of the open months, for in the winter nothing can be done; the Troops to navigate these boats, and, if the way is dangerous, 'tis only to add to our convoy, & make two or three trips serve the season. Depend upon it, Sir, that great improvements may be made in the arrangement of this business. M^r^ Ellicott has promised to give you his ideas on this subject. They will explain things more fully.

As it has been the prevailing opinion, that this post will not be continued, unless a sufficient force comes forward, & we advance to Presqu' isle, I have done no more than what appeared necessary for a temporary accommodation, and for our own security. However, more would have been done, but the scarcity of provisions obliged me to stop the work. M^r^ Ellicott has favored us with a draft of the place. It is sent to you by this conveyance, and will give an idea how we are situated. The Riflemen occupy the whole of the two front block houses, and the lower part of the other two. The detachment of Artillery, and all the officers, remain in their tents, on the ground marked Officers' quarters, Soldiers' barracks, magazine, & guard house. The two houses in front were built by the party that came on first, and are not calculated for taking in cannon. On each of the others second floor, we have a six pounder, and over each gate is a Swivvel. The situation is unequal^d^ by any in this country, Presqu' isle excepted. One disadvantage only, that is a hollow way parallel with our rear, and within gun shot, that will cover any number of Indians; but, with a few more men, & extending the work, that may be perfectly secured. We have it examined every morning, before the gates are thrown open.

The Indians, early in the spring, came frequently to this post; but since the decleration of the Six nations, we have not had one to come in. 'Tis a few days since we see two or three viewing the plan. We

hoisted a white flag, but they disappeared. The next morning, we were alarmed with the report of two cannon, directly towards Presqu' isle. I dispatched a couple of men, the same day, for that place. They returned the following morning, after being all round, and in the old fort, but made no discoveries. We suppose the firing was from the Vessel upon the Lake, that is stationed to watch Presqu' isle. The morning was very foggy, or the men, no doubt, would have seen her.

I have the honor to enclose to you a monthly return of my detachment, and a return of the Quarter master & military stores at this post, and am,

With perfect respect & esteem,
Sir,
Your most obedient,
humble servant,
E. DENNY,
Cap^t Prisqu' isle detachment.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esquire, *Governor of the State of Pennsylvania.*

SAMUEL M^cCUTCHEON TO COLONEL CLEMENT BIDDLE.

FORT LE BOEUF, *August 1^st, 1794.*

D^r SIR: We are here in Suspence about going on to Presqu' Isle, not knowing what the Governor's Determination may be, as the Six Nations seem Determined for War, unless we Give them up their Lands, which they have marked out on the map. We have not had any news Concerning the Six Nations Since I wrote you.

De^r Sir, I have Enclosed a Return of what Stores have Come on to this place, according to the Invoice I received of Gen^l Wilkins. I applied to him for my Instructions, but Received none. I then went according to the Instructions I Received from you, Consistent with the Orders of the Comm^g Officer.

I am, with Respect, your most
Hum^b Serv^t,
SAM^l M^cCUTCHON,
Qr. Master.

MONTHLY RETURN OF A DETACHMENT OF STATE TROOPS AT LE BOEUF.

August 1st 1794.

	Captain.	Lieutenant.	Ensign.	Qr. Master.	Sergt. Major.	Qr. Master Sergt.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Musicians.	Privates fit for duty.	Sick present.	On command.	Total non Commiss'd & privates.
Artillery, ...	..	1	..	1	..	1	1	2	1	26	1	..	32
Allegheny, ...	1	1	..	..	1	..	2	2	..	23	4	2	34
Washington, ...	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	17	2	1	22
Westmoreland, ...	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	15	..	5	22
Total, ...	1	3	1	1	1	1	5	6	1	81	7	8	110

Remark—Ensign Mahaffy and one Serg^{t} on command to Pittsburgh, with the 8 privates.

E. DENNY,
Cap^{t} Comdg.

For Governor Mifflin.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

Secretary's Office,
Phil^{a}, *15th August, 1794.*

Sir: In compliance with the Governor's directions, I have the honor to transmit to you authenticated copies of the documents respecting the purchases made by Pennsylvania of the Indian claims, within certain tracts of land, and subsequent recognitions of those purchases.

I am Sir,
Your Most Obed^{t} H^{ble} Servant,
A. J. DALLAS,
Secretary.

To Henry Knox, Esqr., *Secretary of War.*

Abstract of the documents respecting the purchases made by Pennsylvania of the Indian claims within certain tracts of land, and the subsequent recognitions of those purchases.

No. 1. From the Indian Nations called the Mohack, Onondagoes, Cayogoes, Senecas, and Tuscaroras, in general council of the 6 Nations, to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Deed executed at Fort Stanwix, the 23 Oct^{r}, 1784, conveying, in consideration of the sum of 5,000 doll^{rs}, all that part of the said commonwealth not yet purchased of the Indians, within the acknowledged limits of the same.

No. 2. The Wiandotts and the Delawares, their confederates and dependent Tribes, to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Deed executed at Fort McIntosh, 21st Jan^{y}, 1785, conveying, in consideration of 2,000 doll^{rs}, all that part of the Common$^{w^{th}}$ not yet purchased of the Indians, within the acknowledged limits of the same.

N^{o} 3. The Ondwagoes or Senecas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, & Oneidas with the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Articles of Agreem^{t} executed in public council, the 9th Jan., 1789, Covenanting to convey the triangular tract of land on Lake Erie.

N^{o} 4. The Ondwagas or Senecas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, & Oneidas, to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Deed executed the . . of Jan^{y}, 1789, conveying the triangular tract on Lake Erie, in consideration of 2,000 doll^{rs}, paid by Rich^{d} Butler & John Gibson, on behalf of Pennsylvania.

N^{o} 5. From the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, to the Chiefs of the Six Nations. Date, 11th May, 1790, inviting the Corn Planter, Half Town, and New Arrow, to a council at Philadelphia.

N^{o} 6. Talk of Cornplanter delivered to the Supreme Executive Council, date, the 29th Oct^{r}, 1790, in which, among other things, the sale af the Lake Erie tract, is expressly recognized.

N^{o} 7. The Reply of the Supreme Executive Council to the talk delivered by Corn-Planter, on the 29th Oct^{r}, 1790. Dated, 30th of Octaber, 1790.

N^{o} 8. The Application of Big-Tree, for the grant of an island in the river Allegheny.

N^{o} 9. From Corn-Planter, Half-Town, and Great Tree, chiefs of the Seneca Nation, to the Governor of Pennsylvania. Date, Dec^{r} 30th, 1790, respecting the running of a line from Tioga Forks to the Western boundary of Pennsylvania.

N^{o} 10. Application of Corn Planter, for the location of the 1,500 Acres of land granted to him by the Resolution of the 24th March, 1789. Dated, the 17th of January, 1791.

N^{o} 11. Message from the Governor to the Legislature, transmitting an application from Big-Tree, for the grant of an Island in the

Allegheny, and the representation of Corn-Planter, respecting a mistake in running the line of the late purchase. Dated, the 3rd of Janry, 1791.

N° 12. Resolution of the General Assembly for granting 1,500 Acres, part of the Lake Erie tract, to Corn-Planter, in consideration of his services. Dated, the 24th of March, 1789.

N° 13. Message from the Governor to the Legislature, transmitting and recommending Corn-Planter's request, for the location of the 1,500 Acres of land, granted to him by the Resolution of the 24th of March, 1789. Dated, the 22nd of Janry, 1791.

N° 14. An Act of the General Assembly, for granting an island in the river Allegheny to Big-Tree, a Seneca chief. Dated, the 1st day of February, 1791.

N° 15. An Act of the General Assembly, for granting 800 dollars to the Seneca Nation, in discharge of all their claims and demands, and 1,500 Acres of land to Corn-Planter, in lieu of a former grant. Dated, the 1st day of February, 1791.

N° 16. Corn-Planter and Big-Tree, on behalf of the Seneca Nation, to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. General Release, dated, the 3rd of Febry, 1791.

THOMAS NESBITT TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

CARLISLE, *Augt 8th, 1794.*

SIR: On my arrival from the western country, I found your Letter of the 11th ult° had been sent to this place. When I left Lewistown, my Intention was to have spent a few weeks in Philadelphia, having at that Season of the year, little employment at home; but, when I came to Carlise, hearing that the *Prcsque isle* expedition was likely to go on, I determined to proceed with the Commissioners. Having never been in that part of Pennsylvania, at that time it was the general opinion there would be no delay, and as I intended to return by the nearest rout, thought I could accomplish the Journey in little more time than the other. In this opinion, however, I was very much mistaken. After being long detained at Pittsburg, the progress of the troops with whom I marched, was very slow, and the difficulty of returning, together with a severe fit of sickness, detained me until now. Although I well knew that my absence happened at an inconvenient time. The contents of your Letter gave me no small surprise, at least after receiving some subsequent accounts from my own County. Since my appoint-

ment as Brigade Inspector, I am certain that I have acted with Zeal, and according to the best of my abilities; and, as it is well known that I have even taken *more* trouble than many other officers, it gives me double uneasiness that any misrepresentation of my conduct should take place. Nothing certainly of this kind appears from *your* Letter; but from one that I have *this moment* rec^{d} from Lewistown, I find it either has been, or may be the case. I have learned that a Letter from the Governor directed to me was in the Prot^{rs} hands long before I left Pittsburgh. It would not have been very difficult to have forwarded it, and, in that case, I should either have returned instantly, or resigned my Commission. The Circular Letter, addressed to the different Brigade Inspectors many months ago, lay long in M^{r} Edmiston's office before I received it. And, indeed, it was not until M^{r} Cadwallader passed through Lewistown that I knew such Letters had been written. For the future, I would request that no Letters for me on public business should be left there, as I cannot be answerable for complying with the Contents of them in due time. It gave me no small satisfaction when the office of Lieutenant expired, and had not that of Brigade Insp^{r} arrived so late, that there was no time for Resignation, I should never have accepted it. I am far from implying by this, that I am under no obligation to the Governor, for whom I have the *highest* Respect. Indeed, that was my only motive for accepting and discharging the duties of in the best way I was able. You may know the Salary can be no great motive for a man of my profession, as it necessarily interferes with his business, and may be the means of creating many enemies. After the office of Excise-man, it was the most unpopular a man could hold in Mifflin County. While Lieutenant, I knew of but *one* enemy I had in the whole county, which induced me to *continue* in Office, after the last appointment. If I have now *more*, he must have made them so. He presumes, I imagine, it would hurt my feelings to be deprived of any Office on account of negligence. Certainly it would; but, if any misrepresentation has taken place, that man had better be in hell, (pardon the force of the expression,) than on the face of the earth, while I am able to pursue him. If it is the *wish* of the Governor that I should resign, I shall do it immediately, and with pleasure; but, to gratify the malice of one Individual, who dare only stab in the dark, would be rather disagreeable to a man of my disposition. You will greatly oblige me by an immediate answer. Meantime, I shall do my duty.

I am, with Sentiments of esteem,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

THOMAS NESBIT,

Brig. Insp^{r} of Mifflin County.

To A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.*

P. S. It is now after midnight, and I set out for Lewistown at the Dawn of day, which is the reason I write from Carlisle. There I shall have more complete Information. T. N.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO MAJOR DENNY.

PHILADELPHIA, *15th August, 1794.*

SIR: On mature consideration, I have thought it adviseable to maintain the post at Le Beuff, at least 'till the Legislature, which meets on the 1st of September next, shall decide on the whole Subject relating to the Presqu'-isle establishment. I have, therefore, issued positive orders to General Wilkins to support you, in case of any actual or threat'ned invasion, with a competent force of the Militia, taken, if he thinks it most convenient, from the Cassawago Settlement, and its neighbouring district. He is also directed to furnish you with every necessary Supply; &, I am persuaded, he will faithfully exert himself in both respects.

Your conduct hitherto has been so highly satisfactory to me, that I rely, with implicit confidence, in the future exertions of your vigilance and talents to Secure you from Surprize, and to promote the general objects of your Detachment.

I am, Sir,

Yr most obt hble Servt,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To Captain DENNY.

JOHN ADLUM TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

FORT FRANKLIN, *August 31st, 1794.*

DEAR SIR: I returned yesterday from a second trip I had to the Corn Planter's Town—having been sent for by him to go to the Treaty said to be held at Buffaloe Creek, near Lake Erie.

When I arrived at his Town, which was the 23rd of this Inst., information came that it would not be held until about the 10th day of Sept. I, therefore, concluded it best to return to this place.

The next day, after I got to his town, a party of nineteen chiefs & warriors arrived from the Grand river, on the North Side of Lake Erie.

The Corn Planter had given me notice that such a party were on

their way to protect their women and children while their chiefs were at council.

I told the Corn Planter that such a guard was unnecessary, as the Americans wished to live at peace with the Indians.

He answered, that we could not know who were our enemies, and it was well to be prepared, and insinuated as much as if they feared the Western Indians. But, says he, they are wholly under my direction, and nothing is to be feared from them; for they will hunt with my warriors until I know the result of Gen^{l} Washington's answer, for they will behave themselves soberly and orderly until then. If the answer is favourable to us, they will return to their homes; if not, times will be very bad and troublesome immediately; though, says he, we mean not to make war on women and children, but on men, and with the men we mean to fight, and hope the white flesh, *as he calls us*, will not set us any bad examples; and the way that these men came to be sent here is this: Capt. Brandt sent to us, and desire us to move off the land, for that times would soon be dangerous. I answered, we are not afraid to live here, and as our corn, &^{c}, is planted, we intend to stay and enjoy the fruits of our labour. But Brandt sent again, and said that the regard he had for us made him very uneasy for our safety. I returned him the same answer as before, and added, if you have the regard for us you say you have, send us some people to protect us; and in consequence of this, he sent us these men.

There was a M^{r} Rosegrants with me at the Town—an Interpreter—and we staid at the Cornplanter's house while we were at Town, and the General conversation of the Indians was about the times, and were very anxious to have our opinion whether their request or demand would be granted or not; and the Chiefs concluded their conversation that nothing but the Lands required would do, and that all they wished to know, whether Gen^{l} Washington would grant their request or not. I told them to wait patiently, and the person whom the Gen^{l} had appointed would inform them when they met them at the treaty. I enquired if money would not do, provided they received an annual sum. The Cornplanter answered, it might have done some time ago, but at present nothing but the lands would do to make the minds of the six Nations easy.

I told him that possibly when he had seen the Commissioners, and considered better, that the minds of the Indians might be made easy, and then dropped the subject.

He laughs at the Idea of our keeping the posts, either at Le Boeuf or the mouth of French Creek, should there be a war; for, he says, it is not possible for us to supply them with provisions, as they will constantly have parties along the River and path to cut off all supplies, and that we soon would be obliged to run away from them.

I don't know how far it may opperate in our favour should Gen

Waine be successful to the Westward; but it appears to me that War is inevitable, and, I think, Cap[t] Brandt has a very great hand in it, and his policy is to get the whole of the Six Nations on the North side of the Lakes, as it will make him the more consequential, for, at present, there is but a small number of them there.

I have wrote to General Wilson of Northumberland on the subject, a copy of which I enclose, and intend writing to Gen[l] Wilkins and Co[l] Campbell on the same subject.

The Posts along the Allegheny River, kept by the eight months' men, are a burlesque on the Military art, at least those that I have seen of them, *(for the officers and men are generally Jack fellow alike)*, and I have passed them when the men have been lolling about without either guard or Centry, and from enquiry find it to be too generally the case, and I am certain they might be surprised any day or night by an Inferiour number.

Cap[t] Denny has endeavoured to keep up Military discipline at Le Bœuf, and has got the ill will of the men generally; they say he is too severe, but from enquiry I cannot find he has punished any of them, although some of them deserve death, having been found asleep on their posts.

Some of his men mutinied some days ago, and I inclose copies of his and Mr. Ellicott's letters on the subject to the commanding officers of this post.

The Cornplanter desired Mr. Ellicott should attend the treaty, and I sent a runner to LeBœuf for that purpose.

This post is commanded by an active and vigilant officer, who keeps up the strictest discipline, and has made great improvements in the works. It is wrongly situated, for should a war take place, fleets of Canoes may pass and repass up and down the Allegheny River, without any person have being the wiser for it; and the ground is of such a nature that the bank of the Creek on which it is situated caves in very much; and a few days ago, after a rain, a great piece of the bank fell in with a part of the picketts. The Block-house is in a bad condition, as the logs near the foundation are nearly rotted, and the place is supplied with cattle instead of salt provisions; and the cattle will only supply the enemy, should they attack the post, and the garrison be obliged to live on flour alone.

The Cornplanter desired me to give notice that it was unnecessary to send any more provisions to LeBœuff, as they would soon have to leave it.

The son of the Black Chief at the Cornplanter's town made me a present of a hog while I was there, and the morning before I came away, Half Town informed me he had dreamed that I made a feast, and dance with it; and as it is a general custom to give the Indians what they dream for, (provided they are not too extravagant,)

and I wish for an opportunity to get the sentiments of the Indians generally, I told him that he must have it, and superintend the feast, and that I would buy another, that the whole Town might partake.

It is the custom of the Indians, at such times, to set up a post and strike it, and brag of the feats they have done, or those they intend. Some of the old chiefs were very delicate, and only told of their feats against the Cherokees, as they said they might injure my feelings if they mentioned any thing concerning the whites; others wished General Washington would not grant their request, that they might have one more opportunity of shewing their bravery and expertness in war against us.

The Cornplanter bragged often, and appeared to speak as if war was certain. In one of his brags he gave me a pair of Moccasins, saying, as he addressed himself to me: "It is probable we shall have war very soon. I wish every person to do their duty to their Country, and expect you will act your part as becomes a man; and I see your moccasins are nearly worn out. I give you this pair to put on when you come out to fight us." I took them and thanked him, and said I would reserve them for that purpose. Du Quania, who headed the party of Indians from the North side of the Lakes, in one of his brags, said, That he was always an enemy to the Americans; that he served the King last war, and when peace was concluded he moved over the Lakes, which some said was through fear. "But," says he, "you see it is not so, for I still love the King and hate the Americans, and now that there is like to be danger, you see me here to face it." The Indians in General seemed to wish me to suppose that the British had no hand in the present business, but from several things they related to me, it appeared plain that they are at the bottom of it.

I think it would be but prudent to cover the frontier of this state (until the event is known) with some light companies from the Counties adjoining the frontier Counties, and those companies of the frontier Counties that are not immediately on the frontier, for where attacks may be made the people will be obliged to turn out and defend themselves. If the Indians are not satisfied they will, I think, certainly make a stroke some time between the 25th Sept[r] and the Middle of October; and if they do not go to war the troops may return home, otherwise they will be ready to meet them; and the settlements ought not to be broke up if possible to prevent it, which, I think, may be done. I expected to hear, with Gen[l] Washington's answer to the Indians, of the whole frontier being covered with troops from this State, New York, &c., and if the Indians would not put up with reasonable terms, to march into their country immediately, and destroy their corn and provisions, and probably drive them over the Lakes, as every avenue into their country is

well known, and we could go into it with every advantage that any people can have in such an enemy's Country.

I am certain that the Indians might have been much divided, provided there was some presents to be made them and Commissions sent their Chiefs, as I mentioned in a former letter; but the time is so short now which will decide whether we shall have war or peace, that I fear that little can be done, but I think tryal worth the experiment. I shall again set out for the treaty on Friday or Saturday next, according to the Cornplanter's Request.

From my oppinion of the times, I leave directions for all my hands, surveyors, &c., to leave this place on the 15th, or 16th next month, and return home.

I am, Dear Sir, Repectfully,

Your Most H^ble^ Serv^t^,

JOHN ADLUM.

P. S. Since writing the above all is quiet at Le Boeuf. The mutiny arose from some of the Soldiers, who stole the Commandants Brandy, and got drunk. One Mitchel is brought to this garrison and confined. He snapped a gun at Cap^t^ Denny, and it was with the greatest difficulty that they could get men to bring him to this place. Several others received punishment, and now all is in order. As Cap^t^ Denny's and Mr. Ellicott's letters are not very particular on the subject, I have omitted sending Copies of them, as mentioned.

JOHN ADLUM.

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN.

JOHN ADLUM TO GEN. WILLIAM WILSON, OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

FORT FRANKLIN, *Aug. 31st, 1794.*

SIR: I yesterday returned from the Cornplanter's Town, and had a number of conversations with him and other Chiefs at that place; and from the whole of it, they appear determined to attack us immediately, if Gen^l^ Washington does not grant their request—that is to give up the lands they required in their last speech to him; which I think he has not in his power to do. The Cornplanter sent for me to attend the treaty, and I shall set out for that purpose on Friday or Saturday next. I wish not to alarm the inhabitants, for 'tis possible we may yet have peace when the Indians meet the Commissioners; but I think it not very probable, from their present disposition, for their language is, that nothing but the lands

will do, and they have the highest oppinion of themselves, and the most contemptible one of us. Perhaps, if Gen[l] Waine is successful, it may change their oppinion. From what the Indians informed me, the commissioners are to be at Buffaloe about the 12[th] of sep[t], and they expect an immediate answer; and if the lands are not granted them, they say they will give immediate notice for us to clear the frontiers of the women and Children, and that the times will immediately be very troublesome. And it is my oppinion that the frontier should be put into an immediate state of defence; for if nothing happens, the expence will be trifling, and if they attack us, we ought to be prepared, and have armed men, who would meet and fight them at all places they might come in. I think that three or four light companies or two from Luzerne, and two from interior parts of Northumberland, to be stationed along Williamson's road, will cover a great part of Luzerne & North[d] counties; if any militia are directed to turn out, it is best to take them from the more interior parts of the country, as those on the frontier will have to turn out, of course, whenever they are attacked, and it ought to be kept as strong as possible to keep the settlements from being broke up. I intend going to the treaty, and if commissioners are not successful in making peace, I will come into my farm immediately by the nearest route Possible.

If we are attacked by the Indians, it will be between the 25[th] of Sep[t], and the middle of October, so that, as I said before, we ought to be prepared, that no advantage can be taken of us. If nothing else is done, spies may be kept out at a very trifling expence, and it may be done by subscription, and I think they need not go out before the 25[th] Sep[t], and by the middle of October we shall certainly know whether we shall have war or peace.

I submit the above to your consideration.

And am, Respectufully Yours,

JOHN ADLUM.

JOHN ADLUM TO ANDREW ELLICOTT.

FORT FRANKLIN, *Aug[st] 31[th], 1794.*

SIR: I returned home yesterday from the Cornplanter's town, he having sent for me to attend a treaty at Buffaloe Creek. But as the treaty does not come on so soon as was expected, I returned to this place for a few days.

And on next Friday or saturday I shall again set out for Buffaloe Creek, and the Corn Planter desired me to inform you that he

wished you to attend at said treaty, as you was one of the Commissioners that run the lines, and knew a great deal about them. I had a good deal of conversation with him, and from it, and every other circumstance, I could judge of, war appears to me to be inevitable, for there is no alternative.

Give us what wee ask for or abide the consequence, is the language of the Indians.

He also desired me to inform the commanding Officers of the posts, not to carry too much provisions to Le Boef, as it would soon have to be run away from. I can't see in what manner the President means to treat with them, for, from the last speach to him from the Indians, I expected to have seen fifteen hundred, or two thousand Troops in this country.

And to have addopted the language they use to us, to them, or at least to have informed them to set still or wee would chastise them. I am sorry to hear of the behaviour of the Troops at Le Boeuf, and fear that from between twenty and thirty days they will have busines enough on hand, of a nature that will not be agreeable. There was twenty Indians arrived at the Corn Planter's town, while I was there from the other side of the Lake, to be as a guard to their frontiers as they informed me and I suppose to make a stroke, if their request is not complied with, so that in my oppinion the posts ought tobe supplied with provisions in the best and amplest manner possible; for if peace is concluded, there can no harm arise from it. If not, they are prepared for the worst.

If you accept of the Corn planter's invitation, and will come to this place I will attend you the whole way to Buffaloe Creek, and be here on thursday next, if possible.

Give my compliments to M^{r} Benj^{an} Ellicott.

I am, respectfully, yours,

JOHN ADLUM.

To A. Ellicott.

EBENEZER DENNY TO ADJUTANT GENERAL HARMAR.

Le Bœuf, *Sep. 3rd, 1794.*

Dear Sir: I wrote to you from Pitt just as we were about to commence our march for this place. We have been here going on three months, & within 15½ miles of Presqu'isle, & with a little opening the road may be made excellent. Our fellows go it in 3 & 4 hours.

The country around this, I believe, will admit of one of the finest settlements on this side the mountains. The good Land is not confined to a valley or creek, 'tis general; a few pine swamps, but I consider them as an acquisition. If I don't mistake, your donation Lands are some where in this part the country. If they are, you may be satisfied, for there is ten to one in favor of their being good. The french were certainly a judicious people in choosing posts—Le Bœuf is an instance. There cannot be a handsomer situation. Keep off large waters. Our work is upon the edge of a commanding plain, with more cleared land around than was at M^{c}Intosh. The creek seperates the high dry ground from a low rich bottom. M^{r} Ellicott has laid out a handsome town upon this plain, & I have no doubt but in a few years it may become a capital village.

For a while past we have been in a state of suspense, not knowing what is intended to be done. Our calculations were, that if we did not go forward we would be ordered back. But what business, say you, had we to calculate any thing about it? 'Tis very true, we had no business with calculations of that kind. I have depreciated considerably since you knew me, & think I should be ashamed to see you here. However, sometimes I am ready to excuse myself when I consider that both officers & men were taken from the stump. It has been as cursed a task as ever I undertook, and my life had like to have paid for it. There are several of the artillery men the most ungovernable villains that ever crossed the mountains. Five fellows, a few nights ago, broke open a small store house, which the contractor occupied outside the fort, & stole a quantity of Brandy. Early next morning the thing was detected, & some men who appeared to be drunk I ordered in confinement. An artillery man, who was not then suspected of being concerned, spoke out & said it was damned wrong the men should be confined, close in my hearing. I ordered him to be secured. The fellow sprang to his gun, and swore he would shoot the first man that would attempt to lay hands on him, & called to his comrades to turn out. As I advanced, the rascal took aim & snapped his piece. Fortunately, in the hurry, he had not taken up his own musket, for we afterwards found that she was charged. The Troops were ordered under arms, which was immediately obeyed, but many were panic struck, &, I believe, would have ventured very little. When the fellow discovered that his gun was empty, he snatched a cartridge from one of the boxes, & had got her primed, & putting in the Load, when L^{t} Murphy and our old Sergeant Major Smith, of Hamtramck's company, who is with me, seized & disarmed him. Most of the men, &, indeed, some of the officers, were perfect pukes upon the occasion. They calculated upon seeing me killed and one half the men going off, & the garrison broke up, &, by the Lord, I don't know if it would have given any of them any great uneasiness, for they

want to be away. Ensign Mehaffy was not here. Murphy, I have confidence in, but for the L^t^ from Washington, you might as well make a soldier of a catfish as make him an officer. He is one of your *Major M^c^Millons*. O! how I wished for a part of the old first. The artillery man was Ironed, &, as we could not try him here, he was sent to franklin, & from thence to the Dungeon in Pitt. There were two others who endeavored to excite the men to free themselves, (as they called it,) but they were soon silenced, & have been punished. I never see any thing like this before, & hope I never may again. It was the greatest wonder I did not shoot the fellow on the spot; but am better satisfied.

There will be few of us but will see presqu' isle, & I believe that will be all. The season is past for the State to do any thing; but while the place is vacant, it will never be too late for the United States. The suspension, suppose it to have been but one month only, answered every purpose for that season of checking the settlement. The people, who were prepared to come out, gave up the object, & engaged in other business, & I query whether ever the same spirit for emigrating to Lake Erie will again prevail. There is no body sees the country & situation of Presqu'isle but return charmed. But they begin to apprehend difficulties in the settling of the place that never occurred to them before. The provision made for supporting a post so immediately exposed, they think, is by no means adequate, &, upon the smallest eruption with the English, the place will fall a sacrifice or become subject to that nation. The inhabitants of your eastern counties have no idea of the great importance that that post would be was it in our possession, & properly garrisoned. If the president would think right, he would establish the head quarters of the army there. It would be easier making a descent from thence upon any part where the hostile Indians are than from the most advanced post that General Wayne has, & with one quarter the expence. But the business was began wrong, &, I suppose, before their plans are altered the *ministry* must be changed.

I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you sometime in the winter. Respects to M^rs^ Harmar, & believe me to be, with much affection, yours,

E. DENNY.

Gen. HARMAR.

CAPTAIN DENNY TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

LE BŒUF, *4th Sept^r, 1794.*

SIR: I had the honor of writing to you on the 1st of last month, enclosing a return of my detachment, and of the Quarter master & Military Stores at this place.

On the 10th, one of the inhabitants of Cussewago was fired upon by a party of Indians, within 150 perches of the houses, and received three wounds, but escaped, and is likely to recover. I was informed of it the day following, and received a pressing requisition for assistance. To prevent the settlement breaking up, I sent a party of twelve men, including a non commissioned officer, with orders to afford all the assistance & protection they could.

Ensign Mahaffy got back from pittsburg on the 27th, with 13 head of cattle and ten horses loaded with flour & whiskey, after being gone forty days. However, his delay and General Gibson's neglect in not letting me know what was to be expected, can now be accounted for. The man, I suppose, was lost with fear, his life and property being in danger.

Be pleased to receive the enclosed returns of the Troops & Stores dated the 1st instant. I have the honor to be, with perfect respect and esteem, Sir,

Your most obed^t Serv^t,

E. DENNY, *Capt^t.*

Governor MIFFLIN.

P. S. The Governor knows that the enlistments of the men, here, expire on the last of November. It is with difficulty that they are kept under command, and it has been with assurances that they will be relieved in time to reach Pittsburgh for their discharges.

E. DENNY, *Capt^t.*

MONTHLY RETURN OF A DETACHMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA STATE TROOPS UNDER THE COMMAND OF CAPTAIN EBENEZER DENNY.

LE BŒUF, *September 1st, 1794.*

DETACHMENTS.	PRESENT.													Non Commiss'd officers and privates absent.					Alterations since last Return.						
	Commissioned officers.				Non Commiss'd.					Privates.															
	Captain.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Qr. Master.	Serg't Major.	Qr. M. Sergeant.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Musicians.	Fit for duty.	Sick.	On extra.	In confinement.	Total of non commiss'd & privates present.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Musicians.	Privates.	Total.	Deserted.	Discharged.	Dead.	Joined.	Promoted.	Reduced.
Artillery,	..	1	..	1	..	1	1	2	1	19	3	..	..	27	..	..	..	5	32	..	..	..	..	..	..
Allegheny,	1	1	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	24	..	1	..	28	..	2	..	4	34	..	..	..	..	..	..
Washington,	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	17	..	..	..	19	..	..	..	3	22	..	..	..	..	..	..
Westmoreland,	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	16	..	..	..	16	..	..	..	6	22	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total,	1	3	1	1	1	1	5	4	1	76	3	1	..	90	..	2	..	18	110	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sent to fort franklin,															..	1	..	6							
At Cussewago,															..	1	..	11							
After horses, supposed to be stolen,															..	..	..	3							
															..	2	..	18							

One of the men returned absent at fort franklin was sent there in Irons, charged with mutiny.

DENNY, *Cap'.*

ANDREW ELLICOTT TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

LE' BŒUF, *Sept^r 4^th^, 1794.*

SIR: Yours of the 24^th^ of July last, with its enclosures, came to hand on the 26^th^ of last month. I have, with much attention, perused the correspondence between yourself and the executive of the U. S., respecting the Presqu' Isle business, and, notwithstanding my great attachment to the President, and a consciousness of his sound judgment and prudence, am free to confess that I wholy disagree with him in opinion upon that subject. The dreadful effects which he, thro' Secretary Knox, appears to anticipate from a combination of the six nations against the U. S., must arise from some information to which I am a stranger. Their numbers, I am confident, would be too inconsiderable to create any serious alarm to the weakest state in the Union, if wholly directed against it.*

In my last communication I gave it as my opinion that, if we continued here, we should probably have the Indian war extended; but, if we went to Presqu' Isle, certainly have peace. This opinion was grounded upon the following consideration, (Viz:) that the inhabitants of Cussewago and this Post, being as completely within the Indian claim as Presqu' Isle itself, without having it [in] our power, from our local situation, to obtain their friendship by increasing their fear.† I am sorry to inform you that my suspicion has, in some measure, been realized. The Indians, since that period, have attacked a M^r^ Dickson, within eighty poles of Cusseawago Town, and wounded him in three places. They have also taken away several horses, and a few days ago fired upon two men belonging to a small detachment, which Capt. Denny had sent down to protect that settlement.

If anything this season is to be done at Presqu' Isle, no time is to be lost. The act of Assembly, so far as it relates to the bounties given to actual settlers, may be considered as already suspended; for, before the result of the Treaty can be known, the season will be too far advanced to attempt any thing further than locating the reservations and measuring the base-lines for the Town. The internal work cannot possibly be executed; But this I have carefully concealed from the State Troops, two thirds of whom at least came out for the express purpose of making improvements. They are already much discontented, and fear they have been imposed upon; and but few men would have been able to manage them until this period as well as Capt. Denny has done. He certainly merits the thanks of the public for his conduct.

Altho' the extent of the object in making an establishment at Presqu' Isle cannot be accomplished this season, I am far from

thinking that it ought to be laid aside 'till next spring. The opening and repairing the road between this place and the lake, (which can easily be accomplished by the Troops,) added to the location of the Public reservations, with accommodating the plan of a Town to the perticular situation of the place, are objects of importance. I am likewise strictly of opinion that a Block House, calculated for about 20 men, might be supported at the Lake until next season, without much difficulty.

If it should be in contemplation to support this post the ensuing winter, it will be necessary to make early arrangements for that purpose. The State levies will not continue in the service one day after the term of their inlistments.

The plan of a Town for this place is finished, but from its size could not be forwarded by this conveyance. We have built a Mohawk Boat, (which will be found very useful if we go to Presqu' Isle,) to which may be added five fine canoes.

I have this moment received a letter from M^{r} Adlum, a copy of which, with my reply, you will find enclosed.

I am, Sir,
with great esteem,
your real Friend,
AND^{w} ELLICOTT.

Governor MIFFLIN.

*When I was at Niagara, in 1789, M^{r} Street (who stored the presents from the British Government for the six nations) handed me a census of their numbers, which had just been taken, and on which the division was to be made; and it amounted only to between thirty-two and thirty-three hundred men, women, and children.

†Savages have no other Idea of National Friendship.

ANDREW ELLICOTT TO JOHN ADLUM.

LE BŒUF, *Sep^{t} 4th, 1794.*

SIR: I have this moment received yours of the 31st of last month, and, in reply thereto, must inform you that I am not prepared to take such a journey as to the Treaty at Buffalo Creek, by the way of Fort Franklin. Neither have I received any other directions from the Governor relative to that subject than to hold myself in readiness to attend. However, if Cornplanter should suppose my presence really necessary, and be so good as to send three or four of his people this way, I will then proceed with them to the Treaty by the way of Lake Erie.

Our garrison at this place is in excellent order, and if supplied with provision could safely bid defiance to all the Indians between the Jeneseeo and Missippi rivers.

I am, Sir,

Your real friend,

AND^{w} ELLICOTT.

JOHN ADLUM.

JOHN ADLUM TO GEN. JOHN WILKINS.

FORT FRANKLIN, *Sep^{tr} 7th, 1794.*

SIR: I returned from a second tour I had to the Cornplanter's Town on the 30th of August, having been sent for by him to go to the treaty at Buffalo Creek, to be held with the Commissioners of the United States.

On my Arrival at his Town he informed me that a number of Indians would come to town on the next day, from the North side of the Lakes, to guard them and take care of their women and children while the chiefs were attending at the treaty.

Accordingly, on the following day, nineteen Indians arrived, headed by one Du Quanie, a half blood, having been sent by Cap^{t} Brandt for the purpose above mentioned. They brought word that the treaty would not be held untill the 12th of this month, and as it was inconvenient for me to wait so long, I returned to this place.

In all the conversation I had with the Indians, they appeared determined to attack us immediately, if the President of the United States did not grant their request. They told me all they wanted to know from the Commissioners was whether Gen^{l} Washington would grant their request or not. If he did not, times would be troublesome very soon.

The Cornplanter said that before they attacked us they would give us notice to clear the frontiers. That the Indians did not intend to make War upon Women and Children, but against men; and, at the same time, desired me to give notice that it was not worth while to carry any more provisions to le Boeuf, as the Garrison would soon have to leave it. From everything I could judge of, it appeared to me that they meant to abide by their words: that is, give us the lands we ask for, or abide the Consequences.

And, if there is not a great alteration in their disposition very soon, it is my opinion that we may expect them on our frontier by the 25th of this month, and that it is necessary to be prepared to receive them, and not be caught to a disadvantage. And I hope

that they will get such a reception that they will be very cautious of showing themselves again.

The garrisons at these out posts ought to be supplied with salt provisions for three months. The Cornplanter laughs at the Idea of supplying with provisions should there be a war. He says that the roads and river will be constantly way laid to intercept the stores, so that it will be necessary to have large escorts. Capt Neth. who commands at this post, has made great improvements in the works, as well as extended them; but, in my oppinion, has very few more than one third of the number of men he ought to have to guard it properly in case of an attack, and that every exertion ought to be made to reinforce it, and a sufficient quantity of provisions laid in by the 25th of this month, for should the Indians not accept of the propositions that our Commissioners have to make them, runners can come in four days from Buffalo, and there is a considerable number of Warriors at the Towns, and those from the North side of the Lakes are at present hunting between Hickory Town and Oyl creek; and they have been very insolent to some of my men, and took a Riffle gun from one of them, and left a very ordinary one in the place of it; and observing that they had scalped many white people last war, and expected soon to do the same again.

That, upon these considerations, I think an attack may be looked for by the time abovementioned. I have wrote the Governor and Genl Wilson on the subject, and am sending in my hands and surveyors as fast as they come in to this place from the woods, and expect to go in about the 16th of this month myself, having only about the half of my business done. If peace happens to be established I will return in October. If not, I will remain on the frontier of Northd until cold weather.

I am, Sir,

Your most obdt Hble Servt,

JOHN ADLUM.

Genl John Wilkins.

GENERAL WILKINS TO COLONEL CLEMENT BIDDLE.

Pittsburgh, *11th Septr, 1794.*

Dr Sir: I just now had the pleasure of your letter of the 5th instant, which has given me great satisfaction. Unless my life had been taken, nothing in the present disturbances should have prevented my supplying the garrison at Le beuf. This I assured Captn

Denny & Mr Ellicott; but when the Indians threatened that post, Mr Ellicott wrote to me, & thought it would be best not hold it; that in case the six nation Indians broke out, the post must fall. I then wrote to the governor, lest a plan of that kind might be proposed, that I would engage to support the post, either by Volunteers or Militia, but had no Idea that their apprehension arose from a fear of a failure on my part. They wished to evacuate the garrison, & to put the blame of it on me.

The present disturbances in this country have a good deal subsided, but are yet far from having lost the original spirit. Yesterday the people of the diferent counties were to meet in Districts & townships to sign the submission to the laws. At this district it was conducted & ended with great moderation—the people almost all signed the submission; but in the other districts of this county, I am affraid it has not terminated so favourably. In one district the two parties, one for peace, another for war, seperated, when the war party appeared the most numerous, & the peace party were intimidated from signing. Almost all the leaders in exciting the present disturbances are now for peace & a submission to the laws, but they have no longer influence when they become peaceable citizens; which establishes a melancholy truth, that men can raise an insurrection, when they cannot conduct it.

I enclose you a letter I had from Franklin, which may be of service to shew the committee of the assembly that immediate measures should be taken to support the garrison at Lebeuf, if it is intended to hold it.

This instant recent accounts from Le beuf & Fort Franklin. They are almost certain of a war with the six nation Indians. Every one represents the conduct of the individuals of them as uncommonly insolent & arrogant. It is said by the man who came from Fort Franklin that there is twelve or fifteen indians from Sandusky lying in the neighbourhood of that place, under the pretence of being peaceable, but supposed to be waiting the result of the treaty to commence hostilities, & to influence others to join them. Should they go to war, preparations ought to be made to support the garrison at Lebeuf.

Am, Dr Sir, sincerely your
Ob. Hme Sert
JNo WILKINS, Jr.

Colo BIDDLE, *Qr Mastr Genl State Penna*.

CAPTAIN DENNY TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

LE BŒUF, *October 1st, 1794.*

SIR: I had the honor of receiving your Letter of the 15th August, it reached this on the 20th ult. We neither see nor hear anything that's worthy of communicating.

The weather continued remarkably dry all summer, but lately a few heavy rains swelled the french creek, for the first time, to be of any service since our arrival here. No time was lost in getting from franklin & cussewago, as much flour & whiskey as will, at any rate, serve my detachment. We had pretty hard frosts early in last month, but we have now the weather that's common in December.

I must beg leave to mention a few things for information. The practice hitherto of discharging the State Troops without paying them anything for their services, except the month's advance, and leaving their accounts over until the next year,can have no good tendancy. On the contrary, many of the men who do not reside in our country, & are obliged to pursue their business abroad, sell their pay to the store keepers for what they can get, always under value, and go off abusing the service. I could wish the Governor would direct Colonel Biddle to make provision for settling off their accounts at the time they are discharged.

The arrangements that may be concluded upon respecting this place, will, in all probability, be easier effected early in November than later. The waters about that time may be serviceable. If it is not thought proper to keep Troops here this winter, (as from the distracted state of our back counties, it seems doubtful,) the sooner we are honored with your orders upon that score, the easier we shall be able to execute them; for it may be some time after they do arrive before we can steer, and if the business is left late, the only opportunity may pass, and it may be impossible to remove anything, even if we should be relieved by United States Troops (which I hope the Governor may be able to obtain) the sooner they come forward the better for themselves. We, no doubt, can return by land at any time, but the men are very naked, few of them have anything but their thin summer dress, & that in rags, and the most of them are bare footed. The artillery men, who were so well clothed, are not much better. Lt Hazlewood had their coats & hats packed up, & left in the Q. M. Store in Pitt, to be forwarded by the first conveyance up the river. The weather was excessive warm at the time; however, neither coats nor hats have come on. Considering every circumstance, we shall be very much favored if the Governor will be pleased to make & send forward the arrangements early.

I have the honor to enclose a monthly return of the detachment under my Command, and am,

With the most perfect respect & esteem,

Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

E. DENNY,

Cap^t Presqu' isl Detach^t.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, *Governor of the State of Pennsylvania.*

GEN. JOHN WILKINS TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *10^th Oct^r, 1794.*

SIR: Our last accounts from Le Bœuf & Fort Franklin are much more favorable than those we were accustomed to receive from that country. The British influence over the Six nations has been greatly affected by the defeat which the western Indians have sustained from Gen^l Wayne's army. A number of the Six nation Indians were in the engagement. They say the Light horse men, with their long knives, were dreadful in the field of action, for, with one stroke, they cut off a man's head, and, that their motions were so rapid, it was with difficulty the indians could escape from them. A M^r Rosecratz, who was at Buffaloe Creek, was informed by the indians, that Governor Simcoe had gone to reinforce the garrison at the rapids, with four companies, & that Brant had sailed with him, with seventy Indians, to join the western tribes. Brant endeavoured to get some of the Sennecas to accompany him, but without effect. They were sick of fighting on the side of their western Brethren.

The state of this country is, at present, calm, waiting the arrival of the troops, with great dread. I think they have come nearly to a disposition to submit to all the laws, & that two thousand men would accomplish every thing wished or desired by government. But it will be necessary to establish troops in the country for a year or two, to bring them to the habit of submission. I do imagine that the number I mention would meet with no opposition, & that, should they, it would only be from a small part—people who had no property, & that would be easily suppress'd. This number of troops, should any opposition be contemplated, would be joined by all the friends of government in this country, & who, at present, form a great body of the people. The thinking & sensible men of this country view, with great horror, the situation the rioters reduced the country to before, & would risk every thing to prevent the return of

anarchy. I can speak with confidence of this county, that a great part would join the troops, should a party be raised to oppose them.

I have seen a law for raising troops, to continue the establishment at Le Bœuf. The sooner arrangements are made to accomplish it, the better. The time has now arrived when it will be necessary to make the deposits of stores for the Winter, as there is nigh four months, when the communication is entirely stopped by water, from ice. It will also be absolutely necessary to make the appointments soon, as I think it probable few of those who are at Le Bœuf will enlist again—they will be mostly wishing to return home at the expiration of their time. Immediately on receiving the law, I sent an express to Le buef, to M^{r} Ellicott & Capt^{n} Denny, with the information.

Am, Sir, your excellency, most ob^{t}
& very Hm^{e} Ser^{t},
JN^{o} WILKINS, J^{r}.

GEN. JOHN WILKINS TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *11th Oc^{tr}, 1794.*

SIR: I had the honour of writing to you by yesterday's post. I am greatly apprehensive that, unless, arrangements are made soon, under the law for continuing the establishment at Le bouf, that the advance of the season will greatly hinder the business. The time has now arrived, when the deposites of stores for the winter, should be made, & the enlistments of the men should commence. The men might now be engaging, as I think it probable, few of those at Le beuf will continue, as they will be wanting to come home. I stated my sentiments fully, as to this business, & the state of this country, in my letter of yesterday, which I address'd to you at Carlisle.

Am, Sir, your Excellency's
most ob^{t} Hu^{e} Ser^{t},
JN^{o} WILKINS, J^{r}.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. JOHN WILKINS.

HEAD QUARTERS OF THE RIGHT COLUMN,
CAMP AT BERLIN, BEDFORD, *Oct^{r} 26th 1794.*

SIR: You will be pleased to co-operate, as far as you are able, in raising for the maintenance of the Post at Fort Le Bœuf, one hun-

dred and thirty men, to serve six months, after the expiration of the present enlistments, unless sooner discharged. The pay & rations will be the same as the pay and rations of the Troops of this State now employed in the same service. I have directed Col. Clement Biddle, as Quarter Master Gen[l] of Pennsylvania, to make the necessary arrangements for paying and furnishing the supplies. From him, therefore, you will receive particular instructions on that subject.

As the Business will not admit of Delay, it will be proper to communicate my orders to Cap[t] Denny by the most expeditious conveyance.

On the other points contained in your letters, which have been received in the course of the March, I shall probably have an opportunity of personally conversing with you at Pittsburg. If not, I will write to you before I return to Philadelphia.

I am, Sir,

Your most obed[t] Serv[t]

THO[s] MIFFLIN.

To JOHN WILKINS, J[r], Esq[r], *Brig. Gen[l].*

COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

CAMP BONNETS, *Octo. 31, 1794.*

SIR: I have wrote to General Wilkins not only to make the necessary arrangements for a month's pay in advance to the men to be raised for continuing the Establishment at LeBeuf, and to lay in the winter's Supply of Rations for that post, as also to prepare for paying the Troops on the present Establishment when their times shall expire. To meet these arrangements, I have directed him to draw on my Office, in philadelphia; and in Case he he cannot draw, to advise me, that I may order Bank notes to be forwarded to him.

To Enable me to comply with these Demands, I request you will direct two warrants to issue in my favour, one on the fund for the present year for Eight Thousand Dollars, and one for the fund for the continuing the post at Lebeuf for Three Thousand Dollars.

I am, with respect,

Y[r] mo. obed. Ser.,

CLEMENT BIDDLE,

Q. M. & Com.

His Excellency Gov. MIFFLIN.

MONTHLY RETURN OF QUARTER MASTERS' AND MIL

	Horsemen's Tents.	Common Tents.	Broad axes.	Pitching axes.	Shingling hatchets.	Carpenters adzes.	Blacksmith's sledges.	Ditto hammers.	Ditto files and rasps.
In store,	2	13	6	14	6	4	2	2	5
In use,	1	4	. .	23	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Lost, worn out and expended,	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	10
Total,	3	17	6	37	6	4	2	2	15

	Hand vices.	Saw setts.	Screw drivers.	Gimlets.	Socket gouges.	Flat gouges.	Socket chisels.	Handsaw files.	Large three-square files.
In store,	2	1	2	10	3	2	17	54	5
In use,	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Lost, worn out, and expended,	. .	1	1	14	. .	. .	. .	17	1
Total,	2	2	3	24	3	2	17	71	6

	Needles.	Pump tacks.	Cow bells.	Bundle of fishing tackle.	Corking irons.	Corking mallet.	Hanks of twine.	Lbs. of thread and yarn.
In store,	960	2000	1	1	2	1	3	6
In use,	. . .	. . .	1	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Lost, worn out, and expended,	40	400	. .	. .	. .	. .	1	2
Total,	1000	2400	2	1	2	1	4	8

ITARY STORES AT LE BŒUF NOVEMBER 1st 1794.

| | | |

MONTHLY RETURN OF QUARTER MASTERS'

	Hoes.	Sail needles.	Palm irons.	Shovels.	Spades.	Pick axes.	Frows.	Coils of rope.	Pounds of junk.
In store,	4	12	2	10	18	20	6	4	93
In use,	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Lost, worn out, and expended,	. .	. .	.	. .	1	. .	. .	. .	34
Total,	4	12	2	10	19	20	6	4	127

	Hand cuffs.	Flags.	Halyards.	Set of mill irons & gears.	Pounds of soap.	Keg with garden seeds.	Rifles. Good.	Rifles. Bad.	Grinding stones.
In store,	5	1	. .	1	44	1	1	2	. .
In use,	1	1	1	. .	. .	. .	52	. .	. .
Lost, worn out, and expended,	. .	. .	1	. .	16	. .	. . .	. .	1
Total,	6	2	2	1	60	1	53	2	1

	Sword belts.	Musket flints.	Brushes and prickers.	Drums.	Drum heads.	12-Pounders mounted.	6-Pounders mounted.	Swivels mounted.	Worms for cannon.
In store,	. .	651	70	. .	2	. .	. .	. .	3
In use,	14	. .	30	1	. .	2	2	2	5
Lost, worn out, and expended,	. .	268	. .	. .	2	. .	. .	. .	. .
Total,	14	919	100	1	4	2	2	2	8

AND MILITARY STORES, &c.—*Continued.*

Copper ladles.	Ditto measures.	Rammer heads.	Sponge heads.	Sheep skins.	Priming wires & gouges.	Pounds of buck shot.	Pounds of lead.	Flints and screws.	Gunner's belts.	Gun locks.	Tube gimlets.	Skeins of quick match damaged.	6 & 12-pound tubes damaged.	Musket cartridges.
2	4	16	16	3	16	490	123	16	2	20	4	6	970	800
4	4	7	7	1	8	. .	. .	8	6	. .	4	. . .	. . .	. . .
. .	. .	. .	. .	1	. .	3	132	. .	. .	. .	. .	. . .	14	882
6	8	23	23	5	24	493	255	24	8	20	8	6	984	1682

Camp kettles.	Bullet bags.	Knapsacks.	Canteens.	Tomahawks.	Rifle flints.	Wipers.	Bullet moulds.	Lock covers.	Muskets. Good.	Muskets. Bad.	Bayonets.	Ramrods.	Cartridge boxes.	Swords.
3	1	. .	2	. .	. .	1	1	. .	7	10	14	15	7	12
24	33	90	67	11	192	37	43	9	31	. . .	31	31	31	19
. .	2	1	17	3	. .	7	1	1	. . .	. . .	3	2	. .	1
27	36	91	86	14	192	45	45	10	38	10	48	48	38	32

Pounds of oakum.	Quires of paper.	Cakes of ink powder.	Quills.	Coarse bags.	Leather ink pots.	Pounds of sealing wax.	Orderly books.	Quires of cartridge paper.	Pay rolls.	Measures from 1 gallon down.	Plumb lines.	Brass and wooden casks.	Marking irons.	Gallons of tar.	Blocks strapped.
3	6	8	30	2	1	1	1	8	88	. . .	1	1	2	10	2
. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	1	. .	. .	. .	. .	21	. .	2	. .	. .	. .
26	30	2	57	. .	. .	. .	3	11	2	. . .	. .	. .	. .	6	. .
29	36	10	87	2	2	1	4	19	90	21	1	3	2	16	2

MONTHLY RETURN OF QUARTER MASTERS'

	Pounds bar iron.	Pounds bar steel.	Gun lock screws.	Ramrod screws.	Pounds lead for aprons.	Linch stocks.	Artillery horses.	Rifle powder horns.	12-lb cartridges filled.
In store,	207	35¼	110	49	12	5	2	1	50
In use,	. .	. .	. .	1	20	6	6	45	. .
Lost, worn out, and expended,	139	12¼	. .	. .	. .	1	. .	. .	7
Total,	346	47½	110	50	32	12	8	46	57

	Boxes of 6-lb grape.	Sythe.	Pounds of powder.	Mohawk boat.
In store,	2	1	. .	. .
In use,	. .	. .	. .	1
Lost, worn out, and expended,	. .	. .	106	. .
Total,	2	1	106	1

AND MILITARY STORES, &c.—*Continued.*

6-℔ ditto, ditto.	Swivels ditto.	Worms for swivels.	Large musket balls.	Musket searcher.	6-℔ cannon carriages.	Smith's tongs.	Pounds of slow match.	Barrels of Powder.				Boxes of 12-℔ grape.	Boxes of 12-℔ round.	Boxes of 12-℔ cannister.	Boxes of 6-℔ round.
								Good.	Middling.	Damaged.	Part damaged.				
50	50	. .	300	. .	. .	2	140	2	3	3	5	3	4	1	4
. .	. .	2	. .	1	. .	. .	. .	0	. .	0	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
19	13	. .	. .	. .	2	. .	. .	. .	1	1	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
69	63	2	300	1	2	2	140	2	4	4	5	3	4	1	4

N. B. The Boat, one horseman's tent, one Common tent, and one pitching ax sent with M^{r} Elliott to Pittsburgh.

One horse at Cussewago, for the convenience of forage.

E. DENNY,
Cap^{t} Presqu' isle Detachment.

ATTEST: SAM'L MCCUTCHON,
Quarter Master.

MONTHLY RETURN OF A DETACHMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA STATE TROOPS UNDER THE COMMAND OF CAPTAIN EBENEZER DENNY.

LE BŒUF, *Nov^r 1^st^, 1794.*

DETACHMENTS.	PRESENT.															NON COMMISS'D OFFICERS AND PRIVATES ABSENT.				GRAND TOTAL.	ALTERATIONS SINCE LAST RETURN.						
	COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.				NON COMMISS'D.					PRIVATES.				TOTAL NON COMMISS'D OFFICERS & PRIVATES PRESENT.												
	Captain.	Lieutenants.	Ensign.	Qr. Master.	Serg't Major.	Qr. M. Sergeant.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drummer.	Fit for duty.	Sick, present.	On extra.	In confinement.		Sergeants.	Corporals.	Musicians.	Privates.		Deserted.	Discharged.	Dead.	Joined.	Promoted.	Reduced.
Artillery,	. .	1	. .	1	. .	1	1	2	1	22	. .	. .	. .	27	. .	. .	. .	5	32	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Allegheny,	1	1	. .	. .	1	. .	2	1	. .	26	. .	. .	. .	30	. .	1	. .	3	34	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Washington,	. .	1	. .	. .	. .	. .	1	1	. .	18	. .	. .	. .	20	. .	. .	. .	2	22	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Westmoreland,	. .	. .	1	. .	. .	. .	1	1	. .	17	. .	. .	. .	19	. .	. .	. .	3	22	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Total,	1	3	1	1	1	1	5	5	1	83	. .	. .	. .	96	. .	1	. .	13	110	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Absent men accounted for,															. .	. .	. .	1	In Pittsburg Jail.						
															. .	. .	. .	3	Sent to Pittsburg.						
															. .	1	. .	9	At Cussewago.						

E. DENNY,
Cap^t Presqu' isle Detachment.

CAPTAIN DENNY TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

LE BŒUF, *November 1st, 1794.*

SIR: Since my arrival at this place I have not failed to send off to you monthly a report of the state of the detachment, with such other information as seemed worthy of communicating. My last, which was dated the 1st ult., I hope may have received some notice. The longer we serve the more defects appear in the arrangements made for our little corps. For want of clothing, particularly shoes, there are numbers of the men who are now almost useless. The term of inlistment is too long to depend upon them providing for themselves, especially when they can receive their eight months' pay before they have served one. No restraint in this case is a very great injury to the service. The fellows who are barefooted suffer with the snow.

Mr Ellicott continued here while there was any prospect of going forward. He set out on the 23rd last month for pittsburgh. The particulars of the Treaty with the six nations has not yet reached us, but I understand that those tribes have suspended their resolution of taking up the hatchet. 'Twas in the beginning of September that Corn planter sent a message to me by John Adlum, which, I expect, you have seen, as Mr Ellicott transmitted copies of Mr Adlum's Letters. It was an order, not to have too much provisions brought to Le Bœuf, as we would soon have to run away from the place.

I hope that, early in the spring, there may be proper provision made for prosequting the object, and that Mr O'Bail may have a few polite messages returned.

I have the honor to enclose the returns of this date,
and am, with the most perfect respect,
Sir,
Your obedient humble servant,
E. DENNY,
Capt Presqu'isle Detach't.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, *Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO MAJOR DENNY.

PITTSBURGH, *November 17th, 1794.*

SIR: The Act of Assembly of this Commonwealth, passed at the late session, for continuing the Port at Le Boeuf, having authorized me to engage one hundred and thirty men, to continue in service six months, after the expiration of the present enlistment, unless sooner discharged. I have made the following arrangement, for the formation of the said Corps, which I have continued under your command, to wit: Major Commandant, Ebenezer Denny; Captain Lieutenant, John Hazlewood, Junior; Ensign, (1st,) Stephen M^c^-haffy; Captain, ... ; Lieutenant, Samuel Murphy; Ensign, (2,) Samuel M^c^Cutcheon; Quarter-Master, Richard Clement. Each Company to consist of four Serjeants, four corporals, two music, fifty-five privates.

I have employed Richard Clement, of the militia, to recuit at this place, where he may procure men from the Militia now on service, and to whom a month's pay will be advanced, by General Wilkins, who will take the direction of the men so to be raised, and deliver them to such officer as you shall appoint to receive them. Colonel Biddle, the Quarter Master General of the State, having made arrangements with him, as well for the supply of the Garrison during the winter, as for making the advance of a month's pay to the men on their enlistment; and General Wilkins will, from time to time, inform you of the progress in the enlistments.

You will, without delay, endeavour to engage as many men of your Garrison, as will, with those enlisted, make up the number specified in the Act of Assembly. When the time of the men now with you shall expire, you will discharge those who refuse to continue in service, unless the state of your garrison should render it necessary to detain them, until you are reinforced by recruits from this place. You will see the propriety of keeping the present arrangement of officers to yourself. until the new enlistments shall be completed. You will send, without delay, such officer or officers of the new arrangement as, in your opinion, can be spared from your Garrison, in order to take charge of the men that may be enlisted here, and to conduct them to your Post.

Some doubts being entertained of the political principles of Captain Miller, he is permitted to depart.

Upon the reccommendation of General William Irvine, I have appointed Alexander Buchannan, Captain, in the place of Mr. Miller.

I have appointed Doctor Thomas Ruston Kennedy, a young man of excellent character, Surgeon of your Battalion. You will be pleased to receive him, and consider him as my friend.

Let me hear from you, as frequently as possible, and whenever your ideas of propriety will justify it to yourself, you will make a visit to your friends here, and, if necessary, to Philadelphia.

You will perceive, by the arrangement I have stated, that you are, as a Major Commandant, to receive its emoluments. At this distance from the seat of Government, a regular commission cannot be made out; but one shall be transmitted from Philadelphia, immediately after my arrival there.

With great friendship & esteem,

Yrs, &c.,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To Captain EBENEZER DENNY.

N. B. The following is a copy of the Warrant and Instructions to Serjeant Richard Clements, whose appointment is mentioned in the foregoing letter: The Act of Assembly of this Commonwealth, passed at the late session, entitled "An Act to authorize the Governor to suspend the Laying out a Town at Presqu' isle, and for other purposes therein mentioned," having authorized me to enlist my number of men, not exceeding one hundred and thirty, to serve six months, from the first day of December next, unless sooner discharged, and to relieve the Garrison at Le Boeuf, whose time of service will soon expire. I hereby authorize you to enlist one hundred men for that service, and engage, that each private shall receive fifty shillings per month, together with the customary rations, and so soon as he shall have taken and subscribed before a Magistrate of this State, on oath according to law, one month's pay will be advanced to him. You will, from time to time, deliver over the recruits so engaged, to Brigadier General John Wilkins, who will advance a months pay, provide quarters, and furnish the rations of provisions for the men as they shall be enlisted, and order them to the place of their destination.

Given under my Hand at Pittsburg, this Sixteenth day of November, in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety four.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

Serg^{t} RICHARD CLEMENTS.

REPORT OF ANDREW ELLICOTT, ONE OF THE COMMISSIONERS FOR LAYING OUT A TOWN AT PRESQU' ISLE.

PHILADELPHIA, *December 30th, 1794.*

SIR: Altho' my former communications relative to the business on which I was lately employed to the westward, contain all the material information which at the several periods I had in my power to give, I have, nevertheless, for the purpose of bringing the different transactions, with some occasional observations, into one view, thought it not improper to present you with the following

REPORT:

After leaving this City, last May, to execute the trust reposed in me as one of the commissioners for laying out a town at Presqu' Isle, the first occurrence of moment I met with was a confirmation of some Indian depredations, committed on the Allegany river, a few days after my arrival at Pittsburgh, and which was immediately followed by a temporary suspension of the Presqu' Isle business, at the request of the President U. S. Thus situated, I hesitated some days whether to return home or proceed on to le Bœuf; but,for the following reasons, ultimately determined upon the latter: *First*, the suspension being merely temporary, I conceived it must, therefore, be of short duration, because if the Six Nations, on whose account the suspension was then supposed to take place, should resolve upon war, they could not, from any position within the jurisdiction of the U. S., be so suddenly and effectually chastised as from Presqu' Isle. And they must have expected that we would either relinquish a large tract of country fairly purchased or support our claims by force. The first, I concluded improbable, and, therefore, expected the latter. *Secondly*, I supposed that an act of the Legislature would be necessary to effect an actual suspension; and, *Thirdly*, being one of the principals in running the north and west boundaries of this State, and the principal in running the lines of triangular Territory, which work was executed with the concurrence, and, in some measure, by the assistance of the Six Nations, I therefore expected that if I could meet with their influential Chiefs, to whom I was well known, that it would not be difficult to convince them of the impropriety of their present opposition to the settlement of the two last purchases, made from them by this State. From these considerations I joined Cap^{t} Denny's detachment, and proceeded to Fort Franklin. On our way to that post we were informed that the Indians had recently murdered two persons, by the name of Power and Wallace, on the path we were traveling. In consequence of this information, we proceeded, with all possible

speed, to support the Fort, as we had every reason, from some late intelligence communicated by the Commandant, to suppose that it would be attacked. On our arrival, we found the Indians insolent and ill natured, and coming about the place in considerable numbers. After examining the works, I found they were by no means defensible, and, in some respects, much worse than none. This opinion, with a plan for a temporary defence, was communicated to the Commandant, with whose approbation we spent a few days in rendering the place tenable. The present Fort is erected on French Creek, about one mile from the old one, which was built by the British. I have never yet (tho' frequently made the enquiry) been able to discover the reason why the old works were abandoned and a new position taken, without one visible advantage to justify it; but, on the contrary, attended with many obvious and important disadvantages. The old work commanded the Allegany river just below the mouth of French creek, and the present can only command that creek, and when the waters are low, loaded boats cannot be brought within three quarters of a mile of it. The present state of the old Fort is such that a less sum of money would put it in a complete state of defence, notwithstanding the waste of materials, than would render the post now occupied equally tenable. A plan of the old work you will receive with this.

On my arrival at Fort Franklin, I wrote to Cornplanter, requesting that he would call upon me at that place, where I would explain to him the nature of our business, and obviate any objections that he or any of the Six Nations might have to our proceeding on to Presqu' Isle. But, on the return of the messenger, I was informed that he had gone to a council at Buffalo creek. We then proceeded to le Boeuf, and on the day of our arrival received a letter from Israel Chapin, one of the U. S. agents for Indian affairs, informing us that himself, with a number of Indian Chiefs, should wait upon us the next day and deliver a message, containing the result of a council held at Buffalo Creek. They attended, accordingly, accompanied by William Johnson, a British Agent, and delivered their message, the purport of which was, in general terms, a direction to us and all the settlers to move of from that tract of Country north of a straight line, drawn from near the mouth of the Conawango river to the head waters of Sandusky. A copy of the message, with our reply, were enclosed in my communication to you of the 29 of June last. The day subsequent to the delivery of the message was spent in explaining to the Indians, on some maps, the extent of their different sales of lands since the peace of 1783. They generally admitted the facts, but alleged, in favor of their extraordinary claims, that they had been deceived, and appeared extremely dissatisfied with Cornplanter, and insinuated that he had embezzled the money.

Immediately after the Indians left le Boeuf we made every exertion to put the place in a good state of defence, which was so far completed in one month as to secure the garrison from any material injury if it had been invested by all the Indians leagued against the U. S.

Shortly after the works were rendered defensible, your communication of the 13th of June last came to hand, by which it appeared that my continuance for some time in that country was deemed necessary. I then began, with the aid of an assistant, to execute the plan of a town in the public reservation at le Boeuf, the design of which I had mentioned to you in my communication of the 4th of July last. The situation is certainly one of the best in this State, being at the head of the navigation of French creek, and where the carrying place to Presqu' Isle must commence. A number of lots are already improved, and that in such a manner as would have come within the law for securing lots to the improvers at Presqu' Isle. The ground on which the Town is laid out is level, dry, and gravelly, and abounds with several excellent springs of water. The land surrounding the Town is of the first quality for meadows and grass lots. A plan of the town will accompany this. The exploring a road which was discovered when we were running the northern Boundary of this State in 1787, appeared to me an object of no small importance. I, therefore, made use of the first safe opportunity for that purpose. The road appears to have commenced at Presqu' Isle and carried on almost in a direct line to le Boeuf. It is opened thirty feet wide, and the trees all taken out by the roots, except about the distance of thirty perches at the south end. The bridges have been generally completed, but no part of the causwaying attempted, from which circumstance it appears never to have been travelled by wheel carriages. The road which had been used is very crooked and narrow, and was probable no other than the Indian path improved. But neither of those roads can be made to answer any valuable purpose without several miles of causewaying, except in the winter and two or three months in the summer, if the season should be dry. The expense and exertions of the French and British in that part of the country is one among the many proofs of the great value and importance it was thought to be of by those nations.

Every person acquainted with the geography of this State must be sensible of the importance of the following public reservations, exclusive of le Boeuf and Presqu' Isle, viz.: Venango, and the mouth of the Conawango river; and there can be no doubt but that if some encouragement was offered similar to that held out to such persons as chose to improve at Presqu' Isle, settlements would immediately commence at those places, and become rallying points for the neighbouring inhabitants in times of danger. The commenc-

ing of settlements in a new country by erecting villages, or little towns, has always appeared to me to be attended with the happiest consequences. The inhabitants soon experience the good effects of society, from which cause they are generally friends to good government.

If it should be thought necessary to keep up the posts on the Allegany River, and French Creek, and extend an establishment to Presqu' Isle, which is certainly an object of the first importance to this State, as well as to the U. S.* I would recommend the following arrangement for ensuring the necessary supplies: A contractor to be stationed at Pittsburgh, and a person, under his direction, at Venango, to receive the Provision and other stores. The transportation between those posts can be performed by the Delaware, or Susquehannah, long boats, except in the dry part of the season, when recourse must be had to those built upon the Mohawk, or Schenactady, plan. From Venango to le Boeuf, the latter ought only to be calculated upon. At le Bouf another storekeeper should be stationed. From le Boeuf to Presqu' Isle, a distance of little more than fifteen miles, the transportation should be performed by oxen. Wet and swampy countries soon destroy pack horses, which, in all our western expeditions, has considerably increased the expense. The boating, and all other business relative to the transportation of the supplies, should be performed by the military, which would not only produce a considerable saving, but constitute several necessary checks on the different departments.

From some experiance of the inutility of our frontier Block House establishments, owing to a general neglect of duty, I would, upon the principles of economy, recommend that they be discontinued. Among the many instances of the inutility of those establishments, I shall take the liberty of relating the following fact: Last June, a party of five Indians attacked three men in a canoe, on the Allegany River, wounded two, and killed the third. The survivors immediately informed the detachment stationed at a neighbouring Block-House of their misfortune; but the commanding officer, instead of sending out a party to oppose the enemy, shut himself up in the building, and stationed a centinal on the top of the house, to give the alarm, should they appear in the neighbourhood of the work. After the attack upon the canoe, the indians, unmolested, went to the Kiskemenetas, attacked a boat, in which they killed three men, and mortally wounded a fourth. They were afterwards, (but too late,) pursued by the westmoreland Militia.

On my way home, I examined the state of the contracts for opening a road from the east side of the Allegany Mountain to the nine-

mile-run, west of the Chestnut Ridge, and reported my opinion upon that subject the 20th of this instant.

I am, Sir, with much
esteem and respect,
your real Friend,
ANDw ELLICOTT.

THOMAS MIFFIN, Esqr, *Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.*

*An establishment at Presqu' Isle must, from its favorable situation, put it in our power, at any time, to change a frontier of savages, of three hundred miles in length, for one of water.

MAJOR DENNY TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *January 16th, 1795.*

SIR: The detachment left at Le Bœuf were relieved the last of December. Captain Buchanan was longer starting from here than he might have been, had the necessary provision been made in time. Want of pack horses detained his party a week. It was with great difficulty, that four horses were procured. Doctor Kennedy had to stay behind, for want of means to carry his baggage. In this month I expect to send forward Ensign McCutcheon, with 20 recruits. Capt Buchanan took up thirty-five. Lieutenant Hazelwood has quit the service.

I should before now have embraced the leave, which you were pleased to grant me, of going to Philadelphia; but the discharging & paying off the men, and starting the recuiting business, has necessarily detained me, and I find it will not be proper to leave this for a week or ten days yet; but as soon as McCutcheon moves, I shall endeavor to set out.

Am, with the greatest respect
& Esteem, Sir,
your most obedient humble Servant,
E. DENNY,
Major.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, *Governor of the State of Pennsylvania.*

TIMOTHY PICKERING TO THE GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR,
JANUARY, *27th*, *1795*.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit to you a copy of the treaty concluded with the Six Nations of Indians at Kanandaigua, on the eleventh day of last November, by which you will see, that the temporary obstacles to the establishment formerly contemplated by the State of Pennsylvania at Presqu' Isle are removed.

I am, with great respect,
Sir,
Your most obed^{t} Serv^{t},
TIMOTHY PICKERING,
Sec^{y} of War.

The Governor of Pennsylvania.

PROCLAMATION OF THE PRESIDENT CONCERNING THE INDIAN TREATY.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President of the United States of America*,

To all to whom these presents shall come Greeting:

WHEREAS, A treaty of Peace and Friendship between the United States of America and the Tribes of Indians, called the Six Nations, was made and concluded on the eleventh day of November last, by Timothy Pickering, the Agent of the United States, for that purpose appointed, on the one part, and the Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations on the other part, which Treaty is in the form and words following:

"A Treaty between the United States of America and the Tribes of Indians, called the Six Nations.

The President of the United States, having determined to hold a conference with the Six Nations of Indians, for the purpose of removing from their minds all causes of complaint, and establishing a firm and permanent Friendship with them, and Timothy Pickering being appointed Sole agent for that purpose; and the agent, having met and conferred with the Sachems, chiefs, and Warriors of the Six Nations, in a general Council, now, in order to accomplish the good design of this Conference, the parties have agreed on the following articles, which, when ratified by the President, with the ad-

vice and consent of the Senate of the United States, shall be binding on them & the Six nations.

ARTICLE I. Peace and Friendship are hereby firmly established, and shall be perpetual, between the United States and the Six nations.

ARTICLE II. The United States acknowledge the Lands reserved to the Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga Nations, in their respective treaties with the State of New York, and called their reservations, to be their property; and the United States will never claim the Same, nor disturb them or either of the Six Nations, nor their Indian Friends residing thereon and United with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof; but the said reservations shall remain theirs, until they choose to sell the same to the People of the United States, who have the right to purchase.

ARTICLE III. The land of the Seneka nation is bounded as follows: Beginning on Lake Ontario, at the north-west corner of the land they sold to Oliver Phelps, the line runs westerly along the Lake as far as O-yong-wong-yeh Creek, at Johnson's Landing place, about four miles eastward from the Fort of Niagara; then Southerly up that Creek to its main fork; then straight to the main fork of Stedman's Creek, which empties into the river Niagara above Fort Schlosser, and then onward from that fork, continuing the same straight course to that river; (this line, from the mouth of O-yong-wong-yeh Creek to the river Niagara above Fort Schlosser, being the eastern boundary of a strip of land extending from the same line to Niagara River, which the Seneka nation ceded to the King of Great Britain, at a treaty held about thirty years ago, with Sir William Johnson;) then the line runs along the River Niagara to Lake Erie; then along Lake Erie to the North East corner of a triangular piece of Land, which the United States conveyed to the State of Pennsylvania, as by the President's Patent, dated the third day of March, 1792; then due South to the northern boundary of that State; then due east to the South West corner of the Land Sold by the Seneka nation to Oliver Phelps; and then North and Northerly, along Phelps's line to the place of beginning on Lake ontario. Now the United States acknowledge all the Land within the aforementioned boundaries to be the property of the Seneka nation; and the United States will never claim the same, nor disturb the Seneka Nation, nor any of the Six Nations or of their Indian Friends residing thereon and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof; but it shall remain theirs until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States who have the right to purchase.

ARTICLE IV. The United States, having thus described and acknowledged what Lands belong to the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cay-

ugas, and Senekas, and engaged never to claim the same, nor to disturb them or any of the Six Nations or their Indian Friends residing thereon and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof: Now the Six Nations, and each of them, hereby engage that they will never claim any other lands within the boundaries of the United States, nor ever disturb the People of the United States in the free use & enjoyment thereof.

ARTICLE V. The Seneka Nation, all others of the Six Nations concurring, cede to the United States the right of making a Waggon road from Fort Schlosser to Lake Erie, as far south as Buffalo Creek; and the people of the United States shall have the free and undisturbed use of this road for the purposes of travelling and transportation. And the Six Nations, and each of them, will for ever allow to the people of the United States a free passage through their lands, and the free use of the harbours and rivers adjoining and within their respective tracts of Land, for the passing and securing of vessels and boats, and liberty to land their cargoes where necessary for their safety.

ARTICLE VI. In consideration of the peace & Friendship hereby established, and of the engagements entered into by the Six nations; and because the United States desired, with humanity and kindness, to contribute to their comfortable support; and to render the peace and friendship hereby established strong and perpetual, the United States now deliver to the Six nations, and the Indians of the other nations residing among and united with them, a quantity of goods of the value of ten thousand dollars. And for the same considerations, and with a view to promote the future welfare of the six nations and of their Indian friends aforesaid, The United States will add the sum of three thousand dollars to the one thousand five hundred dollars heretofore allowed them by an article ratified by the President on the twenty-third day of April, 1792, making, in the whole, Four thousand five hundred Dollars, which shall be expended yearly for ever, in purchasing cloathing, domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils suited to their circumstances, and in compensating useful artificers who shall reside with or near them, and be employed for their benefit. The immediate application of the whole annual allowance now stipulated, to be made by the Superintendent appointed by the President for the affairs of the Six nations and their Indian friends aforesaid.

ARTICE VII. Lest the firm peace and friendship now established should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, the United States and Six Nations agree, That for injuries done by individuals, on either side, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place; but instead thereof, complaint shall be made by the party injured to the other; by the Six Nations, or any of them, to the President of the United States, or the Superintendent by him ap-

pointed; and by the Superintendent, or other person appointed by the President, to the Principal chiefs of the Six Nations, or of the Nation to which the offender belongs; and such prudent measures shall then be pursued as shall be necessary to preserve our peace and Friendship unbroken, until the Legislature (or great Council) of the United States shall make other equitable provision for the purpose.

Note.—It is clearly understood by the Parties to this treaty, that the annuity stipulated in the Sixth article is to be applied to the benefit of such of the Six Nations and of their Indian Friends united with them as aforesaid, as do or shall reside within the boundaries of the United States; For the United States do not interfere with Nations, Tribes or Families of Indians elsewhere resident.

In Witness whereof the said Timothy Pickering and the Sachems and War-chiefs of the said Six Nations have hereto set their hands and Seals. Done at Kon-on-daigua, in the State of New-York, the Eleventh day of November, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

TIMOTHY PICKERING. [L. S.]

O-NO-YE-AH-NEE. † [L. S.]
KON-NE-AT-OR-LEE-OOH, or handsome lake. † [L. S.]
TE-KENH-YOU-HAU, alias Capt. Key. † [L. S.]
O-NES-HAU-EE. † [L. S.]
HENDRICK AUPAUMUT. [L. S.]
DAVID NEESOONHUK. † [L. S.]
KANATSOYH, alias Nicholas Kusick. [L. S.]
SOH-HON-TE-O-QUENT. † [L. S.]
OO-DUHT-SA-IT. † [L. S.]
KO-NOOH-QUNG. † [L. S.]
TOS-SONG-GAU-LO-LUS. † [L. S.]
JOHN SKEN-EN-DO-A. † [L. S.]
O-NE-AT-OR-LEE-OOH. † [L. S.]
KUS-SAU-WA-TAU. † [L. S.]
E-YOO-TEN-YOO-TAU-OOK. † [L. S.]
KOHN-YE-AU-GONG, alias Jake Stroud. † [L. S.]
SHA-GUI-E-SA. † [L. S.]
TEER-OOS, Alias Capt. Prantup. † [L. S.]
SOOS-HA-OO-WAU. † [L. S.]
HENRY YOUNG BRANT. † [L. S.]
SONK-YOO-WAU-NA, or Big Sky. † [L. S.]
O-NA-AH-HAH. † [L. S.]
HOT-OSH-A-HENK. † [L. S.]
KAU-KON-DA-NAI-YA. † [L. S.]
NON-DI-YAU-KA. † [L. S.]

KOS-SISH-TO-WAU. † [L. S.]
OO-JAU-GEHT-A, or Fish carrier. † [L. S.]
TO-HE-ONG-GO. † [L. S.]
OOT-A-GUAS-SO. † [L. S.]
JOO-NON-DAU-WA-ONH. † [L. S.]
KI-YAU-HA-ONH. † [L. S.]
OO-TAU-JE-AU-GENH, or broken axe. † [L. S.]
TAU-HO-ON-DOS, or open the way. † [L. S.]
TWAU-KE-WASH-A. † [L. S.]
SE-QUI-DONG-QUEE, alias Little Beard. † [L. S.]
KOD-JE-OTE, or half Town. † [L. S.]
KEN-JAU-AU-GUS, or Stinking Fish. † [L. S.]
SOO-NOH-QUAN-KAU. † [L. S.]
TWEN-NI-YA-NA. † [L. S]
JISH-KAA-GA, or Green Grasshopper, alias Little Billy. † [L. S.]
TUG-GEH-SHOT-TA. † [L. S.]
TEH-ONG-YA-GAU-NA. † [L. S.]
TEH-ONG-YOO-WASH. † [L. S.]
KON-NE-YOO-WE-SOT. † [L. S.]
TI-OOH-QUOT-TA-KAU-NA, or woods on fire. † [L. S.]
TA-OUN-DAU-DEESH. † [L. S.]
HO-NA-YA-WUS, alias Farmer's brother. † [L. S.]
SOG-GOO-YA-WAUT-HAU, alias red Jacket. † [L. S.]
KON-YOO-TI-A-YOO. † [L. S.]
SAUH-TA-KA-ONG-YUS, or Two Skies of a length. † [L. S.]
OUN-NA-SHATTA-KAU. † [L. S.]
KA-UNG-YA-NEH-QUEE. † [L. S.]
SOO-A-YOO-WAU. † [L. S.]
KAU-JE-A-GA-ONH, or Heap of Dogs. † [L. S.]
SOO-NOOH-SHOO-WAU. † [L. S.]
T-HA-OO-WAU-NI-AS. † [L. S.]
SOO-NONG-JOO-WAU. † [L. S.]
KIANT-WHAU-KA, alias Cornplanter. † [L. S.]
KAU-NIH-SHONG-GOO. † [L. S.]

Witnesses—

Israel Chapin,
James Smedley,
Augustus Porter,
W^m Ewing,
William Shepherd, Jun^r,
John Wickham,
James K. Garnsey,
Israel Chapin, Jun^r.

Intrepreters, { Horatio Jones, Joseph Smith, Jasper Parish.

Henry Abeele."

Now, know ye, that I, having seen and considered the said treaty, do, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, accept, ratify and confirm the same, and every article and

clause thereof. In Testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, and signed the same with my hand.

Given in the City of Philadelphia, the twenty-first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, and in the nineteenth year of the Sovereignty and Independence of the United States.

Seal of the United States.

G° WASHINGTON.

By the President—

EDM. RANDOLPH.

True copy.

GE° TAYLOR, J^r^, *C. Clk Dep. of State.*

COLONEL CLEMENT BIDDLE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILAD^a^, *Febr^y^ 10, 1795.*

DEAR SIR: I have received from Gen^l^ Wilkins a number of pay Rolls and account of Ration, for the militia called last Summer as a support to Cap^t^ Denny post at Lebeuf, which amount to near 5000 Dollars. There will be also a deficiency in the appropriation of Six thousand dollars by Act of Assembly, of September last, for continuing the post at Lebeuf for six months, of nearly six thousand dollars more.

Of these Claims I am just now furnished with the documents which will enable me to lay a Statement before you in a few days, and which will require the aid of the Legislature. In the mean time, as Gen^l^ Wilkins has made Advances which require it, I request you to direct a warrant to issue in my favour for three thousand Dollars, out of the fund mentioned in the inclosed Certificate from M^r^ Donnaldson, Comptroller General.

I am, with respect,
Sir,
Y^r^ mo Obed^t^ &
very hum^bl^ ser.,
CLEMENT BIDDLE.
Q. M. Com^g^.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

There Remains undrawn of the appropriation made per Act of Sept. 23, 1794, three thousand Dollars.

JOHN DONNALDSON,
Com. Gen. Officer.

Feby. 10, 1795.

M^r^ DALLAS.

Will be pleased to have a warrant prepared for the Ball^e^.

T. MIFFLIN.

Feb. 10, 1795.

MAJOR DENNY TO COLONEL BIDDLE.

PHILADELPHIA, *March 12th, 1795.*

SIR: Should the Establishment intended to be made at Presque Isle be left with our Governor to execute. there are a few things which I must beg leave to mention.

First, that recruiting instructions may be sent forward, as soon as the law is passed. That money may also be sent up to pay off the men who are now in service. That Colonel Biddle will be pleased to obtain an order from the Secretary at War, to receive, at Pittsburgh, Arms, Accoutrements and Musquet Cartridges, necessary to complete the Command. These articles are wanted at present.

The list of Sundries, mentioned on the back of the return last handed in, will shew what is deficient. A medicine Chest and Surgeons Instruments are among the number; but should the United States agree to reimbuse the Expenses, these articles may as well be got of them at Pittsburgh. Whatever stores are sent forward, ought to reach Pitt in next month, in order to embrace the spring floods. Should be glad if the Governor would authorize a few artificers to be raised.

The building of a Saw mill can be better done by contract than otherwise.

I am, with much respect & esteem, Sir,
your most obedient Servant,
E. DENNY.
Major, State Militia.

Colonel BIDDLE, *Quarter Master General of Pennsylvania.*

MAJOR DENNY TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *March 29th, '95.*

SIR: I have the honor to transmit a statement of the troops raised, agreeably to your orders, for the maintenance of the post at Le Bœuf.

Ensign Mehaffy has been most successful in recruiting. He is yet in his own county (Westmoreland) employed on that service. I expect him to join me in a few days with the men he may have engaged.

The recruits, collected since Ensign M^cCutchon's detachment marched, have been quartered in block houses, built by militia, upon the Indian side the Allegheny, about five miles up, where they are

kept at little expence & trouble. I had determined to send them off immediately after my arrival here, but, as the waters are very high, shall now wait until I hear from you, in expectation of receiving fresh recruiting orders. Those at this place will, in all probability, be more ready to take on for a longer term before the march than after.

I left with Colonel Biddle a memorandum of articles which we shall stand in need of. A few rifles are wanted to complete the men who are already in service. There are plenty in the public store at this place. Will thank the Governor and Colonel Biddle for a spy glass & a couple of maps of our country. The glass will really be necessary.

I have the honor to be,
with very great respect and esteem,
Sir,
your obliged humble servant,
E. DENNY,
Major.

Governor MIFFLIN.

RETURN OF THE TROOPS INLISTED IN THE SERVICE OF THE STATE, FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF THE POST AT LE BŒUF.

MARCH 27th, 1795.	Major.	Captain.	Capt. Lieutenant.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Surgeon.	Qr. Master.	Sergt. Major.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Musicians.	Privates.	Total of non commiss'd officers & privates.
1st Company, ...	1	. .	. .	. .	1	1	1	1	3	4	1	41	50
2d Company, ...	. .	1	. .	1	1	. .	. .	. .	3	3	1	42	49
Total, ...	1	1	. .	1	2	1	1	1	6	7	2	83	99

Captain Lieutenant Hazelwood declined serving.

E. DENNY,
Major Commanding.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esquire,
Governor of the State of Pennsylvania.

COLONEL BIDDLE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILA[a], *April 9, 1795.*

SIR: Conformably to your orders of this day, I now hand to you a return of the stores forwarded to Pittsburgh, for the purpose of supporting the Establishment at Presqu' Isle, under the Act of Assembly of 28[th] February, 1794; also, a copy of the last return which I have received of the stores on hand at Le Beuf, on the back of which last return is a statement of such stores as will be wanted in case the Garrison at Le Beuf should now be ordered to Presque Isle.

I also inclose a copy of the Letter which Major Denny left with me, in which he states the want of about 50 or 60 Muskets or rifles and some Ammunition, and a Chest of Medicines and Surgeons' Instruments, which may be had in the Stores of the United States at Pittsburgh; and he suggests the propriety of building a Saw Mill at Presque Isle, for which purpose the Iron work complete and the saws are at Cussawaga, if not already at Le Beuf.

If you approve of it, I will apply to the Secretary at War for an order for such of the Articles as can be furnished at Pittsburgh, which it would be well to have in time for next Saturday's Post, as the Season is favorable for forwarding them by water, and will daily become less so than at Present.

I am, with Great Respect,
Y[r] Excellency's
mo. obed. & very h[ble] ser.,
CLEMENT BIDDLE,
Q. M. G. Penn[a].

His Excellency Gov. MIFFLIN.

MONTHLY RETURN OF QUARTER-MASTERS' AND MIL

	Horsemen's Tents.	Common Tents.	Broad axes.	Pitching axes.	Shingling hatchets.	Carpenters adzes.	Blacksmith's sledges.	Ditto hammers.	Ditto files and rasps.
In store,	2	13	6	14	6	4	2	2	5
In use,	1	4	. .	23	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Lost, worn out and expended,	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	10
Total,	3	17	6	37	6	4	2	2	15

	Hand vices.	Saw setts.	Screw drivers.	Gimlets.	Socket gouges.	Flat gouges.	Socket chisels.	Handsaw files.	Large three-square files.
In store,	2	1	2	10	3	2	17	54	5
In use,	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Lost, worn out, and expended,	. .	1	1	14	. .	. .	. .	17	1
Total,	2	2	3	24	3	2	17	71	6

	Needles.	Pump tacks.	Cow bells.	Bundle of fishing tackle.	Corking irons.	Corking mallet.	Hanks of twine.	Lbs. of thread and yarn.
In store,	960	2000	1	1	2	1	3	6
In use,	. . .	. . .	1	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Lost, worn out, and expended,	40	400	. .	. .	. .	. .	1	2
Total,	1000	2400	2	1	2	1	4	8

ITARY STORES AT LE BŒUF, NOVEMBER 1st 1794.

| | | |

MONTHLY RETURN OF QUARTER MASTERS'

	Hoes.	Sail needles.	Palm irons.	Shovels.	Spades.	Pick axes.	Frows.	Coils of rope.	Pounds of junk.
In store,	4	12	2	10	18	20	6	4	93
In use,	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Lost, worn out, and expended,	. .	. .	. .	. .	1	. .	. .	. .	34
Total,	4	12	2	10	19	20	6	4	127

	Hand cuffs.	Flags.	Halyards.	Set of mill irons & gears.	Pounds of soap.	Keg with garden seeds.	Rifles.		Grinding stones.
							Good.	Bad.	
In store,	5	1	. .	1	44	1	1	2	. .
In use,	1	1	1	. .	. .	. .	52	. .	. .
Lost, worn out, and expended,	. .	. .	1	. .	16	. .	. .	. .	1
Total,	6	2	2	1	60	1	53	2	1

	Sword belts.	Musket flints.	Brushes and prickers.	Drums.	Drum heads.	12-Pounders mounted.	6-Pounders mounted.	Swivels mounted.	Worms for cannon.
In store,	. .	651	70	. .	2	. .	. .	. .	3
In use,	14	. .	30	1	. .	2	2	2	5
Lost, worn out, and expended,	. .	268	. .	. .	2	. .	. .	. .	. .
Total,	14	919	100	1	4	2	2	2	8

AND MILITARY STORES, &c.—*Continued.*

Pounds of oakum.	Quires of paper.	Casks of ink powder.	Quills.	Coarse bags.	Leather ink pots.	Pounds of sealing wax.	Orderly books.	Quires of cartridge paper.	Pay rolls.	Measures from 1 gallon & down.	Plumb lines.	Brass and wooden cocks.	Marking irons.	Gallons of tar.	Blocks strapped.
3	6	8	30	2	1	1	1	8	88	. . .	1	1	2	10	2
. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	1	. .	. .	. .	. .	21	. .	2	. .	. .	. .
26	30	2	57	. .	. .	. .	3	11	2	. . .	. .	. .	. .	6	. .
29	36	10	87	2	2	1	4	19	90	21	1	3	2	16	2

Camp kettles.	Bullet bags.	Knapsacks.	Canteens.	Tomahawks.	Rifle flints.	Wipers.	Bullet moulds.	Lock covers.	Muskets. Good.	Muskets. Bad.	Bayonets.	Ramrods.	Cartridge boxes.	Swords.
3	1	. .	2	. .	. .	1	1	. .	7	10	14	15	7	12
24	33	90	67	11	192	37	43	9	31	. . .	31	31	31	19
. .	2	1	17	3	. .	7	1	1	. . .	. . .	3	3	. .	1
27	36	91	86	14	192	45	45	10	38	10	48	48	38	32

Copper ladles.	Ditto measures.	Rammer heads.	Sponge heads.	Sheep skins.	Priming wires & gouges.	Pounds of buck shot.	Pounds of lead.	Gimlets and screws.	Gunner's belts.	Gun locks.	Tube canisters.	Skeins of quick match.	6 & 12-pound tubes damaged.	Musket cartridges.
2	4	16	16	3	16	490	123	16	2	20	4	6	970	800
4	4	7	7	1	8	. .	. .	8	6	. .	4	. . .	. . .	. . .
. .	. .	. .	. .	1	. .	3	132	. .	. .	. .	. .	. . .	14	882
6	8	23	23	5	24	493	255	24	8	20	8	6	984	1682

MONTHLY RETURN OF QUARTER MASTERS'

	Pounds bar iron.	Pounds bar steel.	Gun lock screws.	Ramrod screws.	Lead for aprons.	Linch stocks.	Artillery horns.	Rifle powder horns.	12-lb cartridges filled.
In store,	207	35¼	110	49	12	5	2	1	50
In use,	. .	. .	. .	1	20	6	6	45	. .
Lost, worn out, and expended,	139	12¼	. .	. .	. .	1	. .	. .	7
Total,	346	47½	110	50	32	12	8	46	57

	Boxes of 6-lb grape.	Sythe.	Mohawk boat.	Smith's tongs.
In store,	2	1	. .	2
In use,	. .	. .	1	. .
Lost, worn out, and expended,	. .	. .	. .	. .
Total,	2	1	1	2

AND MILITARY STORES, &c.—*Continued.*

6-lb ditto, ditto.	Swivels ditto.	Large musket balls.	Musket searcher.	6-lb cannon carriages.	Worms for swivels.	Pounds of powder.	Pounds of slow match.	Barrels of Powder.				Boxes of 12-lb grape.	Boxes of 12-lb round.	Boxes of 12-lb canister.	Boxes of 6-lb round.
								Good.	Middling.	Damaged.	Part damaged.				
50	50	300	. .	. .	. .	. .	140	2	3	3	5	3	4	1	4
. .	. .	. .	1	. .	2	. .	. .	0	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
19	13	. .	. .	2	. .	106	10	. .	1	1	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
69	63	300	1	2	2	106	150	2	4	4	5	3	4	1	4

N. B. The Boat, one horseman's tent, one Common tent, and one pitching ax sent with Mr Ellicott to Pittsburgh.

The horse at Cussewago, for the convenience of forage.

ATTEST: SAM'L McCUTCHON,
Quarter Master.

A List of Articles deficient as ℔ original Invoice.

3 Horsemen's Tents,
1 Smith's Vice,
1 Drawing Knife,
1 Carpenter's hammer,
3 Gimblets,
1 Socket Gouge,
1 hand saw file,
20 Rat tail files,
600 Pump tacks,
1 Anvil,
1 Spade,
73lb Junk,
21lb Oakum,
4 quires of Writing Paper,
2 Casks of Inkpowder,
13 Quills,
1 4 quire blank book,
1 box Wafers,
2 Lines for Sceine,
1 Barrel of Fishing Sceine,
2 Leather Inkpots,
1 quire of Cartridge paper,
25 camp Kettles,
9 Knap sacks,
2 Bayonets,
18 Sword Belts,
87 Musquet Flints,
2 6lb Cannon,
1 rammer head,
1 Spunge head,
16 6 & 12lb Tubes,
1 Ramrod Screw,
11 Boxes of shot,
1 Box of port fire,
6 Barrels of powder,
1 Box Soap & Candles.

A List of Articles wanting to Complete the within Return for the next Campaign.

Blunder Busses,
Wall pieces,
Port fire Stocks,
Rifle Flints,
Ball Screws,
Lead & musquet Moulds,
Musquet Balls,
Window Glass,
Halyards,
Butt Hinges,
Drum Cords,
Crow Bars,
Store hammers,
Cleat nails,
Nail & spikes,
Shingle nails & Gimblets,
Falling axes,
Mattocks,
Smiths' Files & Rasps, & fine files for Locks,
German steel for springs,
1 Set Screw plates,
Grinding Stones,
Cartridge paper,
Stationery,
Chalk,
Twine.

A Number of the above articles as returned, deficient in the original Invoice, is done for want of sufficient inquiry on the part of the Quarter Master. The remaining tents & Camp Kettles were left in the store at Pittsburgh, the Detachment Drawing what was necessary to carry them up. The stationery was taken out by Ensign Mahaffy, the first Commanding officer, for the use of the party he commanded. The powder, Shott, anvil, vice, fishing scein was left at Cussawago, and still remain their in the block house.

JNº WILKINS, Jr

Add wanting immediately,

50 or 60 Rifles or Muskets, Ammunition for Ditto, a chest of medicines, & Surgeon's Instruments for the Garrison of 130 men, & about 50 more, surveyors, boatmen, &c.

CLEMENT BIDDLE,
Q. M. G., Penna.

PHILAD^{A}, *April 9, 1795.*

MAJOR DENNY TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.

PH^{A}, *March 11th, 1795.*

SIR: Agreeably to your request, I have endeavored to recollect some observations made last Season on my rout to Le Bœuf & Presque isle, & while in that country.

During the months of april & may, the navigation from Pittsburgh to Le Boeuf is good. From Franklin up I would recommend a lighter craft than what is used in the Allegheny River. The distance to franklin is 110 miles; from thence to Cussewago, 35, and about 40 to Le Boeuf. By land, as the road goes, the distance to fort franklin from Pitt does not exceed 80 miles. An excellent road might be made with little trouble. There is at present a tolerable good horse path. Thence to Cussewago, about 24, the way very good. From Cussewago to leboeuf, near 30 miles, not so good, owing to large tracts of wet country. In October & november considerable boating may be done; but, except the months of april & may, I would not calculate upon making any use of the rivers. Le Boeuf is built upon a handsome eminence, at the head of the navigation, immediately upon the ground formerly occupied by the french & english. It will accommodate a company of men, well; but as it was only intended as an intermediate post to presqu' isle, a small command of twenty five men will answer every purpose, and there will be plenty of store rooms for depositing Whatever may be sent forward. The State has contracted with men for opening the navigation of french creek, as well as the road from Le Boeuf to presqu' isle. The contractors began upon the road last november; but the continual snows, which commenced with that month, obliged them to quit the business. I understand that they mean to be out again early this Spring. About four miles of the way is cut out. The distance from Le Boeuf to Presqu' isle is 15 miles, a circuitous rout. It has been very much traveled with carts. The middle part of the distance, say five miles, has been nearly all causway'd. It did not appear to us that so much bridging was necessary. We discovered another road, carried almost in a direct line from one post to the other. It has been

opened thirty feet wide, and the trees all taken out by the roots. Bridges have been built over the creeks & runs, and very considerable digging done along the sides of hills & precipices; but no part caus way'd, nor the pits, which the taking up of the trees occasioned, levelled. However, there might have been great use made of it during the winter upon the snow. That will be the time to transport provisions & stores, with most ease, taking care to keep the road beat.

The bank upon which the old fort stands at presqu' isle is not less than forty feet above the Lake. It is a very commanding spot. The island which forms the harbour & makes that place so valuable, is, perhaps, not half as high, but is sufficiently above the reach of the water. It is five miles long, and in some places almost a mile wide, & contains three thousand acres. The lower end, at a future day, may be thought the most proper place for a fortification and light house. Two hundred men might be well employed all summer in fitting up the old fort, and clearing the country round. A mile & half in some directions, which appears to have been under cultivation, or at least cleared, is now grown up thick with young Chestnut & Linn. The fort has been a regular pentagon; but the work very light. The parapet don't exceed five feet & the ditch not more. The walls of the magazine, of stone, are standing, & may be repaired. The well may also be easily made fit for use. Among the quantity of stores which the state sent up, is a complete set of Irons for a sawmill. The small creek which empties into the harbour, within gun shot of the fort, will aford a good seat. The putting up a mill was to have been our first object.

The number of Troops in the service of the State, I expect, at this time, is about 100. Their enlistments all expire on the last of may next.

E. DENNY,
Major, State Militia.

TIMOTHY PICKERING, Esq^r., *S. of War.*

ANDREW ELLICOTT TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILADELPHIA, *April 20^th^, 1795.*

SIR: The objects contemplated by the Bill, which passed the 18^th^ instant, for laying out Towns within certain public reservations in this State, are extensive, and will require immediate attention if accomplished the ensuing season. I have enclosed a short estimate of the probable expense necessary to begin the business. The Town laid out at Le Bœuf last year has been sanctioned by the Legisla-

ture. The expenses attending the execution of that work will, I presume, be paid out of the same appropriation. The compensation to the commissioners rests wholy with yourself. My pay, while in the employ of the Executive Council, was six dollars p^{r} day, exclusive of expenses. My Brother, who is in the employ of the Holland company, receives eight dollars p^{r} day and his expenses paid. That business I declined myself, for the purpose of attending to that at Presqu' Isle. I shall want, on my own account, at least six hundred dollars. Being sensible of your inclination to forward the views of the Legislature, it is, therefore, unnecessary to use any arguments relative to the propriety of beginning our operations early.

I am, Sir, with esteem, your Friend,

AND^{w} ELLICOTT.

Gov. MIFFLIN.

To execute the different objects contemplated by the law for laying out Towns in certain public reservations in this State (passed the 18th instant) will require at least 20 persons, including the commissioners, for which number (suppose for 5 months) the following stores will be necessary, (viz:)

15 bb^{s} Pork,	£90. 0.0
22 do. Flour,	33. 0.0
3 Cw^{t} Sugar,	15. 0.0
150 lb^{s} Chocolate,	13. 2.6
25 lb^{s} Coffee,	2. 0.0
Tea,	2. 0.0
4 bb^{s} Whiskey,	22.10.0
	177.12.6
It is presumed that one month's pay will be advanced to the Surveyors and other hands employed, which will amount to	123.15.0
To the above may be added, for Travelling and other incidental expenses, at least	50. 0.0
Total,	£351.7.6

A. ELLICOTT.

April 20th, 1795.

An order to issue in Favor of Gen^{l} William Irvine and Andrew Ellicott, Esq^{r}, Com^{s} to lay out the Towns at Presqu' Isle, Le Beuf, Cussawago, & Fort Franklin, for Twelve hundred Dollars.

T. MIFFLIN.

COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILAD^{A}, *April 24th, 1795.*

SIR: Conformably to your Directions, I waited on the Secretary at War, and stated to him the supplies of arms and stores which I conceived necessary for the Militia at Le Beuf to proceed to the Establishment at Presque Isle.

He gave me an order to receive the articles required, and such others as he thought proper to add, towards erecting a fort at that place, which order I forwarded to General Wilkins, at Pittsburgh, that such of the stores as were most wanted might be forwarded while the Allegheny was passable for boats.

The Secretary at War had not received his Directions from the President. Therefore, I had not his final arrangements for this Service; but, in the meantime, it may be necessary to make the arrangements for Supplies of Provisions, Carriage, and the Enlistment of the Troopes, which, if you think proper to enter on immediately, if you will please to direct a Warrant to issue in my Favor on account for Ten Thousand Dollars I will make the necessary advances as they may be required.

I am, with respect,
Your Excellency's
Most Obedient and very
humble Servant,
CLEMENT BIDDLE.
Q. M. G. Penn^{A}.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

COM. GEN. OFFICE, *April 25, 1795.*

I am of Oppinion that the advance required by Col. Biddle may be made with propriety, in order to carry the views of the Legislature into effect.

JOHN DONNALDSON,

ANDREW ELLICOTT TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

PHILADELPHIA, *April 26th, 1795.*

SIR: I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 24th ult., directed to Gen. W^{m} Irvine and myself, and, in answer to your several enquiries, observe:

First. That without some accident, we shall be ready to proceed, on or before the 15th day of next month, to execute the several ob-

jects, (mentioned in the act for laying out and establishing Towns and out-lots, with certain public reservations,) committed by the Governor to us. We shall go by the way of Pittsburgh, and begin our operations at Fort Franklin, from thence proceed to Presqu' Isle, and return by le Boeuf and Conawango.

Secondly. I am of the opinion that 30 men from the garrison at le Boeuf, to be equipped as Rifle-Men, will be fully sufficient to answer our purpose, both as a guard and for labourers. When acting in the later capacity, it will be proper to allow them extra rations. We shall want them as an escort from Pittsburgh, at which place it will be proper for them to rendezvous, on or before the first day of June next.

Thirdly. A return for the necessary provisions was handed in a few days ago, and such stores, as economy would dictate to procure in this City, have been purchased, and will probably be sent off to-morrow. Pork and Flour, we shall procure at Pittsburgh. Tents and other necessary articles will be furnished by Col. Biddle.

Fourthly. It is not only a subject of curious enquiry, but of considerable importance, to ascertain the level between the waters of French Creek and Lake Erie. If the necessary instruments, for that purpose, should be furnished by the public, there will be no objection, on our part, to that determination being added to our other duties. I am, sir, with esteem, your real Friend,

AND^{w} ELLICOTT.

A. J. DALLAS, Esq^{r}, *Secretary for Commonwealth.*

GEN. WM. IRVINE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

CARLISLE, *May 12th, 1795.*

SIR: On the 17th of April M^{r} Ellicott wrote to me that the Bill for laying out Presqu' Isle and the other towns had passed, and that you directed him to inform me I was one of the Commissioners. Since that time I have not received any further account of the matter, except a verbal message from Ellicott that he would be as far as Carlisle on the sixth instant. I wrote to General Wilkins, by his desire, to send down some troops to meet him here. They have arrived and are waiting, as I have been, for him, with our instructions, since the sixth. However, I am inclined to think he must be on the way. In consequence of M^{r} Ellicott's letter, I wrote Wilkins & Denny that they might begin to prepare for our accommodation. Major Denny writes me on the 4th instant that he had not then received your orders on the subject of Recruiting, and

that he apprehended it would be difficult to raise the quota, particularly as most of Morgan's troops were inlisted by officers of the United States. I mention this circumstance that you may, if you thing proper, direct such measures to be taken as will insure the execution of the business in case men can not be enlisted, and to prevent delay, of course additional expence. Indeed this hint of Denny's is the only thing that gave rise to my troubling you at this time with a letter.

I have the honor to be,
With great esteem,
Sir,
Your most obed^{t},
Humble servant,
W^{m} IRVINE.

P. S. M^{r} Jn^{o} Montgomery, of this place, says he is informed that M^{r} Dunlop, one of the associate Justices for this County, is about to remove to another County, and that he, M^{r} Montgomery, would accept that office if you should think proper to confer it. This much I say by his request, and have nothing to add, as you, on inquiry, will easily find suitable Characters enough, and that no evil can arise if the office should not be filled for six months after Dunlop's resignation, as there are three others besides him. Besides, I can not approve of extorting promises before hand. This you may think a strange kind of application; but it is intended rather as information, to prevent you trouble.

CAPTAIN DENNY TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *May 15th, 1795.*

SIR: I had the honor to receive your letter of the 20th april, with a copy of the act for laying out the Towns, &c.

Your orders for organizing the corps of State Troops, now in Service, into a Company and detachment, shall be strictly observed. Lieutenant Murphy and Ensign Mehaffy, will be detached with the Commissioners. Captain Buchanan & Ensign M^{c}Cutcheon, are the only remaining officers for the Company. The reinlisting of the men, I expect, will be easily effected; but I must beg that the Governor will appoint another subaltern officer, & direct Captain Buchanan to receive the late orders, which I have been favored with. He is, in my opinion, sufficiently qualified for the Command, and I am sure will do every thing in his power to render satisfaction.

Be pleased, Sir, to accept of my sincere thanks and best wishes for your health and happiness.

With the highest respect,
I remain your obliged humble Servant,
E. DENNY.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esquire, *Governor of the State of Pennsylvania.*

State of the late arrangement.	Serjts.	Corpl.	Music.	Privates.	Serjeants.	Corporals.	Musicians.	Privates.
Number of men to be raised, ...					6	6	2	91
Deduct for the Commissioners, . .	2	2	. .	26				
for Le Bœuf, ...	1	1	. .	18				
Deduct one fifth (the usual No) of the remainder, for sickness, &c., .	. .	. .	. .	11				
	3	3	. .	55	3	3	. .	55
Present effective men to erect the fortifications at Presqu' Isle, ...					3	3	2	36

CAPT. DENNY TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *May 29th, 1795.*

SIR: I had the honor to address you on the 15th instant, acknowledging the receipt of your orders dated the 28th April.

There was no time lost in putting into execution your instructions. Lieutenant Murphy and Ensign Mehaffy had money immediately delivered to them for the purpose of raising two Serjeants, two Corporals and twenty-six privates to escort the Commissioners.

Captain Buchanan was also, as early as possible, furnished with a sufficiency to advance to recruits. The success of the Captain has not been equeal to what you might expect; he, however, made out to reëngage Sixteen, who are left at Le Bœuf under Ensign M'-Cutchon; the rest of the men arrived here yesterday evening with himself. This day and to-morrow they will all be paid off & discharged.

Buchanan will use every industry to complete the company. In the mean time he expects to receive your instructions.

Four men were attacked on Saturday last by a party of Indians in wait on the road two miles from Presqu' isle. One was found scalped; the fate of the other three is not known.

I have the honor to remain, with great respect and regard,

Sir,

Your most obliged humble servant,

E. DENNY.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esquire,
Governor of the State of Pennsylvania.

TIMOTHY PICKERING TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WAR OFFICE, *June 5, 1795.*

SIR: The inclosed extract of a letter dated at Pittsburg the 29th ult°, from Major Craig, contains information proper to be communicated to you. The places of the State troops, which now appear to be disbanded, I suppose will be supplied by others enlisted for the purpose. I shall be obliged by information on this head.

On the 7th of May a party of ten White Men, on the Allegany, fired on a family of friendly Indians, as they were returning from their winter hunt. Two of the Indians were badly wounded, but fortunately escaped with the loss of all their property. The officer at Fort Franklin furnished clothing to the Indians for their immediate relief. A letter received this day from Colonel Butler, at Pittsburg, informs me that through the good conduct of one of the State Officers nearly all the property has been recovered, and will be restored to the Indians; and that he shall apply to Judge Addison to have the perpetrators of the mischief apprehended, believing that they can be discovered. It is not improbable that the attack on the four men going from Le Bœuf to Presqu' Isle was an act of retaliation.

I am, Sir,
with great respect,
your obedient Servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

Extract of a Letter from Major Craig to the Secretary of War.

"PITTSBURG, *29th May, 1795.*

"On the 22d Instant a certain Ralph Rutledge, one of a party of four men, on their way from Le Bœuff to Presqu' Isle, was killed and scalped within two miles of Presqu' Isle; the other three men are missing, and it is presumed they are also killed. The State Troops at Le Bœuf are nearly all disbanded. Very few of them have re-inlisted. Capt. Buchanon, who commanded at that post, arrived here yesterday with the greater part of the men under his command, who are all discharged."

CAPT. BUCHANAN TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *19th June, 1795.*

SIR: I have the honor of acknowledging the rec^{t} of the Secretary's letter, with my commission, &^{c}.

The instructions there aluded to, I have already receiv'd from Major Denny, with every possible asistance he cou'd render me in the business.

Lieutenant Mehaffey, with twenty-six men, marched with the Commissioners, who (I understood) arrived at Fort Franklin, Sunday last. This day, we start a small party to join them there, in order to compleat the Commiss^{rs} Escort, and carry dispatches to le Boeuf, where (I expect you have understood) we left only sixteen men; but hope to be able to reinforce them Shortly, as we have been making every possible exertion in the recruiting business, for that purpose.

We have nothing lately of any movements of hostile Indians on our frontier. The last was, breaking up of Captain Power's Camp, about two weeks past. They still seem to stay about Forts le Boeuf & Franklin, as formerly, and small parties of our people continue to pass between here and Fort Franklin unmolested.

We have information here, that the Packet Boat, on its way from Head quarters, was attacked, between Lime Stone and Galleopolis, by a party of Indians, & beat back, with the loss of one man killed, and two mortally wounded.

It is conjectured that this attack, as well as the murder done at Presqu'-isle and French-Creek, and upon Powers' party, was committed by whites and Indians from the other side the Lake.

I have honor to be,
Sir,
your most obed^{t},
humble servant,
T. BUCHANAN,
Capt^{n}.

Governor MIFFLIN.

COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILADELPHIA, *June 23d, 1795.*

SIR: The supplies for the Establishment at Presqu' Isle and Support of the Commissioners employed in laying out the Towns under the Act of Assembly of the 18th of April last, will require a further advance to be made, as well for the pay of the Troops as for the provisions to be forwarded to keep up a proper supply. I, therefore, request you to order a warrant to issue in my favor for Seven thousand Dollars, the sum remaining undrawn from the Treasury of the Appropriation made by the said Act of Assembly for that service, to be by me accounted for.

I am, with respect,
Sir,
Your most obedt servt,
CLEMENT BIDDLE,
Q. M. Genl Penna.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

Mr DALLAS.

An Order to issue for the Sum remaining.

THO. MIFFLIN.

June 23, 1795.

TIMOTHY PICKERING TO JAMES DALLAS.

WAR OFFICE, *July 1st, 1795.*

SIR: Please to let Mr Lewis, the bearer, have a sight of the plan of Fort le Bouef, that was surveyed last year by Mr Ellicot, and if convenient permit him to take a sketch of it for the War Office.

I am, Sir, respectfully,
your obedient Servant,
TIMOTHY PICKERING.

JAMES DALLAS, Esqr.

COL. H. S. BUTLER TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

F. FAYETTE, *Ap^l 1^st^, 1796.*

SIR: On the 4^th^ of March, Cornplanter (a Seneca chief) made a speech to the Commanding officer at F. Franklin, and requested that it should be forwarded by me to your Excellency.

I have, therefore, the Honor of enclosing the same.

I remain, with sentiments
of respect, your Excellencies'
Humb^e^ Serv^t^,
H. S. BUTLER, *L^t^ Co^l^.*

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN, *Philad^a^.*

Speech of Cornplanter, a Seneca Chief.

FORT FRANKLIN, *8^th^ March, 1796.*

I thank the Almighty for giving us luck to meet together at this time, and at this place, as Brethren, and hope my Brothers will assist me in writing to Congress what I have now to say.

I thank the Almighty, that I am speaking this good day. I have been through all Nations in America, and am sorry to see the folly of many of the people. What makes me sorry, is they all tell lies, and I never found truth amongst them. All the Western Nations of Indians, as well as white people, have told me lies. Even in Councill, I have been deceived, and been told things, which I have told to my Chiefs and Young Men, which I have found not to be so, which makes me tell lies by not being able to make good my word; but I hope they will all see their folly, and repent. The Almighty has not made us to lie, but to tell the truth, one to another; for, when two people meet together, if they lie, one to the other, them people cannot be at peace; and so it is with Nations, and that is the cause of so much War.

Gen^l^ Washington, the Father of us all, hear what I have now to say, and take pity on us poor people. The Almighty has blest you, and not us. He has given you education, which enables you to do many things that we cannot do. You can travel by sea, as well as by land, and know what is doing in any other Countries, which we poor people know nothing about. Therefore, you ought to pity us.

When the Almighty first put us on this land, he gave it to us to live on. And when the white people first came to it, they were very poor, and we help'd them all in our power; did not kill them, but received them as Brothers. And now, it appears to me as though they were agoing to leave us in distress.

Gen[l] Washington, I now tell you what makes my mind uneasy. When we made our last treaty, with M[r] Pickering, we had a certain quantity of Land given us, which he told us we should have as long as we liv'd. Last summer, a Gentleman from Albany, whose name I do not recollect, came and bought all the land from Kengo and Nadago Indians, and so they will continue to do, until they get all from us, and then we shall be left in distress. I think Gen[l] Washington ought to talk to them people that have got this land, and see if they will not assist these Indians, whom they have left so poor.

I shall never forget my good friend, Governor Mifflin, who made me a present of fifteen Hundred Acres of land, on which I now raise my Bread, and I do not eat without thinking of my good friend.

I had a Deed from Gen[l] Parsons of Six Hundred Acres of Land, at the Mouth of Muskingum, which Deed was taken from me by force, when I was returning from Philadelphia, with a number of other papers, and considerable of other property. The Deed has not been returned. I wish Governor Mifflin would gett this Land, and give me Land for it where I now live. Esq[r] Phelps promised me a place at Canadagi, and to build me a House on it, and to give me a Yoke of Oxen, which he has not done. A M[r] Livingston, of New York, owes me Twelve Hundred Dollars, which I left with a M[r] Shattock, at Philadelphia, when I was there, but have received no part of the Money yet. All this I wish my good friend Govern[r] Mifflin to gett, and give me as much land, joining that which I now live on, as he thinks proper. All this I put into his hands, and hope, as he has been so much my friend, that he would consider me. In Surveying my Land, where I now live, it left out some of my fields. If Govern[r] Mifflin would make me an addition, it might take them in.

I am determined to stay on this Land as long as I live, and be a Good friend to the White People. My good friend, I am now getting an Old Man; am not able to go to see you, but that we shall meet in the other world, is the sincere wish of

Your Most Obed[t],

And very Hum[e] Ser[t],

CAPTAIN OBAEL.

Governor MIFFLIN.

THE PRESQU' ISLE COMMISSIONERS TO THE PRINTER.

PHILADELPHIA, *26[th] May, 1796.*

SIR: You will herewith receive a printed advertisement for the sale of town & out lots, of the several towns therein mentioned,

which we request you to reprint in your paper, weekly, until the week proceeding the sale at Pittsburg, on the 15th of august next. Be pleased to transmit your account for this service, under cover, to the secretary of the Commonwealth, by the 15th of November next, for adjustment.

We are, Sir, &c.,

Wm IRVINE,
ANDw ELLICOTT,
GEO. WILSON,
Agents.

To Mr PRINTER, *at Phila.*

Agreeably to instructions from his excellency Thomas Mifflin, Governor of this commonwealth, we shall offer for sale the following town and out lots of Erie, Waterford, Franklin and Waren, at the time and places hereafter specified, viz. The sale of that portion of town and out lots of the several towns, to be disposed off in the City of Philadelphia, will commence at, on Monday the 25 day of July next. That portion of the town, and out lots of the several towns, to be disposed of at Carlisle, will commence, at that borough on Wendsday, the third of august next; and the sale of that portion of the town and out lots of the said towns, to be disposed of at Pittsburgh, will commence at that Borough, on Monday, the 15th of august next.

GEN. IRVINE AND GEO. WILSON TO A. J. DALLAS.

CARLISLE, *Augt 6th, 1796.*

SIR: We have the pleasure to inform you that the sale of the several Town lots at this place was finished yesterday, and that the amount exceeds all expectation. Many lots in Erie sold for upwards of 150 Dollars, and some above 300. All the other Towns sold 100 per cent. above what they did in the City. We have so little time to reach Pittsburg, that we can not wait now to make out a regular report; but soon after the business is done there, we mean to transmit the whole together. Be pleased, Sir, to offer our Compliments to the Governor with this information.

We are with great respect,
Sir,
your most obedt Servants,
Wm IRVINE,
GEO. WILSON.

A. J. DALLAS, Esqr, *Secretary of the Commonwealth of Penna.*

GEN. WM IRVINE TO A. J. DALLAS.

CARLISLE, *Nov^r 12^th^, 1799.*

DEAR SIR: You were so kind as to say, when you visited Lancaster, that you would cause search to be made for the Return of the Survey of the tract at harbour Creek on lake Erie, which the Legislature granted me, in lieu of the Island. Being informed that you are to be at Lancaster this week, I take the liberty to remind you of it.

A short time previous to the evacuation, if I may so term it, of the City, I wrote to our mutual friend M^r^ Beckley, requesting him to converse with you on the matters then in agitation. He had not then an opportunity. When he was up here, I desired him in addition, to commune with you on sundry points, some of them relative to views or wishes of my own. When you return to the City, I hope you will give him as early an opportunity as conveinent for that purpose.

In consequence of your letter to the Commissioners, on the Wyoming business, General Boude, has written to me, to meet at Lancaster, the 15^th^ instant. I have answered, that being unwell I can not promise to attend at such short notice, but if indispensably necessary, & I am notified, I will meet the first week of the sitting of the Legislature, &c^a^.

I am, Dear Sir,
your most obed^t^ Servant,
W^m^ IRVINE.

A. J. DALLAS, Esq.

WM. N. IRVINE TO THOMAS M. THOMPSON.

ERIE, *June 20^th^, 1804.*

SIR: Agreeable to the instructions given to the present commissioner for the disposal of the such lands as are the property of the State, in the Town of Erie, and the adjoining lotts, he has proceeded to sell such lotts as had been sold by his predecessor irregularly, or apparently so. I am confident the present Executive will never intentionally throw difficulties in the way of individuals for the irregularities of their officers, where fraud can neither be presumed or proven. Under this impression, I have taken the liberty of writing you concerning some property in which I feel myself interested, th^o^ not an owner of any part of it.

In a letter Mr. Kelso has received from Lancaster, acct. lotts No. 145, 146, 251, 252, are stated to be returned by Rees as in lotts in the 2d sectn. This, I conceive, is not such an irregularity as will make a fraud presumable if there are not other circumstances attending it. At all events, if there is fraud it must be imputed to Rees alone, as he had no authority to sell any part of the 2d section. His object (if it is not a mistake) must have been to create a dispute between the State and the Purchaser, as he appears to delight in doing wrong even where it might be both more easy & profitable to act uprightly. It would be hard that innocent purchasers should suffer for the conduct of such men.

For in lotts No. 593, 596, 597, 600, 601, 604, 605, 608, the irregularity, as stated to me, is that there are two sets of Bonds. As I cannot discover whether the Bonds are given by the same person, I am not able to obviate the difficulty without hearing from you. If you will be so obliging as to write me, stating the situation of the lotts as numbered above, both of the in and out lotts, you will confer a particular favour on me, &, I think, will enable to establish the first purchase.

Your Obedt Humble Servant,

Wm N. IRVINE.

THOMAS M. THOMPSON, Esqr.

ADDENDA.

[The following papers were accidentally omitted in their proper place:]

SECRETARY DALLAS TO ATTORNEY GENERAL INGERSOLL.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
PHILAD^{A}, *23 May, 1794.*

DEAR SIR: The Governor directs me to inclose, for your information, sundry documents relatively to the murder of a friendly Indian at Fort Franklin. The impolicy of imitating the northern Indians, at so critical a period, induces the Governor to request that you will take the earliest and most effectual measures to demonstrate the interest which our Government takes in punishing such offences. As the General Government has called the attention of the Governor to the subject, he wishes to have an opportunity of communicating your proceedings to the President.

I am, sincerely yours,
A. J. DALLAS,
Secretary.

To JARED INGERSOLL, Esq^{r}, *Att^{y} Gen^{l} Pennsylvania.*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. KNOX.

PHILA., *23^{d} May, 1794.*

SIR: As I am desirous to furnish the President with every article of useful intelligence which I receive, I have thought it proper to communicate to you, for that purpose, a copy of a letter from Brig^{r} Gen. Wilkins, dated the 11th current, relative to the murder of a friendly Indian at Fort Franklin, and the prospect of opposition from the British troops in laying out a town at Presqu'Isle, agreably to the directions of the Legislature of Pennsylvania. On the first of these subjects I have received the copy of D. Polhemus's letter, inclosed in yours of this day; but the Depositions mentioned by Gen^{l} Wilkins, as well as by D. Polhemus, have not been trans-

mitted to me. I shall, however, refer the case to the Attorney General of this State, with instructions for proceeding in the most expeditious manner to bring the murderer to justice.

I am, Sir,

Your most obed. H^ble^ Serv.,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To H. KNOX, Esq^r^, *Sec. at War.*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. KNOX.

PHILA., *2^d^ June, 1794.*

SIR: For the information of the President, I have inclosed a copy of a letter from Brig. Gen. Wilkins, dated the 23^d^ of May, in which he represents some circumstances relatively to the disposition of the British and Indians on our northern frontiers.

I am, with great esteem, Sir,

Your most obed. H^ble^ Serv.,

THOS. MIFFLIN.

To HENRY KNOX, Esq^r^, *Secretary at War.*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHIL., *20^th^ June, 1794.*

SIR: I have the honor to transmit, for your information, copies of two letters, both dated the 13^th^ instant, and received by yesterday's post from Pittsburgh; one from Gen. Gibson, (inclosing a letter from said Polhemus,) and the other from M^r^ Nevill.

I am, with perfect respect, Sir,

Y^r^ Excellency's most obed. H^ble^ Serv.,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To the P. of the U. S.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO GEN. WILLIAM IRVINE.

SEC^Y's^ OFF., PHIL., *20 June, 1794.*

D^r^ SIR: I take this opportunity to forward to you copies of the

letters that have passed between the Gov. & the Gen^{l} Gov., since the last communication with you, relatively to the Presqu'isle establishment and the defence of the Frontiers, and to assure you that I am, with sincere esteem,

Y^{r} most obed. Serv.,

A. J. DALLAS, *Sec^{y}.*

To Gen^{l} W^{m} IRVINE, *Carlisle.*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILAD^{a}, *16th June, 1794.*

SIR: Having instructed the Attorney General to institute a prosecution against Robinson, the supposed Murderer of a friendly Indian at Fort Franklin, I have the honour to add to my communication of the 23rd ult^{o}, on the Subject, the inclosed Copy of that Officer's Answer.

With perfect respect,

I remain, Sir, your Excellency's

most Obed^{t} & most H^{ble} Serv^{t},

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To the President of the United States.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO ATTORNEY GENERAL INGERSOLL

SEC. OFF., PHIL^{a}, *11th July, 1794.*

D^{r} SIR: Inclosed I send you a Copy of a letter which the Governor has received from Gen^{l} Wilkins, dated the 4th instant, and stating, more particularly than his former communication, the circumstances that attended the murder of the Indian at Fort Franklin, by Robertson.

And I remain, Sincerely y^{rs},

A. J. DALLAS,

Secretary.

To JARED INGERSOLL, *Att^{y} Gen. of Penns^{a}.*

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